Siumafuauta, sister of Pau (36). Buried in Siamafuauta, near Maufanga, Tongatabu. 643

Nanasipauu, sister of Maulupekotofa (37). Buried in Langi Olovehi, Lifuka Island. 644

Sinaitakala IV, sister of Fuanunuiava (38). Buried in Langi Fekitetele, Lapaha, Tongatabu. Sinaitakala IV is evidently the Tineh of 1793 portrayed by Labillardière (37), who estimated (probably overestimated) her age as fifty years, and the Female Tui Tonga mentioned by Farmer (23, p. 95) as dying in 1798. She was the first born child; Fuanunuiava, the fifth born, which would account for her greater age and earlier demise. Presumably she functioned only during the lifetime of her father's half brother, Maulupekotofa. 173 551

Fatafehihaapai, sister of Fuanunuiava (38) and Sinaitakala IV. For a poem dedicated to her see 16, p. 86. Fatafehilapaha, another sister, apparently intermediate in age between Sinaitakala IV and Fatafehihaapai was also Female Tui Tonga, according to the manuscript notes of Shirley W. Baker.

An unidentified Female Tui Tonga is buried in Langi Loamanu at Longoteme, Tongatabu.

THE TAMAHA

The Tamaha, the daughter of the Female Tui Tonga and sororal niece of the male Tui Tonga, was the person of highest rank in the kingdom. The first recorded Tamaha, Fonokimoana, was the daughter of the Tui Lakepa Tapuosi of Vasivasi, Fiji, and the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I, and therefore sororal niece of the thirtieth Tui Tonga, Fatafehi, who probably reigned in the early part of the Seventeenth Century. If Fonokimoana was truly the first Tamaha, then the high office which she held appeared late in Tongan history, and may be connected with and perhaps the result of the entry of her father, a Fijian chief, into the Tongan court. It is stated that the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I fancied the Tui Lakepa Tapuosi and desired to have him as a husband. A vessel was sent to fetch him and he was married to the Female Tui Tonga, all of which reads as though he had no choice but to obey orders. A son, Fonomanu, seems to have succeeded his father as Tui Lakepa (whether in Fiji, in Tonga or in both, I do not know). 644 [177]

Fonomanu was the father of the second Tamaha, Tuimala, for he married the next Female Tui Tonga Ekutongapipiki, his mother's brother's daughter.

The Tamaha are listed below aligned with their mothers (Female Tui Tonga) and their mothers' brothers (male Tui Tonga), to synchronize the list, since the king list is the chronometer for what little we know of early Tongan events.

Fonokimoana, daughter of Sinaitakala I and Tui Lakepa Tapuosi. Tui Tonga Fatafehi (30). 644 173 551

Tuimala, daughter of Ekutongapipiki and Tui Lakepa Fonomanu, son of Tapuosi and brother of Tamaha Fonokimoana. Tui Tonga Kauulufonua III (31).

Simuoko, daughter of Sinaitakala II and Tui Haa Teiho Tungimanaia. Tui Tonga Tui Pulotu I (33).

Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 326) presented a pewter plate to Poulaho [Tui Tonga 576
Pau] in 1777, which he said he would substitute for the bowl which had 643
before sustained the offices of chief justice and viceroy, and which was used [177]
to absolve persons from tapu when the Tui Tonga was absent.

Concerning the chief (presumably Tui Tonga Kauulufonua III) whom Tasman met in 1643, Wilson says (66, p. xlvii):

> An elderly chief, who seems at that time to have had the sovereign authority, came repeatedly on board, shewed the most profound respect to his visitors, and was highly gratified by the presents which they made to him. Among these was a wooden bowl, [415]
> probably the same that long afterwards was used by the sovereigns of Tongataboo [787]
> as a divining-cup, to convict persons accused of crimes; and the same homage which is rendered to the sovereign when present, was paid during his absence to the bowl, as his representative.

RANK AND LANGUAGE

The Tongans make use of different words and expressions when addressing 195
or referring to persons of different social standing. By listening to a con- 565
versation it is possible to tell whether those conversing are of equal or unequal 554
rank. 576 One set of words was used in addressing or speaking of the Tamaha, the Female and the Male Tui Tonga, another for the Tui Haa Takalaua, the Tui Kanokupolu, and the chiefs, and still another for the people. In speaking or referring to matapules, terms for the people are used by their superiors and terms for chiefs by their inferiors. It is said that individuals of the same rank use terms for the people when conversing among themselves, but there are exceptions. For example, the Tamaha calls her mother *huhu*, not *fae* (the [601]
ordinary term for mother). Furthermore the use of the Tui Tonga term *lakoifie* for Tui Pelehake (who, like the first Tui Tonga, was of celestial origin) suggests that other Tui Tonga terms may have been similarly used.

The relation of rank and language is well expressed by Elia Malupo, one 195
of the Tui Tonga's ceremonial attendants, in a statement written November 565
27, 1905. 539 554 576

Oku tolu ae faahinga: koe faahinga muomua, ae Tamaha, moe Tui Tonga; moe faahinga e taha, ae Tui Haa Takalaua, moe Tui Kanokupolu; pea moe faahinga e taha, ae kakai. Koia ia, oku tolu ae lea: 1, Kakai; 2, Tui Haa Takalaua; 3, Tui Tonga. Koeni: Kapau teu fetaulaki mo ha taha, oe faahinga oe kakai, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo alu ki fe?".

Pea kapau ko ha taha oe faahinga lotoloto, oe Houeiki, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo mea ki fe?" Pea kapau ko ha taha oe faahinga muomua, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo haele ki fe?"

There are three ranks: the leading rank, the Tamaha, and the Tui Tonga; and another rank, the Tui Haa Takalaua, and the Tui Kanokupolu; and another rank, the people. There are three sets of words: 1, the people; 2, the Tui Haa Takalaua; 3, the Tui Tonga. Thus: If I should meet with anyone of the people rank, I would say: "Ko hoo alu ki fe?" (Where are you going?) And should it be one of the middle rank of chiefs, I would say to him: "Ko hoo mea ki fe?" (Where are you going?) [The old greeting for matapule and commoner is said to be *siotoofa* or *siokuofa*, presumably the equivalent of the modern *malolelei*.]

ordered a number of stakes to be stuck up around the *tanungapola* to warn 226
off trespassers until the fishing had been completed. 621
[628]

Members of the resident body of a *tofia* needed no chiefly permission to
use any *tanungapola* on that *tofia*. Informants think that in ancient times [622]
the first catch went direct to the district chief, who forwarded some to his [643]
overlord, the Tui Kanokupolu or the Tui Tonga. (651)

The construction and use of fish traps is said to have been learned from 226
the Samoans. An ancient tapu in Tonga reserved the making of fish traps [177]
to the *toutai ika* (professional fishermen) but nowadays this tapu is removed. [784]
It was stated that a "fish trap," used anciently in trees with a decoy bird [223]
to catch pigeons, was adapted later for use in fishing.

A kind of fish trap (*kau*) was made and used only by the people of 226
Talau, Vavau, about which the following story is told: 176
173

> Two matapules of the Tui Talau, Mapu and Faingaa, invented (?) the *kau* trap.
> Their chief, seeing the merits of the invention, excused these men from all other work,
> and they became local *toutai* (fishers and navigators) and lived like petty chiefs. No [477]
> one else could make their traps. Later these men taught the trade to a man named
> Lulu who carried on their work and enjoyed their privileges after their death. Lulu
> in turn had a successor, name unknown, and so on. Not until King George I freed [462]
> the people were these traps made by everyone—women as well as men. [As the first
> Tui Talau and the first Mapu and Faingaa in Tonga are reputed to have been Fijian [177]
> immigrants, perhaps the *kau* fish trap is a diffused Fijian invention.]

At Tuanekivale, Vavau, were two families whom tradition set aside as 226
specialists in shark fishing: 173

> The title holders in these families, named Palefau and Fetoaui, were called *toutai*, but it is doubtful whether they were so designated by the Tui Tonga. They are said to still exercise their family function. In shark fishing they employed a boat, a bait of pork, and a rope noose. It is said that they could call the sharks about them at will.
>
> It was believed that if while away fishing, things should happen at home to the detriment of the fishers, such as stealing of their property, the sharks could not be caught, no matter how plentiful they might be. In such an emergency, it behooved the fishers to return home and make some sort of peaceful settlement of the difficulty, after which the sharks could readily be caught.

OTHER OCCUPATIONS

In modern Tonga tapa is made by coöperative associations of women 285
(*kautaha*). Each woman contributes an equal amount of white tapa strips, 474
which she has previously prepared, and the manufactured goods are shared
among the members of the company. The work is done in specially erected
houses and usually under the direction of an old woman.

The making of large mats is done by individual women, but a woman 285
may call upon her neighbors to assist her in her work, with the understanding 476
that the same assistance may be asked in return.

LAW

I use the word "law" in reference to transgression of custom and punish- 671
ment therefor. The combination of patriarchal and feudal ideas, coupled 121
with the inequality of individuals, makes the study of Tongan jurisprudence
very difficult. Perhaps the greatest difficulty arises from the modification of [177]
legal procedure resulting from the century of Euro-American influence, [797]
chiefly of the churches. No doubt the best picture is to be drawn from the
accounts of voyagers, yet that is an imperfect picture. Such information as I
gleaned firsthand is necessarily very fragmentary.

Certain tapu breaches were thought to bring with them supernatural 784
consequences; certain others were punished at the order of the overlord. 688
There was no judicial branch of government in ancient Tonga. Judges 692
and police were lacking, except in so far as a chief might settle a case and 693
his armed followers execute the judgment. Trials like those in Samoa 625 622
before a parliamentary gathering seem not to have taken place in Tonga. 695
A chief at times acted as arbiter and meted out punishment. 622

Anciently there were no jails and apprehension of a wrong-doer was 681
followed immediately by punishment in one of three ancient forms: *haha* 697
(beating), *hai* (leg and arm binding), and *tamatei* (execution); *hai* consisted of binding the arms straight behind the culprit or binding the legs, a
punishment which lasted for two or three days.

Two Tongan words, *hia* and *angahala*, are translated as "sin," perhaps 673
in the light of Biblical teachings. Anciently *hia* seems to have signified [682]
murder, or adultery with the wife of a man who was the equal or superior [684]
of the adulterer in rank. The word *angahala* has a much less definite meaning. [565]
It apparently signifies "fault, a habit or mode of action which is [183]
amiss," and also means prostitution. [548]

Whether or not a murderer's family was jointly responsible with him 682
for a killing was not definitely ascertained. One aged Vavau informant 672
thought that only the murderer was responsible and was uncertain whether [602]
punishment was meted out directly by the injured family or only through
the chief. One informant said that the murder of one commoner by an- [578]
other resulted in a vendetta between their respective families which con- [627]
tinued until their chief or chiefs ordered it stopped. If a chief killed a [622]
commoner no blood vengeance followed, as a rule. If a chief ordered a [565]
commoner to kill another chief, it might or might not be done.

Assassinations and other executions for political reasons were exceed- 682
ingly common in Tonga. Mariner records a series of executions ordered 687
by his patron, Ulukalala II, and the accounts of the Tui Tonga give others.
A very distinctive example is the assassination of the Tui Tonga Takalaua

Only
the ***haatufunga*** were allowed on the top of the tomb. The many bones found 764
outside the vault were called the bones of the *fakafeao* or attendants of the 784
great people buried within the vault. Interred in the vault are also Nanasipauu 767
(Female Tui Tonga), Manumataongo (son of Tui Tonga Laufilitonga),
and Makahokovalu (the late Tuita's father).

The construction of some royal and some chiefly tombs took place 764
during the lifetime of the prospective occupant, if traditions are to be relied 349
upon. The kings seem in this regard to have evinced something of the interest 643
of the pyramid builders of Egypt. The great Tui Tonga Tuitatui and 622
Uluakimata I (Telea) directed the construction of their own tombs (26,
pp. 38, 49). A chief named Lavakahaatuukau had earth transported from
Fiji to build his tumulus at Maufanga, near Nukualofa, Tongatabu. He
had moved his residence from Mua to Maufanga where he died. The tumulus
is about 8 feet deep at its center and 75 feet in diameter. The priest 764
Makaui had constructed at Fakakakai, Haano Island, Haapai, a three-compartment 349
stone vault for the interment of his body, in order to deceive 793
enemies who might attempt to secure his corpse.

Cemeteries other than royal tombs seem to have been utilized by the 764
people of a locality whether or not they were related to one another. Certain 565
cemeteries seem to be used principally for people of the lower orders, while
others hold the remains of people of quite different ranks. No doubt Christianity 177
has had a quite democratizing influence in this respect. Husband and 593
wife seem to be interred in the same cemetery as a rule, with the exception
of the commoner wives of high chiefs, who were buried apart.

ALBINOS

The prevalence of albinism in Tonga was not determined. I saw an 143
albino child in Haapai. An adult named Manumanu was reported as living
at Muitoa, Haano Island, Haapai. Napaa, a man of Lofanga Island, Haapai,
was reported to have two albino children. Nothing was learned from informants 826
as to any special attitude towards or treatment of albinos. However, 266
a story recorded (26, p. 192) attributes, at least to the female albinos
concerned in the story, anthropophagous habits. Whether this was a general
ancient conception I cannot say.

BERDACHES

Little could be learned about berdaches (*fakafafine*, a word which Baker 838
defines as "a monster"). Only a single informant, a man of Nomuka Island,
vouchsafed information concerning them. He said that anciently "there
were many," but in 1920 he knew of but one, a person of Maufanga, Tonga-

did not see the wall." The term *alaipuke* means "to take the outer works of 725
a fortress"; *tele* means "to charge the enemy from the rear." 726

Public boasting by individual warriors before a combat was a common 701
practice. An important brave would brandish his club before the commander 726
and tell what he would do. It was customary to hold a kava ceremony on [276]
the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the braves would boast, or pledge [574]
themselves to valiant action. It was not unusual for a warrior to boast
that he would kill the first foe that should be slain. This of course pledged
him to rush foremost into the thick of the battle. Occasionally the chief of [276]
the army would give to the champion who pledged himself to such an undertaking
the most important cup of kava, the chief's own cup (17, pp. 142-143).
The first slain enemy was called the *uluafi* (literally, head of fire).

A particularly vindictive and insulting way to kill an enemy was to render 726
him helpless, then drink a coconut while sitting on his prostrate body. This
was done by Tupoutoa in slaying Tupouniua in Mariner's time, to avenge the
assassination of Tupoutoa's father, the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho. The victim
was killed not in battle, but was caught unarmed after a bath.

Bodies of troops were classified as *matanga* (company) and *kongakau* 701
(regiment). The number of men in each is not known but it seems likely
that *matanga* was the smaller body, as it was comprised of troops commanded
by a single chief, and that a *kongakau* presumably comprised two or more
matanga. However, Baker (2) defines both terms as "regiment" and the
Catholic dictionary (46) gives the added meaning of "people of a locality"
for the term *kongakau*. The term *kapisi* denotes the wing of an army.

Three *kongakau* are said to have existed anciently in Tongatabu, the *kongakau* of Haamea, of Utulau, and of Matakehe, each consisting of the men of a whole district. King George I made a new *kongakau*, that of Haa Vakatolo. The *kongakau* Matakehe belonged to the Tui Tonga. The other two ancient ones may have been under the Tui Kanokupolu or Tui Haa Takalaua. In a manuscript by the chief Maatu I find references to what may be bodies of troops.

> Haa Vakatolo and Lolopaongo [near Foui, Tongatabu?] are the people (regiments?) who belong on the side of the Tui Kanokupolu. Haamalo [near Lapaha] is on the side of the Tui Tonga. Haamalo Matakehe and Pelehake [near Alaki?] are the people (regiments?) on the side of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

In the early nineteenth century at least, the practice of eating some of 727
the slain enemies had arisen, due, so Mariner (40) says, to Fijian influence. 266
The corpse of an enemy was contemptuously referred to as *pakola*, a Fijian 177
term said to signify "underneath."

The term *fakaulu* denotes the custom of bringing the slain troops of one's 727
(according to a modern informant) own army and placing them before the

house of their god. Thereafter they were buried. Mariner's description (40) 727
indicates that enemy dead were presented as offerings to the gods.

The slaughter of male prisoners, even of those wounded, seems to have been frequent and Mariner gives instances. Near Pea, Tongatabu, is a tract, Fakaveleatenge, named in commemoration of a killing which took place at the order of the war leader Takai. Some of Takai's men had been foraging and decoyed a body of the enemy into a fight, perhaps an ambush. Some of the enemy wounded were brought to a house on the tract mentioned and there slain.

The following quotations from Wilson (66, p. xlvii) refer to the state 411
of the country when Tasman and Cook visited it.

> No weapons were seen by Tasman at Tongataboo; which circumstance, as well as [609]
> their unsuspicious conduct toward strangers so formidably equipped, indicates that they
> had been accustomed to a state of general peace and security. No quarrel occurred [177]
> during this interview; and the Dutch, after having obtained abundance of provisions, but very little water, proceeded to the adjacent islands to the northward.

In Cook's time "weapons of a very formidable nature were then found among them, although they usually went unarmed. Their spears were barbed in a very dangerous manner and their clubs very curiously carved."

In Mariner's time warfare had become general and weapons were much in evidence. In addition to clubs and spears, bows and arrows were then [177]
used, which seem likely to be an adaptation from Fiji, rather than a fundamental Polynesian weapon the use of which survived only in Tonga.

A short text about the two great matapule, Maliepo (Lauaki) and Molofaha (Motuapuaka) refers to weapons as follows:

> And if the land is dark (at war), then Maliepo and Molofaha will speak to the regiments in case they come along with their burdens, the spear with stingray barb (*taofai*), the headed spear (*taotala*), the owl-headed club (*ualulu*), the eight-faced club or eight-barbed spear (*likuvalu*), the paddle-shaped club (*moungaloulou*), the club (*tui tapavalu*), and the toothed club (*nifoosi*).

Holes (*luoto*) with pointed stakes at the bottom were dug in trails along 725
which it was thought enemies might approach.

WAR STORIES

The following campaign stories obtained from the lips of modern in- 669
formants and from manuscripts are arranged so far as possible in chrono- [124]
logic order. The fighting in the period between the assassination of the [127]
Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho in 1799 and the appointment of his son Tupou- [128]
toa in 1812 is not included because already covered by other writers. The [173]
following accounts deal chiefly with the campaigns of Tupoutoa and his son Taufaahau, who was appointed Tui Kanokupolu in 1845, and later became King George I.

[1812 - 1845]

them to Tonga and Haapai and appointed a ruler there; but Tupoutoa was the king 173
over all and he came and dwelt at Haapai. After a short time Tonga rose up and 669
the different chiefs of the different forts united. The chief Takai was the strongest 726
so he ruled. After a little while he became ill and died, and his brother Fae ruled
in his place. The chiefs of the forts, Pea, Houma, Nukualofa, Hule, Kolofoou, Vaini,
and Fuaamotu and some others were still in union. Tupoutoa brought the warriors
of Vavau and went and again fought Tonga. That battle was fought at Pea. The
king moved and dwelt at Ango and kept on the fight against Pea. It is said if they
had been at a distance from each other they would have been overcome, but because
they were so near, the people of Pea were like lions fighting.

There were some Europeans with the king and his army and they told him how [177]
to make European guns by splitting the nut trees and hollowing them out; then putting
in gun powder to shoot into the earth fortification of the fort, so that it would slide [713]
and then the warriors would be able to enter the fort. It was done. There were three 173
vessels with the Talinofo, the vessel of Haano. They did a lot of work. They tied 725
them as is done in the making of the fence of a fort, so as to be strong when the 669
shots came from the fort. They tried to undermine the fortifications. The people in 726
the fort tied reeds and coconut pods together and set fire to them and threw them
so that the sappers were burned and were not able to undermine the fortifications. If it
had not been for this they might have succeeded.

One vessel which was not firmly fastened was almost drawn into the fort. There [411]
was a gun in the fort and the chief Otunuku of Haano was wounded by it in the
face and died. That chief was the strong man of that band of warriors. He was
brought away and Fuapau commanded that he be taken to Haano. He was taken in
his canoe by the brave Mohuniu and that took away many people to do it. Then the
vessel returned to Tonga. And it is said that the siege by vessel continued because the
use of the vessel was drawing it to plant fences in a line. In one battle there was
a party of Pea warriors lying in ambush and when returning they met the scouts of the
king's warriors from Haapai, who killed the brave warrior from Pea of whose bravery
they boasted. His name was Fakahau (like a king). He was killed by Longani (*longa*,
a resting place; *ni*, this). And there was another brave warrior named Tuuiahau who
was very swift footed. For the least thing he would club a person. He was killed by
the warrior Telasili. Many were killed from the army of Pea. And when Tupoutoa 173
saw that so many of the famous warriors of the fort were killed, he ended the war. He 669
made peace with the enemy, but it was not a true peace, because neither side was beaten. [728]

The king's army was disbanded and some went to Vavau and some to Haapai; [727]
and the king brought his vessels and drew them up at Mua. The Tui Kanokupolu
was taken sick and lay down and continued to get worse, so he commanded that he
should be taken to Maufanga, the city of refuge, and he and his attendants removed 173
there. He knew perhaps that he was dying for he sent privately to the chiefs of his 643
party who were at Mua for them to draw down the vessels into the sea. It was 763
done, and the vessels were launched, but they were afraid that there would be war.
As soon as the vessels were launched they loaded at once, as he had sent word that
they were to go to Pangaimotu. It looked as though he knew the time that he would
leave this world. He sent word that a small canoe was to be sent for him, and it
came towards evening. He was taken at once to the canoe and few knew whether he
died at Maufanga or in the canoe or at Pangaimotu. This occurred in 1820.

And I would say that Tupoutoa did this out of love for his people lest they 173
should be held at Tonga if it became known that he was dead. He did this so that 643
his people could get away to Haapai. Then word was sent to Tonga that Tupoutoa 764-
was dead. Then all the vessels came and anchored at once. One army came from
Hihifo. They came to carry down Tupoutoa's body, but when they arrived all was
ready and the chiefs thanked them for coming and told them to return to Hihifo
as they would take Tupoutoa's corpse to Uiha themselves. And it was reported that
[the people of] Tonga would come, but they only came for the ceremony of preparing
cooked coconuts for their dead king, whom they were taking away; but the people

[1812 - 1845]

a vessel arrived from Haapai to tell Finau and Taufaahau of the marriage of Halaevalu 173
Mataaho (Taufaahau's sister) to Tui Haa Teiho. That seemed to show the ill feeling 669
of Ulukalala because he would not let a good vessel, or anyone as sent from him, go 726
to the feast. But Taufaahau went in the Lofanga vessel that had brought the news. He went in the small vessel called Fungahaafuluhao and they were Ulukalala's own relations, Matetau and Fakatulolo and some others who accompanied him. Ulakai came from Tonga with two vessels with a great number of people. All Haapai assembled at Tungua for the ceremony. After that the people of Vavau were sent back, but Taufaahau remained at Haapai and dwelt at Pangai, Lifuka.

It was apparent that Taufaahau's disposition or ability was not hidden from these two groups. If we refer to ancient games, there was no one like him. At all the games of the different entertainments he was the best, the handsomest, and the most ready to perform. The Tui Tonga [Laufilitonga, who was actually not yet Tui Tonga] dwelt with a great number of people in his fort of Velata, Lifuka, and strengthened it. It was awful the way that Taufaahau and his few people were treated. Taufaahau could not stand it so he went to war. Foa Island sided with the Tui Tonga and the warriors of the Tui Tonga acted discreetly. They were afraid lest Taufaahau's warriors would rush upon Fangaleounga, Foa, so they therefore sent a *tokaikolo* (person familiar with the place) there. That night Taufaahau's warriors forded 173
over Makapulepule (the reef connecting Lifuka and Foa islands), and lay in ambush 725
outside the fort till it was dawn. When it was nearly dawn they climbed over the 726
fence and killed the people in the fort. The *tokaikolo* was also killed. Many escaped 669
and were saved, but many were killed. They burnt the fort and returned to Lifuka.

After that they sat and watched each other, the Tui Tonga in the fortress Velata and Taufaahau's warriors at Pangai, Lifuka. At this time Taufaahau was appointed Tui Haapai. Suddenly the warriors of the Tui Tonga from Velata made a rush, thinking to storm the fort of Tui Haapai at Pangai. They came one day at noon. It was a big army, as nearly all Haapai was there. Tui Haapai's warriors tried to withstand them. The battle raged and they shouted from the seaside of the fort that they were nearly overcome and Taufaahau went to their assistance and turned out the enemy. A little while after they shouted from the land side of the fort that they were nearly overcome and he rushed to their assistance. Others shouted from different places. Taufaahau always went to their assistance. Just like a god was Taufaahau in this battle, in his fighting for his fort. They fought till night and the fort was not taken, but the enemy seized Taufaahau's vessels and said, "We will leave the taking of the fort till tomorrow morning." But that night Taufaahau sent a vessel to Malupo at Uiha with a message, saying, "Here am I left alone. I expect the fighting to be renewed at dawn." The warriors came that night and in the morning the fort was in an excited state for war. The enemy thought they had received reinforcements, as there seemed a great number in the fort and a gun shot was heard.
But it was only Taufaahau's little army of the day before. They were few and had [411]
no guns, but he was able to withstand the army of the Tui Tonga, although they
were many and had guns. The first man to be shot was Malu and he died. Then [411]
they [the Tui Tonga's troops] knew that Taufaahau's troops were in the fort, as there
was a European gun. They all retreated, taking shelter behind big *puko* trees. They [177]
kept shouting for the garrison to come outside the fence and the garrison shouted in return for them to come into the fort. They kept up the fighting from outside, but it was no use. And at last it was known to the warriors from Tungua, Nomuka, Haafeva, and Lofanga islands and they entered Taufaahau's fort as reinforcements. Now Velata began to get into difficulties.

Ulukalala at Vavau heard that there was war and they (he and the chiefs) 173
consulted together to put an end to the war. And Taufaahau and Laufilitonga 728
agreed and the war ended. Finau said that Taufaahau was to be Tui Haapai (ruler 669
of Haapai) and that Haapai was to be his, but he was to be peaceful and go and dwell at Uiha and the other islands and leave the Tui Tonga to dwell at Lifuka,

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[1812-1845]

assembled at the seashore to receive them, but Taufaahau's side had arranged before 173
they came that should there be any shooting they would not stop the paddling and 669
the pushing of the canoes, but would continue till they reached the shore. They 726
came and the army on shore fired on the army in the vessels. Some were killed but they continued. Taufaahau's vessel backed to the land and his warriors landed and chased Laufilitonga's troops, who scattered. A man called Meakaifolau (food for the voyagers) killed the first one and then they killed and chased the fugitives till they reached Velata. The fugitives entered the fort in confusion.

While the army of Taufaahau was still in disorder, two chiefs from Foa came down with their band of warriors. They attacked Taufaahau's army on the flank. The dead floated in the sea. Another part of Taufaahau's army surrounded the warriors from Foa, and killed many of them. They nearly exterminated them, but the two chiefs were good leaders and led the small remainder to Laufilitonga's fort. Night came and Taufaahau's army withdrew and slept at Pangai. Next morning Taufaahau and his vessels went to Foa to see if the people wanted war. If they did then they should die. Anyone wishing to live must not fight. When they arrived they found that all Foa had assembled at Faleloa and Taufaahau wished them to be allowed to live. That report was taken to Haano, that the Foa people were not to be killed. The same was done there (Haano). Whoever wanted to die was to prepare to fight and who wanted to live was to remain peaceful. The vessels went and anchored at Kanokano and Tui Haa Ngana (chief of Haano) sued for pardon for himself and his people. But Taufaahau's warriors wished to continue the fight and not to grant the pardon. Tuita, a chief in Foa, sued for mercy from Taufaahau, that they might live. He asked Taufaahau to remember how Fuapau and Otunuku had sworn to live and die for Tupoutoa (Taufaahau's father, who was buried at Uiha), when he made war on Vavau, and also on Tonga. And Taufaahau through his love pardoned them. And those from the vessel and those that had been pardoned went to Malae Kilikili where a fort had been built. The barricade was made of coconut trunks, breadfruit
trees, papau trees, banana trunks, etc. They starved out the fort. There were many [725]
European guns at this fort, and many of Taufaahau's people were killed and wounded [411]
by the guns, because they would try to dodge in front of the guns. After a while there [177]
was a battle and a chief, who was a brave warrior of the fort, came out with his men. His name was Fangupo and they fought with Taufaahau's warriors. He was speared by a man called Paul Tapu. He was taken into the fort and died of his wounds. And Taufaahau wished the war to cease because Fangupo was wounded, but no one came out of the fort. After the burial of the young chief, the warriors came out. The Tui Tonga told them to go out and leave the fort, and they did so. Each man went to his own relations, and the Tui Tonga came to the fort [Velata?] and had it levelled, and there was peace.

Sometime later Ulukalala arrived with all the Vavau vessels. It is not known whose side he would have joined had he arrived while the fort was still standing, but when he arrived the fort had been taken and nothing more was done. And Finau (Ulukalala) said for the Tui Tonga to go with him to Vavau. Taufaahau said that the Chief (Tui Tonga) was to please himself what he did. If he wished to go to Vavau it was all right, or if he wished to remain it was all right. He (the Tui Tonga) wished to go with Ulukalala and he went and a great number of people went with him. The man Maheuliuli who was always wanting war went with him. The people of Haapai remained. Since then Haapai has been deserted and Taufaahau the only ruler. [Laufilitonga may not yet have been appointed Tui Tonga, though so referred to.]

After all this had transpired Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) sent Lausii in the vessel called Vahaafonua (Between lands) with all the brave warriors to Kaufana at Eua with a present from him. The ruler of Eua received them kindly and they were there two or three nights. Then they went to Tonga. When they arrived there Nukualofa was being fortified. They went and helped with the digging of the fortifications. A report went forth that the Haapai warriors had come. After the fortifications were

cave 500 yards from Toula village, Vavau, which is reputed to contain 266
human bones which are the remains of cannibal feasts. This cave has an entrance at sea level and slopes upward to 50 feet elevation. It was not examined, but might well prove to be a burial cave.

Kaifakaau, an ancient chief of Utulau, Tongatabu, was said to have been a man-eater.

Nomuka Island, Haapai, was the home of a cannibal who is reported to have frequently made raids on Tongatabu for victims. (See p. 225.) West (62, p. 271) gives this man's name as Uhila and says his cannibal [177]
propensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji.

In the neighboring island of Fonoifua there dwelt another cannibal, Taifonoifua, perhaps a chief, though in another connection said to be a commoner, but a brave fighter. A valley on Fonoifua, from which heavy rains wash human bones, is reputed to be the place where he buried the bones of his victims. Tahifisi of Haalai, Foa Island, was also a cannibal. His name suggests that he was of Fijian origin (p. 151). Both of these men apparently lived about the close of the nineteenth century.

The following account refers to Tahifisi, the cannibal chief or matapule of Haalai, Foa Island, Haapai.

> There were twins brought to Lotofoa from Haalai to escape from the cannibal chief 266
> Tahifisi who used to roast people at Haalai. Some of the people were still alive and 725
> these twins were brought from there. They recruited the people of Lotofoa to dig 173
> a fortress in preparation for the coming of Tahifisi. After a time when this was finished some more people fled from Tahifisi at Haalai and sought shelter at Lotofoa. Whereupon the twins gave instructions to have the fortress gate toward Faleloa guarded, fearing Tahifisi might attempt entry there. The twins ordered all of the people to go and guard the Faleloa gate and leave the gate towards Fotua, which was called Tukutonunga, to them to look after. In the meantime Matauvave from Hihifo, Lifuka Island, was preparing to fight Lotofoa.
>
> When the twins heard of Matauvave's plans they took banana suckers and planted them in the sand at Fuhu in a row. Then they fetched unprinted tapa and arranged it on the tops of the banana plants and then placed torches here and there. In the evening they set fire to the torches. When Matauvave's warriors came marching along and saw the light from the torches, they thought that they were seen and that the attack would not be successful. So they then turned down to Ahanga and came to the ford called Makapulepule. The twins again went along and lighted the torches there and Matauvave's fighters again retreated. They then returned to Lotofoa, but found that the village had been burnt down by Tahifisi and his people. There still remained Tahifisi's people who first fled from him and some of Tahifisi's own people. After the burning of the village these people got together and decided to fight Tahifisi. They killed Tahifisi. That is how Tahifisi's food oven of people at Haalai came to be neglected. To this day the food oven is still untouched.

As to cannibalism in ancient times, there are but few references. The 266
first is to the killing and eating of Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga. The 643
story of the origin of kava, an event attributed to the reign of Momo, the 175
tenth Tui Tonga, gives a second example. Turner (59, p. 236) and Krämer [276]

(36, vol. 1, p. 301) refer to a Tongan king, apparently about the twentieth 266
Tui Tonga, who was a cannibal. An unusual form of cannibalism is re- 643
vealed in the story of the Tui Tonga Takalaua and Kauulufonua I. Two 175
assassins were carved to pieces alive and their raw flesh served as relish [276]
for the kava drinking (26, p. 34). Bamboo knives were used as carvers. [287]
A story about the deity Hikuleo (op. cit. p. 192) refers also to the carving [412]
alive of children for food. See page 312 for the reference to a cannibal 000
god of Samoa who was ultimately slain himself and eaten by the son of a
Tui Haa Takalaua.

ENTERTAINMENT

Tongan entertainments have been well described by Cook and sub- 535
sequent writers. By far the best general account of Tongan dances is given [114]
by Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 74-86). Some scraps of additional information
are presented here.

At the wedding of the present queen of Tonga the following dances 585
were performed: the *kailau*, an Uvean dance by men, in which small 535
paddles called *kaupaki* are used; *mauluulu*, a Samoan dance; *meke*, a Fijian [177]
dance; *tau fakaniua*, a Niuatoputapu dance; *lakalaka*, a Tongan dance, in
which the women were seated, the men standing. Every village put on a
lakalaka. The songs accompanying some of the dances told about the 533
queen's wedding. The songs of the Vavau people told about a recent
famine there.

At an entertainment which I attended at Taunga, April 2, 1921, a 538
poetic reference was made by a poet and his chorus to a visit I had made 533
in the forenoon of the day to the great vault tomb of hapless Talafaiva, 123
wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (26, p. 37). Whether the poet spoke
extemporaneously or whether he knew of my intended visit, the reference
was cleverly made.

This entertainment, which was a picnic, was given us by the Governor 517
of Vavau, but the refreshments and entertainment were actually furnished
by Akauola, the matapule who holds Taunga as a fief from the king. About 535
twenty Taunga girls danced. They were seated in a row on mats outside
the sunshelter under which the food was served. The costumes were varied, [292]
consisting of leaves and flowers sewed to cloth and tapa, also bright colored
cloth garments. Plumes of red and blue material and guinea-hen feathers [301]
were worn in the hair of some of the dancers. The exposed portions of the [302]
body were oiled.

All were sitting dances with the exception of two which seemed to be
endurance contests. They were performed by pairs of girls, a man joining
in apparently to urge on the girls. In one of these dances the feet were

called Tui Malila.) This tortoise is said to have been left by Captain Cook 552
but as a matter of fact it was left sometime in the nineteenth century by a 613
passing sea captain. 231

The Tongan word for name is *hingoa.* A title is called *hingoa faka-* 551
nofo (appointment name), a nickname *hingoa fakatenetene.* In the matter of names the Tongans are very open-minded and are keen to accept foreign
words as personal names. Evidence of this tendency is to be found in the [177]
large series of English Christian names which have been Tonganized, and
now precede the Tongan personal name. The desire for new names results 553
in some curious usages. Thus, I heard of a child in Nukualofa who was named Saiti after a Javanese who happened to be living in the house where the child was born. This name Saiti is likely to be perpetuated; perhaps it will be bestowed some years later on a child which the present bearer of the name may adopt. I encountered another Tongan child who bore the name Alameta, because a relative had voyaged to California and visited the city of Alameda.

To apply the names of chiefs to commoners is customary, and is sanc- 553
tioned by the chiefs. Thus a Fijian in Nukualofa has the name Ulukalala, 565
which was bestowed upon him by the great chief Ulukalala in place of the Fijian's former name Usaia.

In ancient times there would seem to have been occasional exchanges 553
of names such as were prevalent in the Society Islands, but that such ex- [171]
change was common in Tonga I very much doubt. The single example of exchange which came to my notice is in connection with the title Tuita (p. 138).

Name givers were usually but not necessarily close relatives of the child named. Europeans are often given Tongan names by Tongans. Thus, one 553
of the sons of E. E. V. Collocott was given the name of Tokeimoana by 609
the Queen. Mr. and Mrs. McKern's son, born in Tonga, was named Namoa by the great chief Ata, this being the name of one of the sons of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui. The reason for selecting this name was that Ata's
mother is a descendant of Mumui. In Vavau I met a woman of high 553
rank, the daughter of the late Tui Haa Teiho Paul Havea, who had been given both a regular name and a nickname by King George I. She was named Toafilimoeunga after the sister of the Tui Kanokupolu Vuna, and was given the nickname Taimi (English time), the significance of which will be discussed (p. 234).

Adoption invariably brings with it a new name which might in one sense 597
be considered a nickname. The origin of the name Ulamoleka is an illustra- 553
tion. This is a name which the present Ata bore, following his adoption by the daughter of the *toutai* Ula. Ata's original name was Piutau. The Ulamoleka for whom the present Ata was named was originally called Ula,

[Tofua, Late, and Ata Islands]

Early voyagers speak of Tofua as inhabited. An old woman, living on 162
Kotu Island in 1920, was the last inhabitant of Tofua. She was removed 888
by force by her relatives, who feared she was becoming too old to care for 602
herself and that the dogs might eat her if she became disabled. 825

Late Island, a volcanic cone lying west of the coralline Vavau group, 162
was formerly inhabited. The Late people and their descendants now live [133]
on Hunga Island in the Vavau group. Late served at times as a place of [166]
refuge for political exiles. Fukofuka, a Vavau chief, who incurred the disfavor [727]
of a great Vavau chief, presumably Ulukalala, fled there and sought
in vain to oppose the troops sent for him.

The people of Late seem to have had a quarrel of long standing with 628
the people of Moungaone Island, in Haapai, for each group seems to have
attacked the other at times. The fortress of Amaka on Late was built for [712]
refuge against Moungaone raids. The chief of Late bore the title of Totolate. [622]
There is one at present. He was appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu.

ATA ISLAND

My data as to the settling of outlying islands are by far the fullest 131
for Ata Island, lying about ninety miles south of Tongatabu and in latitude
22° 20′, almost at the tropic of Capricorn. Like Toku, Ata was a haven of [166]
safety for the certain political refugees. [727]

Ata was discovered and named Pylstaarts by Tasman in January, 1643, 177
while he was voyaging northward from New Zealand to Tonga. No mention 175
is made of signs of inhabitants and presumably it was not then occupied. [162]
Tongan tradition makes the peopling somewhat later. [173]

By 1791 Ata was inhabited. Thomson (21), discussing the voyage 175
of Captain Edwards in H. M. S. *Pandora*, says: "Running southward, he 162
made Pylstaarts, at that time inhabited by Tongan castaways, and the fact that
he did not stop to examine it, although he saw by the smoke that it was inhabited. . . ."

In the Voyage of the Duff (65, 66), Ata is mentioned as uninhabited,
which would seem to be a mistake since it was already occupied in
1791. Speaking of the Spanish discoverer Fran. Ant. Maurelle who passed
in March, 1781, the Voyage of the Duff says: "He also saw the high uninhabited [131]
spot, discovered and named Pylstaarts island by Tasman, in latitude
22° 22′, 175° 59′ west longitude. This he called La Sola."

West (62, p. 271) relates the following story about the peopling of 166
Ata: 173

> . . . strange tales are told of one of their chiefs, called Uhila, whose cannibal propensities 266
> had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji. This chief resided at Nomuka;
> but he was in the habit of making sudden descents upon different islands, for the purpose
> of clubbing and kidnapping any of the inhabitants he could lay hold of, with whose

[Niuatoputapu Island]

accorded its inhabitants by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, that they should 103
push away the boats of the Tongans, and not let them land. In Nukualofa, 123
at the time of my sojourn there, resided Maatu, the hereditary ruler of Niuatoputapu and virtually king thereof. An opportunity was therefore afforded of obtaining some information concerning that group.

Niuatoputapu was discovered on May 10, 1616, by the Dutch explorers 177
Schouten and Lemaire. It thus constitutes the earliest discovered portion 175
of the Tongan Archipelago. Basil Thomson (54, pp. 398, 399) gives an account of the visit of Schouten and Lemaire. Wallis visited Niuatoputapu on August 13, 1767. Nails, which he left there, were later found in the possession of the Tui Tonga Pau by Captain Cook a few years later.

Niuatoputapu group comprises two islands, Niuatoputapu or Keppel 133
which rises to an altitude of 350 feet, and the volcanic cone of Tafahi or
Boscawen which is two thousand feet high. These islands are located in 131
latitude 16° south.

The Maatu whom I interviewed claimed to be the tenth ruler of the 634
line, the first ruler bearing the title of Latu, the title which Schouten and 622
Lemaire give for the ruler of Niuatoputapu. The following is the king 173
list as given by the Maatu of 1921. [123]

1. Latumailangi (chief from heaven) or Puakatefisi (pig from Fisi, a place on 634
Tafahi Island). Pigs seem to be especially associated with Tafahi Island from which 622
Puakatefisi came, for the people of the neighboring Niuatoputapu say of Tafahi, when 173
the clouds are around its summit, that the gods must be cooking pigs, for there is 551
the smoke.

2. Puakailakelo, son of 1. His name means "pig with yellow spots." It was he [825]
who is said to have changed the title from Latu to Maatu. The traditional reason [776]
for the change is as follows: Lavelua, the ruler of Uvea, came on a visit to Niuatoputapu, bringing with him his shell fishhook. In the dialect of Niuatoputapu such a fish hook is called *pa*. In the Uvean dialect it was called *utumaatu*. Latu fancied the name of the fish hook so the two kings traded fish-hook names. In Uvea such a fish hook was henceforth to be called *pa* and in Niuatoputapu it was to be called *utumaatu*. The ruler of the latter island then adopted the title of Maatu for himself and successors, discarding the older term Latu. In Uvea the old term *utumaatu* for fish hook became tapu. The Tamaha's genealogies have the following to say about Puakailakelo and his brother Pungakaitafola:

> There were two brothers, Pungakaitafola and Puakailakelo. Pungakaitafola was Maatu, but on account of his sickness (nose trouble) he allowed his younger brother Puakailakelo to take the title, and he became Maatu.
>
> A boat arrived from Niuafoou with two women, who were passengers, by name of Hekuau and Siulolovao; the latter was the child of Valamotu (daughter of Fusitua and Fotofili Alofi). Puakailakelo courted Hekuau, but she refused him as she had already a sweetheart at Niuafoou (Mailelatamai), and Siulolovao then accepted the courtship of Puakailakelo. Before Siulolovao had any children she adopted a little girl named Fataimoamanu as her first child to Puakailakelo. Fataimoamanu was the daughter of Alokuoulu the brother of Siulolovao.

> fect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some of us were of 782
> opinion that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near rela- 304
> tion. But Mr. Wales one day met with a man, whose hands were both perfect, of such
> an advanced age, that it was hardly possible his parents could be living. They also
> burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek bone. The reason of this was
> equally unknown to us.

Wilson (66, pp. lii, liii) and Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 210) describe well the process of finger sacrifice and tell of children competing for the privilege of sacrificing for some sick relative.

The sacrifice of human beings was resorted to on the following occasions: 782
(1) Sometimes to secure the recovery of a great chief from illness, (2) fol- 165
lowing the death of a great chief when his widows might be strangled, or [622]
anciently perhaps burned alive, (3) at the funeral of a great chief, when [768]
the undertaker and (or) certain commoners would be imprisoned in the [764]
great stone burial vault, and left there to die, (4) at the dedication of cer- [346]
tain temples, (5) perhaps on the occasion of the launching of certain great [396]
double vessels. The carving of living victims appears not to have been in 782
the nature of a sacrifice (26, pp. 34, 192).

Sacrifices to the gods to secure the recovery of a great chief often con- 782
sisted of one or more of the chief's own children by women of inferior 622
rank. Children of low rank who were liable to be sacrificed were called 165
tuputalinafi. A sacrifice for the recovery of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui is 755
described by Wilson (66, pp. 238, 239). Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 208) de- (643)
scribes others. A sacrifice was made for the old chief Fatu of Tongatabu,
father of Tungi I. Fatu was very ill, and his sister's son Tavake (Fatu's
fahu) ordered that his own son be strangled as an offering. The strangling
did not take place in the sick man's house but outdoors. The victim with
his two executioners was covered with a huge piece of tapa. When the
strangling cord had done its work the trio were uncovered and the corpse
of the victim carried into the house of the god Pulotu Katoa. The sacrifice [787]
was of no avail, for the god, speaking through his shaking priest, predicted (763)
Fatu's death, which shortly occurred. According to Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 410)
a man destined for sacrifice was called *tangata tapu*.

The strangling of widows of great chiefs which was the custom at the 768
end of the eighteenth century, may have been due to Fijian influence (41, 177
vol. 2, p. 209; 66, p. 240). Some evidence that burning alive was an earlier 589
method appears in Samoan tales dealing with Tonga (36, vol. 1, pp. 94, 344). 622
Whether this custom can be connected with the suttee of India, I cannot [165]
say, but it seems quite possible that the burning may have been a cultural
feature brought from the continent and later supplanted by the strangling
cord of Fiji; or possibly strangling may be traced westward through Micro-
nesia and connected with the custom in ancient Japan. Hearn (29, p. 314)

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622
mentions strangling as a form of suicide preceding the custom of disembowel- 768
ing. Some wives of the Tui Kanokupolu were strangled at their lord's death 589
(See p. 90.). Mariner relates how his patron Ulukalala II insisted that his [177]
daughter, a widow of the Tui Tonga Fuanunuiava, be spared. It seems 643
doubtful if the *moheofo,* or chief wife of the Tui Tonga, was strangled. 768
589
Tupoumoheofo, widow of the Tui Tonga Pau, certainly was not strangled. [644]
The Female Tui Tonga was not strangled at the death of her brother the
male Tui Tonga, because she was his superior in rank.

Cremation alive of commoners captured in war is attributed to an early 727
Vahai chief of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and is said to have taken
place before 1799. The victims were not eaten. The place where the cre- [266]
mation is reputed to have taken place is still called Umutangata (Oven-of-man).

782
The *fakafeao* was a man imprisoned alive and left to die in the vault 764
with a deceased Tui Tonga, or some member of the Tui Tonga family. 643
When one of the Tui Tonga family was buried, many presents were brought [165]
by all of the chiefs of Tonga. These were interred in the vault with his
body. The matapule acting as undertaker (*haatufunga*) was the only [767]
living person permitted to enter the vault and come out of it alive.
His duty was to place the gifts, as well as properly to dispose of the lowered body. The ranking chief presiding over the funeral affairs would direct his matapule to bring one or two men (commoners) to act as *fakafeao.* Such a man was forced to enter the vault and sit in a corner, and the stone cover was lowered into place and the grave mound erected over it. Or the cover might be suddenly lowered at the command of the presiding chief while the *haatufunga* was still within the vault arranging the gift materials, trapping him to serve the interred as *fakafeao.*

I have a note from the venerable Tamale concerning the painting of the [302]
fakafeao's head with turmeric, which gave rise to the descriptive designation of *uluvali* (painted head) for such doomed individuals. Tamale said that the victims were selected from the Tui Tonga's mother's family, in other words, from the standpoint of the Tui Tonga, from the inferior side of his family. This note may refer to the *fakafeao,* or to other individuals sacrificed at a Tui Tonga's burial besides those interred alive. The term *fakafeao* also applies to the bodies of matapule or other retainers buried at the time of natural death in the earth of the mound outside of the great stone vault.

Perhaps a rationalization is the statement that to have opened the vault once closed would have been to imperil the life of the new Tui Tonga, for the vault was opened only to receive the dead, and the opening up again would be to receive the body of the new Tui Tonga. Hence arises the saying, "Pulu hoo tuku" (Go easy with your letting down). The *haatufunga*

III. Period of Decline and Disintegration (1450-1845). 175
  - Appointment of first Tui Haa Takalaua (1470). 105
  - Appointment of first Tui Kanokupolu (1610).
  - Vuna's campaign against Vavau (1700).
  - Death of last Tui Haa Takalaua (1799).
  - Rebellion of Ulukalala against Tui Kanokupolu (1799).
  - Beginning of European contact.
    - Shouten and Lemaire (1616).
    - Tasman (1643).
    - Cook (1773, 1777).
    - London Mission (1797).
    - Methodist Mission (1822).
    - Catholic Mission (1842).

IV. Renaissance and European Acculturation (1845——).
  - George I becomes Tui Kanokupolu in 1845; his life 1799-1893 (the "Grand Old Man").
  - Death of last Tamaha (1852).
  - Death of last Tui Tonga (1865).
  - Accession of George II (1893).
  - Establishment of the British protectorate (1900).
  - Accession of Charlotte (1918).

The parallels in the social organization of Tonga and the remainder of Polynesia and Micronesia are obvious. Beyond Oceania, Tongan social organization suggests that of ancient Japan. The general course of political development in the two countries is also superficially parallel, though Tonga is but a miniature replica of Japan in this respect, the Tui Tonga corresponding to the Mikado, the Tui Kanokupolu to the Shogun. In both countries society was patrilineal; the patrilineal groups traced descent for many generations, sometimes back to a god; and each patrilineal group had a patron deity; the members of the patrilineal groups were of unequal rank. In both countries great chiefs were buried in megalithic vaults in mounds. Both countries were characterized by lack of priestly rule. There are certain general resemblances in mythology and worship: Tongan and Shinto mythology are strikingly similar in tenor. The parallels are such as to suggest the possibility that the social organizations of Polynesia, Micronesia, and Japan are genetically connected. It seems predictable that further evidence will reveal two streams of influence into Polynesia, one from southeastern Asia via Malaysia, the other from Japan via Micronesia; the former bearing features of the theoretical Indo-Oceanic culture, the latter bearing the traits just enumerated. 105 171 177

2: Mariner

177, 114, 123, 609

[For information on the activities, treatment and influence of Mariner on Tonga culture, see Category 727.]

be injured by the wantonness or malice of the lower orders, who took every opportunity of insulting him. 727
On the 16th of December, Finow, 727
having a mind to go to the island of Wiha, for 634
the recreation of shooting rats, invited Mr. Ma- 484
riner to accompany him. The inhabitants of 224
this island made great rejoicings on account of [527]
Finow's arrival. He remained there three or [223]
four days, spending the time principally in shooting rats* and birds.

One morning during Finow's stay at this island, some of the natives brought to Mr. Ma- 401
riner his watch, which they had procured from 727
out of his chest, and with looks of curiosity in- 177
quired what it was. He took it from them, wound it up, put it to the ear of one of them, and returned it: every hand was now outstretched with eagerness to take hold of it; it was applied in turns to their ears; they were astonished at the noise it made; they listened again to it; turned it on every side, and exclaimed "mo-ooi" (it is alive!): they then pinched and hit it, as if expecting it would squeak out; they looked at each other with wonder, laughed aloud, snapped their fingers, and made a sort of clucking noise with the tongue (expressing amazement). One brought

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* Rats are frequently used as an article of diet by the lower orders: the chiefs shoot them merely for amusement. [262]

401 a sharp stone, for Mr. Mariner to force it open
with; he opened it in the proper way, and
727 shewed them the works; several endeavoured
177 to seize hold of it at once, and he who got it ran
away with it, and all the rest after him. In
about an hour they returned with the watch
completely broken to pieces. One had the case,
another the broken dial, and the wheels and
works were distributed among them. They then
gave him the fragments, and made signs to him
to put it together, and make it do as it did before:
upon which he gave them to understand
that they had killed it, and that it was impossible
to bring it to life again. The man who considered
it his property exclaimed *mow-mow*
(spoiled!), and made a hissing noise, expressive
of disappointment: he accused the rest of using
violence, and they in return accused him and
401 one another. Whilst they were thus in high
727 dispute there came another native, who had seen
177 and learned the use of a watch on board a French
805 ship; when he understood the cause of their dispute,
he called them all *cow valè* (a pack of
fools), and explained, in the following manner,
the use of the watch: making a circle in the
sand, with sundry marks about its circumference,
and turning a stick about the centre of
the circle, to represent an index, he informed
them that the use of the watch was to tell where

the sun was; that when the sun was in the east 401
the watch would point to such a mark, and when 727
the sun was highest it would point here, and 177
when in the west it would point there; and 805
this, he said, the watch would do, although it
was in a house, and could not see the sun; and
in the night-time, he added, it would tell what
portion of a day's length it would be before the
sun would rise again. It would be difficult to
convey an adequate idea of their astonishment:
one said it was an animal, another said it was a
plant; and when this man told them it was manufactured, they all exclaimed *Fonnooa boto!*
what an ingenious people! All this Mr. Mariner
collected partly by their gestures, and afterwards more fully when he understood their language, and conversed with this man, who always prided himself upon his knowledge of the
use of a watch, calling himself Papalangi (an
European).

About the 20th of December, Mr. Mariner 727
returned to Lefooga along with Finow. His
life was still not only uncomfortable, but often
exposed to many dangers, or, at best, he suffered
many insults from the wantonness and malevolence of the lower orders. Tooi Tooi was by [829]
no means his friend, but, on the contrary, endeavoured to persuade Finow to kill both him
and the other Englishmen; lest a ship should

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727 arrive, and learning from them the fate of the
Port au Prince, take an ample revenge for the
829 injury done their countrymen: but Finow, fortunately, was not of this opinion; he conceived that white people were of too generous and forgiving a temper to take revenge, and therefore declined doing them any farther mischief. He had probably acquired this favourable idea of us, from observing that Europeans were not accustomed to knock out the brains of those under their command for trifling offences!

177 As Mr. Mariner had in his possession a few
754 printed books and some writing paper, he was
797 often found by Finow either writing or reading:
829 one day the latter desired him to give up all his
727 books and papers; which, when he had done,
with the exception of a journal of the voyage, he had the mortification to find that they were ordered to be burnt. On requiring an explanation of this extraordinary conduct, on the part of a man who appeared on other occasions to be so much his friend, he was informed, through the medium of Tooi Tooi, that the king could not, on any account, allow him to practise witchcraft to the injury of the Tonga people; and that it was well known to the king and many others, that those books and papers were instruments and means of invocation, to bring down some evil or plague upon the country. Mr.

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Mariner could not very well comprehend Tooi 177
Tooi's interpretation; but when he afterwards 754
understood the language, the king explained to 797
him his opinion of books and papers, and gave 829
his reasons for that opinion, in the following 727
account.

"Some years ago, on the arrival of an European 177
"vessel, one of the white men came to
"live among them by choice. This man's 754
"name was Morgan. He lived for a considerable 797
"time on terms of great friendship with 829
"the natives, and was much respected by them. "Some time afterwards there came another "European vessel," (the Duff, Captain Wilson, with the missionaries,) "and from this ship also "there came several white men, to live by "choice among them. The white men that "came last built a house, in which they used often "to shut themselves up, to sing and perform "ceremonies, (as Finow expressed it). Matters "went on very well for some time: at length a "quarrel ensued between Morgan and the other "white men, at first about an iron pot which he "wanted to borrow of them, and then about "some pigs which they said he had stolen from "them: upon this they informed the chiefs that "this Morgan had been a bad man in his own "country, and was under sentence of banishment "for his crimes; but from the full execu-

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177 " tion of which he had escaped." (He had actually
754 escaped from Botany Bay.) " The people
797 " then began to treat Morgan with every species
829 " of insult, so that his life was very uncomfortable,
" and often in great danger. Morgan
" in his turn told the chiefs who *they* were; viz.
" that they were men sent out by the king of
" England to bring a pestilence upon the people
" of Tonga, and that they accordingly shut
" themselves up in this house, to perform witchcraft,
" and make incantations, which was the
" cause of the pestilence that then raged:"
[164] (there was an epidemic disease at the time,
[731] which was very fatal among the chiefs, two or
three dying every day) " and that all their
" books were books of witchcraft. The chiefs
" began to take Morgan's statement into serious
" consideration; there certainly was a great
" mortality among them: the white men often
" assembled, and sang very loud; besides which,
" they would not let the Tonga people be present;
" and to prevent them even from peeping
" through the crevices of the reed fencing of
" the house, they stopt them up with all kinds
" of filth, knowing that the cleanliness of the
" Tonga people would not then allow them even
" to approach. And the chiefs said to themselves,
" if these people are doing no harm, why
" do not they allow us to be present? we do

"not conceal our ceremonies from them, why 177
"do not they expose theirs to us? In the mean 754
"while Morgan said to the chiefs, 'You see the 797
"'effect of their incantations; several of you 829
"'are dying every day; by and by you will be
"'all cut off, and the king of England will take
"'possession of your islands; for although you
"'have the remedy in your power, you will not
"'make use of it.'—The chiefs took the alarm [721]
"in time; they rushed upon the white men, [727]
"and killed all but three*, who were at that
"time under the protection of Veachi;" a
great chief, hereafter to be noticed.

Such was the cause of the fate of the mission- 727
aries, as related by the king to Mr. Mariner, 797
who often afterwards heard the same relation
from other chiefs. He inquired what became 727
of the three that were under the protection of
Veachi, and learnt that they were killed during 669
a civil war: they might indeed have made their 797
escape, along with some natives who invited
them into a canoe, which was going to another
island, but they chose to remain; urging for
their reason that they had not quarrelled with
any of the Tonga people, and that consequently
they should not be hurt; the others informed
them, however, that it was the Tonga custom

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* From the "Transactions of the Missionary Society," it appears that only three were killed.

ties against the enemy. The bows and arrows 175
which before that period had been in use among 721
the people of Tonga were of a weaker kind, and 648
fitted rather for sport than war,—for the purpose
of shooting rats, birds, &c. From the 175
fierce and warlike people of those islands,[A] however, 177
they speedily learned to construct bows 411
and arrows of a much more martial and formidable
nature; and soon became acquainted with
a better form of the spear, and a superior method
of holding and throwing that missile weapon.
They also imitated them by degrees in 175
the practice of painting their faces, and the use 177
of a peculiar dress in time of war, giving a fierce [714]
appearance, calculated to strike terror into the
minds of their enemies. These martial improvements [579]
were in their progress at the time of Captain
Cook's arrival, but not in general practice;
for having few or no civil dissensions among
themselves, the knowledge of these things was
confined principally to certain young chiefs and
their adherents, who had been at the Fiji islands.
Captain Cook describes some evolutions prac- [721]
tised by the natives as being forms of war, and [535]
indeed they have that appearance; but they [524]
are to be considered rather as games and
dances, which the Tonga people had learnt
from the island of Nuha. None of the oldest 175
natives could give any account of their first dis- 648

A [The Fiji Islands--Analyst]

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175 covery of the Fiji islands, but say they went to
648 those islands before the Fiji people came to
them: perhaps their canoes were drifted there
by strong easterly winds.—Since Captain Cook's
time, a certain chief at the island of Tonga*,
where all the principal chiefs at that time resided,
and whose name was Tooi Hala Fatai,
having by former visits contracted the warlike
habits of the Fiji islanders, became tired of the
peaceful and idle life he led at home, and was
therefore determined to repair again to those
islands, in company with a number of young
175 men of the same unquiet disposition. They
721 were pleased with the Fiji maxim, that war and
strife were the noble employments of men, and
[177] ease and pleasure worthy to be courted only by
[484] the weak and effeminate. Tooi Hala Fatai accordingly
set sail with his followers, about 250
in number, in three large canoes, for the island
of Laemba; not to make an attack upon the
place, but to join one party or the other, and
rob, plunder, procure canoes, kill the natives,
and in short to do any thing that was, accord-

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[101] * It must be observed that Tonga is the name of one of the largest of this cluster of islands, and that it gives name to all these islands taken collectively, as a capital town sometimes gives name to a country; and that it must be received in this latter sense wherever the words "island of" are not used before it.

175 They remained here about two years and a
721 half, towards the end of which period they were
not contented with joining the wars of others,
but entered into one of their own, for the greater
acquirement of plunder: and their superior bravery
[484] rendered them very successful. Tired at
length with their long absence from home, they
[177] returned to Tonga; leaving their own canoes
behind them, and coming away in the better
[165] formed ones of the Fiji islands. In their passage
however they experienced a heavy gale,
during which one of the canoes, with some of
175 the choicest men, was lost. On the arrival of
the remainder at the island of Tonga, they
669 found the place in a state of insurrection; the
cause and circumstances of which are as follow:

Long before the period of Tooi Hala Fatai's
175 expedition, Toogoo Ahoo had succeeded to the
669 throne; but had held the reins of government
643 not with the complete satisfaction of his people:
175 far from it. He is reported to have been a man
669 of a vindictive and cruel turn of mind, taking
643 every opportunity to exert his authority; and
frequently in a manner not only cruel, but wanton:
644 as an instance of which, he on one occasion
304 gave orders (which were instantly obeyed,)
that twelve of his cooks, who were always in
waiting at his public ceremony of drinking cava,
should undergo the amputation of their left

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734 She had just been in the act of picking up a shell or something, as the shot struck her; when she screamed out, and springing two or three feet from the ground, fell into the sea. The people in general were rather glad that she was dead, as she used to break in upon religious ceremonies, and on other occasions, when they were drinking cava, and dance about to the annoyance of every body, sometimes with scarcely any clothes on, which is considered very inde-
722 cent and disrespectful.

669 All things being now prepared for the inva-
[782] sion of Tonga, the gods were invoked; and the
priests assured Finow of success*. The large
[787] canoes of Lefooga, about fourteen in number,
[716] were then launched, which, with Toobó Nuha's
669 fleet from Vavaoo, made together about fifty
726 sail. Orders were sent by Finow to all the
Hapai islands to make the island of Namooca
the place of general rendezvous. These fifty
sail under the direction of Finow, four of the
largest having each a carronade on board, pro-
ceeded towards the appointed place; but on
account of contrary winds were obliged to put
[714] into Wiha. Here Finow took an opportunity
[177] to review his men, most of them being painted

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* The ceremony of invocation, and the supposed inspiration of the priests, will be described hereafter, at a better opportunity.

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and drest after the warlike manner of the Fiji 669
islands. They paraded up and down for some 726
time, brandishing their clubs and spears, and [714
exhibiting a sort of sham fight. Finow sat with 777]
several other chiefs in the house on the *malái**. Each warrior of note ran singly close up to Finow, and striking his club violently on the ground, cried out "this is the club for ——," mentioning the name of some individual enemy whom he meant particularly to seek out and engage; others running up in the same way, exclaimed, "Fear not, Finow; no sooner shall "we land at Tonga than here is the club with "which I will kill any one who dares to oppose "us." Finow and the chiefs thanked them for [537
their sentiments of love and loyalty, and then 703
he addressed them in a speech to the following 761]
purpose: "Be brave in battle; fear not death: "it is far better to die in war than to live to "be assassinated at home, or to perish by a lingering disease."

After remaining a day and a night at this island, they again put to sea with the additional force of six canoes, and made sail for Namooca, where they arrived in a few hours. Here they [716]

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* The *malái* is a grass-plat, about three acres in extent, [344]
with a house on it, and is used for various public purposes, as in the present instance; there are generally four or five of them on each island. As Vavaoo is comparatively a large island, it has fourteen or fifteen.

669 726 Tonga chief under the same circumstances: they immediately engaged with their clubs; one however being soon disarmed, and the other having broken his club, they fought a long time with their fists; and when they were so weak that they could not strike, they grappled with each other, and both fell to the ground exhausted with fatigue: the Tonga chief, incapable of injuring his antagonist in any other way, got his fingers into his mouth, and gnawed them dreadfully: after having thus laid for a long time looking at each other, they gathered a little fresh strength, and by mutual agreement each crawled home to his respective fort.

The Hapai men, on their way back to Nioocalofa, found several of their friends in different parts of the road, who were unable to proceed on account of their wounds. But they were too weak themselves to carry them, and were obliged to leave them to the mercy of the enemy. They at length arrived at the *colo*, tired and fatigued beyond conception, with about fifteen prisoners.

727 669 266 [177] [724] The following day, some of the younger chiefs, who had contracted the Fiji habits, proposed to kill the prisoners, lest they should make their escape, and then to roast and eat them. This proposal was readily agreed to, by

669 was raising to his mouth, when he saw, by the
266 smile on the countenance of the man, that it
727 was human liver; overcome by disgust, he
threw it in the man's face, who only laughed, and asked him if it were not better to eat good meat than die of hunger.

175 When Captain Cook visited these islands,
266 cannibalism was scarcely thought of amongst
261 them: but the Fiji people soon taught them
[177] this, as well as the art of war; and a famine,
[731] which happened some time afterwards, rendered the expedient for a time almost necessary. On this occasion they way-laid and murdered one another to supply themselves with food; and they still tell an anecdote of four brothers, who, in this time of scarcity, invited their aunt to come and partake of a large yam, which they said they had secretly procured: the poor woman, glad of the idea of getting something to eat, and pleased with the kindness of her nephews, went to their house, where they soon dispatched her, and she herself formed the ma-
[525] terials of a repast. Since that period, there was a great scarcity at one of the fortresses on the island of Tonga, called Nookoo Nookoo: two daughters of a chief of this place agreed to play at the game of lafo* against two

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* This game will be described in the second volume of the work.

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This mode of communicating sentiments was an inexplicable puzzle to Finow; he took the letter again and examined it, but it afforded him no information. He considered the matter a little within himself; but his thoughts reflected no light upon the subject. At length he sent for Mr. Mariner, and desired him to write down something: the latter asked what he would choose to have written; he replied, put down me: he accordingly wrote "*Feenow*" (spelling it according to the strict English orthography): the chief then sent for another Englishman who had not been present, and commanding Mr. Mariner to turn his back and look another way, he gave the man the paper, and desired him to tell what that was: he accordingly pronounced aloud the name of the king, upon which Finow snatched the paper from his hand, and, with astonishment, looked at it, turned it round, and examined it in all directions: at length he exclaimed, "This is neither like myself nor any body else! where are my legs? how do you know it to be I?" and then, without stopping for any attempt at an explanation, he impatiently ordered Mr. Mariner to write something else, and thus employed him for three or four hours in putting down the names of different persons, places, and things, and making the other man read them. This afforded extraordinary diver- [522]

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721 sion to Finow, and to all the men and women
634 present, particularly as he now and then whis-
177 pered a little love anecdote, which was strictly
[522] written down, and audibly read by the other, not a little to the confusion of one or other of the ladies present: but it was all taken in good humour, for curiosity and astonishment were the prevailing passions. How their names and circumstances could be communicated through so mysterious a channel, was altogether past their
[754] comprehension. Finow had long ago formed his opinion of books and papers (see p. 60), and this as much resembled witchcraft as any thing he had ever seen or heard of. Mr. Mariner in vain attempted to explain. He had yet too slender a knowledge of their language to make himself clearly understood: and, indeed, it would not have been an easy matter to have explained the composition of elementary sounds, and of arbitrary signs expressive of them, to a people whose minds were already formed to other modes of thinking, and whose language had few expressions but what concerned the ordinary affairs of life. The only rational mode would have been, to have invented a system of spelling, and to have gone through the usual routine of teaching it. Finow, at length, thought he had got a notion of it, and explained to those about him that it was very possible to put

down a mark or sign of something that had been 727
seen both by the writer and reader, and which 634
should be mutually understood by them: but 177
r. Mariner immediately informed him, that he could write down any thing that he had never seen: the king directly whispered to him to put Toogoo Ahoo (the king of Tonga, whom he and Toobó Nuha had assassinated many years before Mr. Mariner's arrival). This was accordingly done, and the other read it; when Finow was yet more astonished, and declared it to be the most wonderful thing he had ever heard of. He then desired him to write "Tarky'," (the chief of the garrison of Bea, whom Mr. Mariner and his companions had not yet seen; this chief was blind in one eye). When "Tarky" was read, Finow inquired whether he was blind or not; this was putting writing to an unfair test! and Mr. Mariner told him that he had only written down the sign standing for the sound of his name, and not for the description of his person. He was then ordered in a whisper to write, "*Tarky', blind in his left eye,*" which was done, and read by the other man to the increased astonishment of every body. Mr. Mariner then told him that, in several parts of the world, messages were sent to great distances through the same medium, and, being folded and fastened up, the bearer

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727 could know nothing of the contents; and that
634 the histories of whole nations were thus handed
down to posterity, without spoiling by being
177 kept (as he chose to express himself). Finow
acknowledged this to be a most noble invention,
but added, that it would not at all do for the
Tonga islands, that there would be nothing but
disturbances and conspiracies, and he should
not be sure of his life, perhaps, another month.
He said, however, jocosely, that he should like
to know it himself, and for all the women to
know it, that he might make love with less risk
of discovery, and not so much chance of incurring
the vengeance of their husbands.

This circumstance served greatly to amuse
[522] and interest Finow and all his chiefs during
their day's stay at Pangaimotoo. The following
484 morning they again embarked, and sailing
with a favourable wind for the Hapai islands,
they arrived at Namooca, and ultimately at Lefooga.

262 Orders were now issued, and preparations were
796 speedily made for the ceremony of annulling
766 the eight months *taboo*. The places appro-
784 priated for this purpose were two *maláis*, and the
765 grave of Tooitonga. For distinction's sake, we
shall call the first *malái* Tooitonga's, and the
[349] second Finow's. Tooitonga's *malái* is near his
own residence, and on this were erected four

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lowers, and were dressed in a manner nearly 643
similar, but not with quite so many mats. The 585
lady and her five companions being all ready, proceeded to the *maláï* of Tooitonga, who was there, waiting for their arrival, together with a number of other chiefs, two matabooles sitting before him. The lady and her attendants being arrived, seated themselves on the green before Tooitonga. After the lapse of a little time a woman entered the circle with her face covered up with white *gnatoo;* she went into the house of the *maláï*, and proceeded towards the upper end, where there sat another woman in waiting with a large roll of *gnatoo*, a wooden pillow*, and a basket containing bottles of oil. The woman, whose face was veiled, took the *gnatoo* from the other, wrapped herself up in it, and laying her head upon the wooden pillow, went, or pretended to go, fast asleep. No sooner was this done than Tooitonga rose up, and taking his bride by her hand, led her into the house, and seated her on his left hand. Twenty [252]
baked hogs were now brought into the circle of [412]
the *maláï*, and a number of expert cooks came [177]
with knives (procured from European ships;

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* A pillow to sleep on in these islands consists merely of [513]
a rod of wood about an inch in diameter, and a foot and a half long, and raised about half a foot by two diverging pieces at each end: the nape of the neck rests upon this.

643 formerly they used bamboo) to try their skill in
585 carving with speed and dexterity, which is con-
[252] sidered a great recommendation. A considera-
412 ble part was shared out to the chiefs, each taking
177 his portion and putting it in his bosom*. The
565 remainder of the pork was then heaped up and
scrambled for at an appointed signal. The woman who had laid herself down, covered over with *gnatoo*, now rose up and went away, taking with her the *gnatoo*, and the basket containing the bottles of oil, as her perquisites. Tooitonga then took his bride by her left hand, and led her to his dwelling, followed by the little girl and the other four attendants. The people now dispersed, each to his home. Tooitonga being arrived with his bride at his residence, accompanied her into the house appropriated for her†,

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784 * It is a peculiar religious injunction in this ceremony, that
262 the chiefs should put their pork in their bosoms, for they never
eat it themselves: and as it is *tabooed* by touching them, no other native of the Tonga islands may eat it: so that it generally falls ultimately to the lot of the natives of the *Fiji* islands, or other foreigners present, who are not subject to the *taboo* of Tonga. For the nature of the *taboo*, reference must be made to the second volume of the work.

595 † It must be noticed that every great chief has within his
342 fencing several houses, one or more of which always belongs
565 to his wives. He seldom goes to their house to sleep: he ge-
784 nerally sends for one to sleep with him; at least, this is always the case with Tooitonga, for nobody can eat, drink, or sleep, in the same house with him without being *tabooed* (see *Taboo*.)

643 should return from Hamoa. He had, indeed,
581 brought two wives with him, natives of that
[177] place, but, finding that his friends at home had
not been unmindful of him in this particular,
he resolved to marry these young maidens also:
and partly to please his own humour, and
partly to afford a little amusement to the Hapai
people, he resolved, also, that the ceremony
should be performed, for the most part,
after the manner of the Navigator's islands.

634 On the morning of the day of marriage,A
585 which was about a week after the arrival of the
[565] prince, most of the lower class of the people
were employed in bringing from different parts
of the island, yams, ripe plantains, and bananas;
cocoa-nuts, bread fruit, fish, and cakes*.
These were piled up on the *maldi* in four large
heaps, with a baked pig on the top of each.
[292] The people assembled on the spot, dressed up
[301] in new garments, ornamented with wreaths of
[302] flowers, and with red ribbands made of the fine
membrane of the leaf of the *lo acbw*, much resembling
silk: their persons were anointed
with sweet-scented oil. The spectators seated
themselves in two sections of a circle, one beginning
from the right, the other from the left

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[262] [252] * These cakes are made of flour prepared from the *Mahod root* (see the vocabulary), mixed up with scraped cocoa-nut into a paste, and baked. They are considered a luxury.

A [of Finow's son--Analyst]

634 the people, who clapped their hands, whilst the
585 matabooles exclaimed *malie! malie!* (well done!
well done!). The young chiefs and their com-
634 panions from Hamoa, sung the following song,
585 beating time with their hands: it is in the lan-
533 guage of the Navigator's islands, and Mr. Ma-
177 riner does not understand the meaning of it; he
[191] was so much in the habit of hearing the Tonga people sing in that language, which they affect to admire, though very few understand what they sing, that he neglected to enquire the meaning of this song; but the words, or rather the syllables, (for it is hard to say whether they are divided quite right), he remembers perfectly well, as many of the people went about all the following night singing it, according to the custom at Hamoa: the song is as follows:

> **Láfe láfe é, láfe láfe é,**
> **Láfe láfe é chiniláu;**
> **Chi a my ta tó.**
> **Oóa láo fia tála ou.**
> **Móegnagnóngo é, Móegnagnongo é;**
> **Toobó mo Laképa e, Toobó mo Laképa é.**

Toobo Mo Lakepa was the name of one of the brides, who was a personage of greater rank than the other.

634 While this singing and these acclamations
585 were going forward, the prince led his brides
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to the bottom of the *malái* with a slow and dignified 634
step, and then returned, amid the same 585
acclamations, into the house, and re-seated them 585
upon the bales of *gnatoo;* after which he commenced 177
a dance on the *malai* with the young
chiefs, who had put on turbans. This dance
was also after the manner of the Navigator's
islands, and seemed to afford the people much
entertainment: in Mr. Mariner's opinion, there
was not so great an exhibition of agility as in
their own dances, but equally as much grace,
and somewhat more attitude. In the mean 634
time the brides were conducted to the residence 585
of the bridegroom. The dance being concluded, 574
the provisions were shared out: the
two larger portions were allotted, by Finow's
orders, to the new comers, (to be disposed of
afterwards as they thought proper): the next
largest was shared out to all foreigners, viz. natives
of Fiji, Hamoa, the island of Fotoona,
&c.; and the remaining heap, at an appointed
signal, was scrambled for by all who chose to
try their speed and dexterity. This last scene
afforded great diversion to all the spectators.
The baked pig on the top of the heap was soon
brought down, and pulled about in a most miserable
way; being torn piece-meal, and so covered
with sand and dirt as to be quite uneatable.
The ceremony was now concluded by a 634
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Mariner, that if he ever met any common fel- 292
low with his head covered, he should immedi- 565
ately knock him down. He A was, however, al- 626
lowed, like other foreigners, to wear a head- [609]
dress without any restriction, as being supposed [727]
to be governed by different gods, and accus-
tomed to different manners.

But to return to our subject: it may be no- 634
ticed that the form of the prince's marriage as 585
here related, and which, for the most part, was 177
according to the Hamoa custom, was not very
different from that of the Tonga islands; but
two parts of the Hamoa ceremony were in this
instance left out, viz. the payment of some-
thing valuable to the brides' fathers by the
bridegroom, such as bales of gnatoo, beads,
&c. the brides being virgins: the other part of
the ceremony, which in fact was to ascertain
whether such payment was justly due, should
have been performed by the bridegroom (digito
admoto) when he had led his brides back into
the house, and re-seated them on the bales of
gnatoo: but the circumstance alluded to, not
being thought by the natives of the Tonga
islands consistent with delicacy, was accord-
ingly omitted.

In the evening of the same day, the large 634
house on the *maláі* was lighted up with flam- 585
beaus. Singers and dancers of Hapai assem- 177
[431]

A [Mariner--Analyst]

634 bled, and waited the arrival of the prince and
585 his Hamoa friends. In a short time they came
177 with presents of fine mats, dried cava root, &c.
431 (the cava root of the Navigator's islands is
greatly esteemed). These they laid down at
the feet of Finow and his wife, Toobo ve Holla,
who were seated opposite the entrance. Her
majesty returned the compliment by presenting
them with three or four English wine-bottles,
an hour-glass, without either sand or stand, and
some pieces of iron hoop, made sharp in the
form of chisels; which having received, they
retired and seated themselves on one side, opposite
634 the party of Hapai singers. These latter
585 now began a vocal concert, in the language and
177 after the manner of the Hamoa islands. When
533 they had finished, those from Hamoa sung, and
so on alternately during four or five hours, after
which the company broke up. The brides were
not present at this concert; and the bridegroom,
not finding himself much interested in
it, soon gave them the slip.

634 669 This ceremony, and these rejoicings, being
over, Finow again began to turn his attention
634 669 towards Vavaoo. In the first place he dispatched
702 canoes to the different Hapai islands,
with orders to each, that all the male inhabitants
[722] (excepting two of the oldest for each
plantation, to keep them clear of weeds, &c.

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the yams being all planted,) should assemble 634
within ten days at Lefooga, armed with clubs 669
and spears, and supplied with a good store of 702
provisions. Being all arrived within the time [722]
proposed, Finow issued orders to all his forces
to prepare for a review. On the appointed day 669
they assembled on a *malái*, to the amount of 702
about six thousand; all armed, and painted, 726
and dressed according to some warlike fancy. 634
Finow then delivered a speech, in which he declared [701]
his opinion that the Tonga mode of warfare [714]
had, hitherto, been upon a very bad principle;
and that instead of running forwards 669
and then retreating, accordingly as they met 702
with advantages or disadvantages, they ought 726
rather to remain together in a body, and not to 634
retreat on every trifling occasion, but to push 177
forward with the most determined courage, and thus dash terror into the minds of their enemies; or by standing their ground with unconquerable steadiness, to strike them with astonishment at their fortitude and strength: for such he had heard was the way of fighting in England, (meaning Europe at large,) and it claimed his highest admiration:——"and," he added, "if any man sees the point of a spear "advancing upon his breast, he is not to run "back like a coward, but push forward upon it, "and at the risk of his life, deal destruction on

669 "his foe." This last sentence he[A] bellowed
702 forth in a tone and loudness of voice that made
726 every one tremble, for in this particular he was
634 very remarkable; when powerfully and passion-
[177] ately excited, the sound of his voice was like
the roaring of a wild beast, and might be heard
[195] at an incredible distance.

Having finished his speech, several of his warriors ran up to him, striking their clubs furiously on the ground, bidding him not to be afraid of his enemies, for that, comparatively speaking, there were no real warriors in Vavaoo: and that they would stand by him to the very last. The king then addressed them again, describing, in a more particular manner, how they were to proceed in their encounter with the enemy, on the approach of whom they were all to sit down on the ground, and remain perfectly still, as if unconcerned in what was going forward; and even though the enemy were to throw spears and discharge arrows, they were nevertheless to remain motionless till they received orders to rise and rush upon them in a body; this they were to do with ardour and impetuosity; and he was quite certain, he said, that such a sudden and bold attack would put them completely to the rout. He then made them practise this manœuvre several times. Lastly, he spirited them up with thoughts of

[A] [Finow--Analyst]

669 whether their insides were sound and entire*,
727 and to practise surgical operations upon, hereafter to be described; and lastly, two or three
266 were cut up to be cooked and eaten, of which
[766] about forty men partook. This was the second
[763] instance of cannibalism that Mr. Mariner wit-
[752] nessed, but the natives of these islands are not
[177] to be called cannibals on this account: so far from its being a general practice, it is on the contrary generally held in abhorrence, and where it is occasionally done, it is only by young warriors, who do it in imitation of the Fiji islanders, attaching to it an idea that there is something in it designating a fierce, warlike, and manly spirit. When they returned to Neafoo after their inhuman repast, most persons who knew it, particularly women, avoided them, saying, "Iá-whé moe ky-tangata," away! you are a man-eater.

669 The bodies being thus all disposed of, Finow
687 began to make enquiries respecting the alleged treason of Lioofau, and finding no one capable
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* It is a firm belief with the people that if a man infringes
[784] upon the *Taboo* (see p. 141) or commits any sacrilege, his
[827] liver or some other viscus is liable to become enlarged and schirrous: they therefore often open dead bodies out of curiosity, to see if they have been sacrilegious in their lifetime.
[164] The natives of these islands are particularly subject to schirrous tumours.

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have some sinister intent: such precaution was 133
by no means unnecessary, as this species of 727
treachery, when it can be performed secretly, 518
is not unusual, particularly among great warriors,
when they have some petty interest to
consult. This, however, is not to be considered [177]
the natural disposition of the Tonga people,
but a practice which, along with that of
war, they have learned from the natives of the
Fiji islands, where a man seldom goes out, even
perhaps with his greatest friend, without being
armed, and cautiously upon his guard. Mr.
Mariner had, therefore, provided himself with
a pistol, as a defence against any violent measures
on the part of his companion. On their
return down the mountain, he told his companion
that he might have shot him dead, and
nobody would have been the wiser, to which
the man replied, "I see you are *loto boto**, like
"the Fiji people;" meaning that he possessed
policy and caution against treachery; and
added, "as I am unarmed, it is a proof that *I*
"had no ill design, and therefore did not suspect
"any in you."

Whilst on this island, Mr. Mariner went to 727
see the grave of an Englishman, John Norton,
belonging to the boat of the Bounty, Captain
Bligh, whose crew had mutinied. He was led [175]
[126]

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* Of a wise mind.

771 is every probability that, some years back, it
was such, in a great degree, though now little
824 trod: but those who are willing to keep up the
spirit of the wonderful have attributed it to
this supernatural cause. Superstitions, in all
countries, are much of the same kind; we have
similar ones in our own; but, whilst men of
cultivated minds disregard them, the vulgar in
general most firmly give their belief, particularly
where there is some sensible object that
appears to corroborate the tale *.

634 Whilst Finow was yet at the Hapai islands,
276 he often held conversations at his cava parties
with Filimóëátoo, respecting the state of
affairs at Tonga. Among other things, this
177 chief related, that a ship from Botany Bay had
484 touched there about a week before he arrived,
on board of which there was a Tonga chief,
Páloo Máta Móigna, and his wife, Fataféhi, both
of whom had formerly left Tonga (before the
death of Toogoo Ahoo), and had resided some
years at the Fiji islands, from which place they
afterwards went along with one Selly (as they

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* I observe that some readers have looked upon the above explanation as if I had considered it perfectly satisfactory in regard to all the phenomena: this I did not intend: I have merely ventured to state what I consider to be the probable cause of the long track. As to the short transverse one, suffice it to say, that I do not believe it to have been occasioned by poor Norton's body.

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pronounced it), or, probably, Selby, an Englishman, in a vessel belonging to Botany Bay, to reside there. At this latter place he and his wife remained about two years, and now, on their return to Tonga, finding the island in such an unsettled state, they chose rather, (notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of their friends) to go back again to Botany Bay. The account they gave of the English customs at this place, and the treatment they at first met with, it may be worth while to mention. The first thing that he and his wife had to do, when they arrived at the governor's house, where they went to reside, was to sweep out a large court yard, and clean down a great pair of stairs; in vain they endeavoured to explain, that in their own country they were chiefs, and, being accustomed to be waited on, were quite unused to such employments: their expostulations were taken no notice of, and work they must. At first their life was so uncomfortable, that they wished to die; no one seemed to protect them; all the houses were shut against them; if they saw any body eating, they were not invited to partake: nothing was to be got without money, of which they could not comprehend the value, nor how this same money was to be obtained in any quantity; if they asked for it, nobody would give them any, unless they worked for it, and

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177 then it was so small in quantity, that they could not get one tenth part of what they wanted with it. One day, whilst sauntering about, the chief fixed his eyes upon a cook's shop, and, seeing several people enter, and others, again, coming out with victuals, he made sure that they were sharing out food, according to the old Tonga fashion, and in he went, glad enough of the occasion, expecting to get some pork; after waiting some time, with anxiety to be helped to his share, the master of the shop asked him what he wanted, and, being answered in an unknown language, straightway kicked him out, taking him for a thief, that only wanted an opportunity to steal. Thus, he said, even being a chief did not prevent him being used ill, for, when he told them he was a chief, they gave him to understand, that *money* made a man a chief. After a time, however, he acknowledged that he got better used, in proportion as he became acquainted with the customs and language. He expressed his astonishment at the perseverance with which the white people worked from morning till night, to get money: he could not conceive how they were able to endure so much labour.

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After having heard this account, Finow asked several questions respecting the nature of money: what is it made of?—is it like iron? can

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it be fashioned like iron into various useful instruments? if not, why cannot people procure what they want in the way of barter?—but where is money to be got?—if it be made, then every man ought to spend his time in making money; that when he has got plenty, he may be able afterwards to obtain whatever else he wants. In answer to the last observation, Mr. Mariner replied that the material of which money was made was very scarce and difficult to be got, and that only chiefs and great men could procure readily a large quantity of it; and this either by being inheritors of plantations or houses, which they allowed others to have, for paying them so much tribute in money every year; or by their public services; or by paying small sums of money for things when they were in plenty, and afterwards letting others have them for larger sums, when they were scarce: and as to the lower classes of people, they worked hard, and got paid by their employers in small quantities of money, as the reward of their labour: &c. That the king was the only person that was allowed to make (to coin) money, and that he put his mark upon all that he made, that it might be known to be true; that no person could readily procure the material of which it was made, without paying money for it; and if contrary to the *taboo* of

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634 the king, he turned this material into money,
727 he would scarcely have made as much as he
had given for it. Mr. Mariner was then going
177 on to shew the convenience of money as a medium of exchange, when Filimóëátoo interrupted
634 him, saying to Finow, I understand how it is;—
727 money is less cumbersome than goods, and it is
177 very convenient for a man to exchange away
829 his goods for money; which, at any other time, he can exchange again for the same or any other goods that he may want; whereas the goods themselves may perhaps spoil by keeping (particularly if provisions) but the money he supposed would not spoil; and although it was of no true value itself, yet being scarce and difficult to be got without giving something useful and really valuable for it, it was imagined to be of value; and if every body considered it so, and would readily give their goods for it, he did not see but what it was of a sort of real value to all who possessed it, as long as their neighbours chose to take it in the same way. Mr. Mariner found he could not give a better explanation, he therefore told Filimóëátoo that his notion of the nature of money was a just one. After a pause of some length, Finow replied that the explanation did not satisfy him: he still thought it a foolish thing that people should place a value on money, when they

either could not or would not apply it to any 634
useful (physical) purpose: "if," said he, "it 727
"were made of iron, and could be converted 177
"into knives, axes, and chisels, there would be 829
"some sense in placing a value on it; but as it "is, I see none: if a man," he added, "has more "yams than he wants, let him exchange some "of them away for pork or *gnatoo;* certainly "money is much handier, and more convenient, "but then as it will not spoil by being kept, "people will store it up, instead of sharing it "out, as a chief ought to do, and thus become "selfish; whereas, if provision were the principal property of a man, and it ought to be, "as being both the most useful and the most "necessary, he could not store it up, for it "would spoil, and so he would be obliged either "to exchange it away for something else useful, "or share it out to his neighbours, and inferior "chiefs and dependants, for nothing." He concluded by saying, "I understand now very "well what it is that makes the Papalangis so "selfish;—it is this money!"

When Mr. Mariner informed Finow that dollars were money, he was greatly surprised, having always taken them for *páänga**, and

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* Paanga is the name they give to a certain kind of bear 526
which is used in one of their games (see *Laffo* among the

634 things of little value; and he was exceedingly
727 sorry he had not secured all the dollars out of
the Port au Prince, before he had ordered her
177 to be burnt: "I had always thought," said he,
829 "that your ship belonged to some poor fellow, "perhaps to king George's cook*; for captain "Cook's ship, which belonged to the king, had "plenty of beads, axes, and looking-glasses on "board, whilst yours had nothing but iron "hoops, oil, skins, and twelve thousand *páänga* "as I thought: but if every one of these was "money, your ship must have belonged to a "very great chief indeed."

Finow and his chiefs having now remained
634 at the Hapai islands nearly six weeks, resolved
484 to return to Vavaoo, and the following day set sail: the prince and Mr. Mariner accompanying
634 them. As soon as they arrived at Vavaoo, the
231 king gave orders that all the dogs in the island, except a few that belonged to chiefs, should be killed, because they destroyed the game, particularly the *kalai;* after which he promised
262 himself great sport with his favourite bird. As the breed of dogs was scarce at these islands, there were not more than fifty or sixty killed on

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[526] games at the end of the second volume): they supposed dollars to be used among us for a similar purpose.

[252] [565] * At these islands a cook is considered one of the lowest of mankind in point of rank.

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128 Tonga, we shall give an account of these transactions in the order in which they happened, and conclude with the ceremony of pardon, granted by Finow to Toobo Malohi and his followers.

The reader will recollect, perfectly well, the
669 fortress of Nioocalofa, on the island of Tonga,
727 which Finow besieged with the four carronades,
643 and afterwards burnt to the ground, with great
[726] slaughter of the garrison. Toobo Malohi was chief of this fortress at the time; and in consequence of Finow's vigorous attack, he left it, with such of his followers as could save themselves, and fled up the country, to seek refuge
[167] in some other fortress. This chief had all along been unfortunate: at the time of the
[177] great revolution of Tonga, and the early success of Finow, he had fled to the Fiji islands with his followers, and had resided there some time;
[166] gaining experience in the art of war. On his return to Tonga, he built the fortress of Nioocalofa; from which he was afterwards driven by Finow, as just related: he next took refuge in some other fortress; from which, owing to the jealousy of the chief, or some other cause, he was obliged to depart, and seek shelter in a third; from whence he was driven by some untoward circumstance; and thus he became, in fact, quite a refugee; nobody being willing to receive him in a sincere and friendly way: till

593 speechless. During the night her father, with
634 anxious solicitude, sat by the side of her mat,
763 watching, with sighs and tears, the progress
of her disorder. The next morning, which brought no sign of returning health to enliven the hopes of an afflicted parent,—Finow gave directions to proceed to Macâvĕ, the place at Vavaoo where (as the reader will recollect) *Booboonoo*, *Cacahoo*, and several other great warriors, were seized by Finow's orders. By the time they had got a little more than half way to Vavaoo, the poor child died. Immediately all the female attendants began to lament in a most woful strain, beating their breasts with violent agitation, and exhibiting every mark of sorrow and despair ;—but Finow sat in silence and dejection, weeping for the fate of
593 his daughter. In a little time they reached the
634 coast of Vavaoo, and took the body to a large
764 house, called Böóno, (six posts,) on the *malái*
at Neafoo, followed by Finow, his wives, chiefs, mataboolos, and attendants, all habited in mats. The body was laid out on a fine and beautiful Hamoa mat, and then washed over with a mixture of oil and water: after which it was anointed with sandal-wood oil.

593 It must be here noticed, that the king had
634 determined, in the event of his daughter's
764 death, not to bury her exactly after the Tonga
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fashion, but partly according to that, partly 593
agreeably to the custom of Hamoa, and partly 634
according to a fancy of his own. After the 764
body was washed and anointed with oil, it was 766
wrapped up in fourteen or fifteen yards of fine [177]
East India embroidered muslin, which had
formerly belonged to one of the officers of the
Port au Prince. It was next laid in a large
cedar chest, which had been made on board
the same ship, for the use of Mr. Brown, out
of some cedar planks taken in a prize. Over
the body were strewed wreaths of flowers, made
for the purpose by her female attendants.
Orders were now issued by Finow, that nobody [292
should wear mats, (although it was customary 301
on such solemn occasions,) but should dress 177
themselves in new tapas (this is the Hamoa]
custom); and instead of *ifi* leaves round their
necks, he ordered that they should wear
wreaths of flowers, (this was an idea of his
own,) as if dressed for some occasion of rejoicing.
The chest was placed on two large bales
of *gnatoo*, in the middle of the house, and the
body laid thus in state for the space of twenty
days; during which time Mooónga Toobó, Finow's
principal wife, and all her female attendants,
remained constantly with the body. In [533]
the course of the first night the mourners broke
out in a kind of recitative, like that on occasion

593 634 of the death of Toobó Nuha, (p. 143,) but in a
764 very imperfect way, because Finow had ordered
766 that no appearance of sorrow or sound of
[533] lamentation should be made; but, in spite of
this injunction, they occasionally could not restrain
their grief, beating their breasts with
every mark of deepfelt anguish. It is difficult
to conceive the reason of Finow's whimsical
conduct on this occasion, unless it were (as generally
interpreted) an impious and revengeful
endeavour to insult the gods, by ordering those
ceremonies not to be performed which were
considered objects of religious duty on such
sacred occasions. Every morning and evening
provisions and cava were brought for the entertainment
of those who attended on the body.
[177] On the nineteenth day it was removed from
the cedar chest, and deposited in the model of
a canoe, about three feet and a half long, made
for the express purpose, and nicely polished by
one of Finow's carpenters (this is the Hamoa
[563] custom). By this time the body had become
much inflated, and extremely offensive; but
the office of removing it was performed by
some foreigners, natives of Hamoa, who were
accustomed to such tasks *. During the whole

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[177] [171] * At Hamoa (the Navigator's island) it is the custom to keep the dead above ground for a considerable length of time, as above related: as the body, during this period, is

During the whole 593
of this day, and the following night, the body 634
inclosed in the canoe, with the lid closely fast- 764
ened down, remained in the house: in the 766
mean time Finow issued orders for a general 765
assembly of *all* the inhabitants of the island, to
take place the ensuing morning, before the
house, and nobody to be absent under any pretext whatsoever, not even that of illness.

Early the following day all the people, ac- 634
cording to Finow's orders, assembled before 593
the house, where there was a large supply of 765
provisions and cava for the conclusion of the 766
ceremony. In the mean time the body was
conveyed to the Fytóca, where it was depo- [764]
sited, inside the house, without any pomp or
form, not within the grave, but on the top of
it, that Finow might see the coffin whenever he
pleased, and take it away with him whenever
he went to a distance.

On this extraordinary occasion, which the [526]
caprice of Finow rendered a scene of rejoicing
rather than of mourning, after the provisions

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apt to become very inflated, it is the duty of a relation to [177]
prevent this happening to a great extent, by the practice of [171]
a most disgusting operation, viz. making a hole in some part of the abdomen, and, the mouth being applied, sucking out the putrescent fluids, and spitting them into a dish: and this is done out of love and affection for the deceased, without any apparent signs of disgust! Mr. Mariner had this from several natives of Hamoa.

634 ing, that as he was a man, he ought to feel as a
727 man, and not mingle his sorrows with those of
562 women; but if he wished to express his love
577 for Finow, who had adopted him as his son, and had given him the name of a son whom he had lost some years before*, he should demonstrate that love and respect for the memory of so good a father, by engaging his attentions in the interests of his family, particularly in those of himself, who was his lawful heir;—and not show his affliction by a silly profusion of tears and sighs, which was beneath the exalted character of a warrior.

About the middle of the night, no actual dis-
634 turbance had taken place, but some of the
668 prince's confidents, who were dispersed about to be on the watch, brought intelligence that *Voona* was holding secret conferences with some of the natives of Vavaoo. The prince, however, thought it advisable not to take any active measures, nor to appear to notice it: he therefore

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[551] * The name of this son was *Tógi Oócummá*, (an iron axe)
[776] which was also the name of one of the gods of the sea: for
[412] as they only obtain iron axes from across the sea, they na-
[177] turally attribute the advantages which they possess, in having
[597] such a useful intrument, to the bounty of a sea god, whom they have accordingly designated by this name. Finow's son, who was so called, was a great favourite of his father, who, when he adopted Mr. Mariner, gave him the same name, as a proof of his real esteem. Mr. M. always went by this name, or for shortness sake, *Tógi*.

634 wrong, they trembled in his presence. Nevertheless,
157 the benevolence of his heart was wonderfully
expressed in his manners: while he was
634 yet on board the ship, Captain Fisk desired
157 Mr. Mariner to tell him that it would be bad
648 policy for him ever to attempt taking a ship,
as it would prevent other ships coming to trade with them, or, if they came at all, it might be to punish him and his people for their treachery: as soon as Finow understood what the captain said, he made a step forward to Mr. Mariner, and taking his hand, pressed it cordially between his*, saying with tears in his eyes, and a most benevolent and grateful expression of feature, "Tell the chief that I shall always consider the Papalangies as my relations, "—as my dearest brothers; and rather would I "lose my life than take any thing from them "by force or treachery." He had scarcely finished speaking when the captain exclaimed, "I see, I see what he means,—you need not "translate me that!"

634 Finow's intellect was also very extraordinary,
153 that is to say, it was naturally very strong, and
was very little obscured by prejudices; we have seen several instances of the wisdom of his con-

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[576] *He had learnt the action of taking the hand from the
[177] Englishmen there, and used to say it was the most friendly
[829] and most expressive way of denoting one's feeling of sincerity.

duct, and a few anecdotes will serve to shew 634
that his specific reasoning faculty was very far 153
above the common. He had learnt the mechanism
of a gun-lock by his own pure investigation: 634
one day, on taking off the lock of a pistol 153
to clean it, he was astonished to find it somewhat 177
differently contrived, and a little more
complicate than the common lock, which he had
thought so clever and perfect that he could not
conceive any thing better: on seeing this, however,
he was somewhat puzzled, at first with the
mechanism, and afterwards with its superiority
to the common lock, but he would not have it
explained to him; it was an interesting puzzle,
which he wished to have the pleasure of solving
himself: at length he succeeded, and was as
pleased as if he had found a treasure; and in the
afternoon at cava, he was not contented till he
had made all his chiefs and matabooles understand
it also. He did not know the existence 634
of the pulse till Mr. Mariner informed him of it, 153
and made him feel his own, at which he was 177
greatly surprised, and wanted to know how the 727
Papalangies first found it out: he was informed
at the same time, that the pulse was influenced
by various diseases and passions of the mind;
and that in most parts of the world, those whose
profession it was to cure diseases often judged
of the state of the complaint by the pulse: upon

634 which he went about to two or three that were
153 ill to feel their pulses, and was much delighted
with the new discovery. A few days afterwards
177 one of his servants very much offended him by
727 some unwarrantable act, upon which he became violently angry, but on a sudden the thought struck him of the association between the passions and the pulse, and immediately applying his hand to his wrist, he found it beating violently, upon which, turning to Mr. Mariner, he said, you are quite right; and it put him in such good humour, that the servant got off with a mild remonstrance, which astonished the fellow very much, as he did not understand the cause, and was sitting trembling from head to foot, in full expectation of a beating.

Mr. Mariner explained to him the form and general laws of the solar system; the magnificent idea of the revolutions of the planets, the diurnal revolution of the earth, its rotundity, the doctrine of gravity, the antipodes, the cause of the changes of the seasons, the borrowed light of the moon, the ebb and flow of the tides, &c.—These were his frequent themes of discourse, and objects of his fine understanding;—they pleased him, astonished him, and filled him with intense desire to know more than Mr. Mariner was able to communicate. He lamented
829 the ignorance of the Tonga people; he was

amazed at the wisdom of the Papalangies, and 634
he wished to visit them, that he might acquire a 153
mind like theirs. The doctrine of the sun's 177
central situation and the consequent revolution 727
of the planets he thought so sublime, and so like 829
what he supposed might be the ideas and inventions of a God, that he could not help believing it, although it was not quite clear to his understanding. What he seemed least to com- [821]
prehend was how it happened that the antipodes
did not fall into the sky below (as he expressed [822]
it), for he could not free his mind from the notion of absolute *up* and *down:* but he said he had no doubt, if he could learn to read and write, and think like a Papalangi, that he should be able to comprehend it as easily as a Papalangi, for, he added, the minds of the Papalangies are as superior to the minds of the Tonga people as iron axes are superior to stone axes !—He did not, however, suppose that the minds of white people were essentially superior to the minds of others; but that they were more clear in consequence of habitual reflection and study, and the use of writing, by which a man could leave behind him all that he had learnt in his lifetime.

One day as Mr. Mariner was sharpening an 634
axe, and Finow was turning the grind-stone, 153
the latter observed that the top of the stone was 177
727
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822

634 not onl[illegible]ways wet, but so replete with water
153 that it was constantly flying off in abundance
177 on the application of the axe; this on a sudden
727 thought puzzled him; it seemed to him strange
that the superabundance of water should not
821 run off before it got to the top: Mr. Mariner
822 began his explanation, thus, "In consequence
of the quick successive revolutions of the stone"
—when on a sudden Finow eagerly exclaimed
(as if a new light had shot across his mind)
"Now I understand why the antipodes do not
"fall off the earth,—it is in consequence of the
"earth's quick revolution!"—This was a false
explanation, and he himself soon saw that it
was, much to his disappointment; but it shews
the activity of his mind, and how eager it was
to seize every idea with avidity that seemed to
cast a radiance upon the object of his research.

634 On another occasion they were returning to
Vavaoo from the Hapai islands, where the king
177 had been to fetch some of his property, consist-
727 ing chiefly of things which originally belonged
484 to the officers of the Port au Prince: among
502 others there was a box containing sundry small
articles and a pocket compass; the latter he
did not know the use of, and had scarcely yet
examined. During the whole day it was nearly
calm, and the paddles were for the most part
used: a breeze, however, sprang up after dark,

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accompanied with a thick mist: taking it for 634
granted that the wind was in its usual direction, 177
they steered the canoe accordingly, and sailed 727
for about two hours at the rate of seven knots 484
an hour. As they did not reach the shores of 502
Vavaoo, the thought now occurred to Mr. Mariner that the wind might possibly have changed, and in that case, having no star for a guide, a continuance of their course would be exceedingly perilous; he therefore searched for the compass to judge of their direction, when he was much alarmed to find that the wind had chopped round nearly one quarter of the compass. He mentioned this to the king, but he would not believe that such a trifling instrument could tell which way the wind was: and neither he, nor any other chief on board, was willing to trust their lives to it: if what the compass said was true, they must indeed be running out to sea to an alarming distance; and as night was already set in, and the gale strong, their situation was perilous. Most on board, however, thought that this was a trick of Mr. Mariner to get them out to some distant land, that he might afterwards escape to Papalangi; and even Finow began to doubt his sincerity. Thus he was in an awkward predicament: he was certain they were going wrong, but the difficulty was how to convince them of what was now, in all

634 probability, essential to their existence, for the
177 weather threatened to be bad, and it seemed
727 likely that the night would continue very
dark. At length, he pledged his existence
484 for their safety, if they would but follow his
502 advice, and suffer him to direct their course; and that they should kill him if they did not discover Vavaoo, or some of the other islands, by sunrise. This pledge was rather hazardous to him, but it would have been still more so, for them all, to have continued the course they were then in. They at length consented; the canoe was immediately close hauled, and Mr. Mariner directed their steering; the gale luckily remained nearly steady during the night; all on board were in great anxiety during the whole time, and Mr. Mariner not the least so among them. In the morning, as soon as the light was sufficiently strong, a man, who was sent up to the mast-head, discovered land, to the great relief of their anxiety; and the rising sun soon enabled them to recognize the shores of Vavaoo, to their unspeakable joy, and, in particular, to the wonder and amazement of Finow, who did not know how to express his astonishment sufficiently at the extraordinary properties of the compass. How such a little instrument could give information of such vast importance, produced in him a sort of respect-

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ful veneration, that amounted to what was little 634
short of idolatry; for finding that Mr. Mariner 177
could not explain why it always pointed more or 727
less to the north, he could hardly be persuaded 484
but what it was inspired by a *hotooa.* He was 502
so pleased with this property of the compass, that he almost always carried it about him afterwards: using it much oftener than was necessary both at sea and on shore, for it always seemed a new thing to him.

It may easily be supposed, that Finow, with 634
such an inquiring mind as he possessed, took 157
delight in every thing that afforded him instruction, or satisfied his curiosity; not only in regard to things that were very extraordinary, but those also that were moderately common and useful. He was accustomed, therefore, to visit the houses of canoe-builders and carpenters, that he might learn their respective arts, and he often made very judicious observations. He very fre- 634
quently went into the country to inspect the 157
plantations, and became a very good agricul- 241
turist, setting an example to all the young chiefs, that they might learn what was useful, and employ their time profitably. He used to say, that the best way to enjoy one's food was to make oneself hungry by attending to the cultivation of it.

There were many individuals at the Tonga 634
157

773 539 " the place, and had fed upon the produce of
" the place, they should become mortal, and
" people the world with mortal beings, and all
" about them should be *méa máma**. Upon
" this they were all exceedingly grieved, and
" were sorry they had broken up their canoe,
" but they made another, and some of them put
" to sea with the hope of regaining the island of
" Bolotoo; in which endeavour, if they succeeded,
" they were to come back and fetch
" their companions: but they looked in vain
" for the land of the gods, and were obliged to
" return sorely afflicted to Tonga."

773 776 In the above story there is a little inconsistency in respect to the gods coming from Bolotoo in a canoe; for the gods are generally understood to have no canoes, not requiring them,—for the moment they wish to be any where, their wish is accomplished without any further trouble, which is a mode of conveyance far superior to any of our inventions, either ancient or modern.

773 777 The Tonga people have also a story among them, respecting an island of immortal women existing somewhere to the north-west of Fiji;

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* Things of this world, mortal, subject to decay and death, in contradistinction to *méa hotoóa*, things of the other world (Bolotoo), or land of *hotoóas*, immortal, and always flourishing.

but this is suspected to be rather a Fiji tale than 773
a tradition of their own, and consequently is [177]
not much believed among them. These im-
mortal women are considered to be *hotoous*; [776]
but they are thought to have all the passions
and propensities properly belonging to women
of this world, insomuch that it is dangerous
for canoes to put in there; not that the crew
would be positively ill-treated by these fair
goddesses, but too much kindness sometimes
destroys as effectually, though perhaps not so
quickly, as too much severity. It is reported
that a Fiji canoe was once driven there by
a gale of wind: the men landed, and were
charmed with the truly kind reception they
met with; but in a day or two, finding the cli-
mate much too warm for their constitution,
they wisely betook themselves again to their
canoe, and with some difficulty reached the
Fiji islands, bringing sundry marvellous ac-
counts of the nature of the country, and the re-
ception they met with. This story is prevalent, 773
not only at Tonga and Fiji, but also at Hamoa 171
(the Navigator's island.) Some of the Fiji
people believe it: the Hamoa people doubt it
very much; and the generality of the Tonga
people deny it altogether.

The natives of the Tonga islands have a tra- 773
ditionary story respecting the origin of turtles; 825

but very seldom, use infusions of a few plants, 757
which produce, however, no sensible effect, 782
either upon the system or upon the disease, 755
and we may readily conceive in how little 752
esteem such remedies are held when the king's daughter, whose life so great pains were taken to preserve, took none of them, nor did any one think of proposing them. The idea of giving [177]
these infusions was first taken from the natives of the Fiji islands, who have the repute of being skilful in the management of internal remedies: and though almost all the surgical operations known and practised at the Tonga islands have avowedly been borrowed from the same source, and followed up with a considerable degree of skill and success, yet the Tonga people have generally failed in the former, and for the cure of constitutional ailments depend upon the mercy of the gods, without any interference on their own parts, except in the way of invocation and sacrifice. In such a state of 755
things, it would be natural to suppose that they frequently make use of charms, amulets, &c. to assist in the cure; but this, however, is never done, for they have not the most distant idea of this sort of superstition, which prevails so much over almost all the world, even in the most civilized countries. The natives of the 757
Sandwich islands, however, appear to have a 171
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757 remedies twice with very good effect, which
171 encouraged some others to try; but as these
727 circumstances took place only a short time before
Mr. Mariner left, and consequently only a few trials had been made, we ought not to speak of them as constituting the medical knowledge of the Tonga people; but as this Sandwich island chief was a man of considerable judgment, and, as Mr. Mariner has every reason to think, a good observer, we indulge the hope that no ill success, at an early period, has destroyed confidence in the adoption of two such useful remedies.

755 The ceremonies of invocation in behalf of
782 sick people have already been described in the account
of the sickness of the late king's daughter: the sacrifices adopted on similar occasions are *tootooni'ma* and *nawgia;* cutting off fingers and strangling children: these also have both been described; the latter is only done for very
128 great chiefs. We shall now proceed to speak of their operative surgery, and constitutional diseases, as far as Mr. Mariner's observation can lead him to speak with accuracy.

752 No native of Tonga undertakes to practise
177 surgery unless he has been at the Fiji islands, where constant wars afford great opportunities of becoming skilful; and no native of Tonga would employ a surgeon who had not been

thus schooled: nor would any one, as Mr. Ma- 152
riner believes, undertake an important surgical [177]
operation, unless he feels himself confident in
what he is about to perform; and it must be
said of them, that they are not rash in their
opinions. When a surgeon performs an opera- [465]
tion, he never fails to obtain a present from the [59]
patient or his friends.

The three most important operations are *cawso*, or paracentesis thoracis; *tocolosi*, or an operation for the cure of tetanus, which consists in making a seton of the urethra; and *boca*, or castration.

Cawso is an operation which is performed
to allow of the escape of extravasated blood,
which may have lodged in the cavity of the
thorax, in consequence of wounds, or for the
extraction of a broken arrow. There are no
other instances where they think of performing
it. The instruments they use are a piece of [413]
bamboo and a splinter of shell; sometimes a
probe made of the mid-rib of the cocoa-nut
leaf. Mr. Mariner has seen a number of [123]
persons on whom the operation had been performed, and who were in perfect health; and two instances of the fact itself he was an eye-witness to. The one we are about to describe was performed upon a Fiji islander, who had received a barbed arrow in the right side, be-

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757 they say are liable to produce *gita* (tetanus),
515 unless the wound be of such a nature, and in
753 such a situation, that it may with safety be first
laid completely open, then there is no danger.
[302] Mr. Mariner never witnessed a case of tetanus
[164] produced by these means; but he met with
many who said they had seen it in persons who
had got nearly well of their wounds, but happening
to wash themselves too soon, spasm supervened,
752 and death was the consequence. They
notice that wounds in the extremities, parti-
753 cularly in the feet and hands, are liable to produce
tetanus: also, in persons already wounded,
sudden alarms, or even any sudden noise that
calls the attention abruptly, is liable to produce
this complaint. They never allow females to
be near men thus wounded, lest the mere stimulus
of venereal desire should induce this
752 dangerous complaint. As to cutting the hair
757 and nails, they positively assert that the mere
302 sensation of these simple and common operations
753 has not unfrequently been productive of
these dreadful consequences. The man whose
[515] case we have just mentioned was eight months
without being washed, shaved, or having his
hair or nails cut.

752 *Gita* is a disease very common among the
177 Tonga people; but still more common among
164 the natives of the Fiji islands, who, from their

warlike habits, are more frequently in the way 152
of it: they adopt, however, a remedy which the 164
Tonga people have borrowed of them, and con- [177]
sists in the operation of *tocolósi*, or passing a reed first wetted with saliva into the urethra, so as to occasion a considerable irritation, and discharge of blood; and if the general spasm is very violent, they make a seton of this passage, by passing down a double thread, looped over the end of the reed, and when it is felt in the perinæum they cut down upon it, seize hold of the thread, and withdraw the reed, so that the two ends of the thread hang from the orifice of the urethra, and the doubled part from the artificial opening in the perinæum; the thread is occasionally drawn backwards and forwards, which excites very great pain, and abundant discharge of blood. The latter operation Mr. Mariner has seen performed several times; but only twice for tetanus, arising in both instances from wounds in the foot: in these cases the spasms, but particularly the convulsive paroxysms, were exceedingly violent, extending to the whole body, neck, face, trunk, and extremities: but in neither case was the jaw permanently locked, though on every accession it was violently closed for a few seconds. A na- [759]
tive of the Fiji islands performed one operation, [563]
and Hala A'pi A'pi the other: they both hap-

fortifications; making ropes, bows and arrows, 463
clubs and spears, which are practised by men, 462
whilst the manufacture of *gnatoo*, mats, baskets, thread, combs, &c., constitute the occasional employment of the women, even of those of rank. We shall give an account of each of the principal arts, beginning with those that are strictly professional.

Fo VACA, canoe-building. As it would be 396
impossible to give an intelligible and accurate description of this ingenious and useful art, without referring to well-executed plates, and as this has been already so ably done in Cook's and d'Entrecasteaux's voyages, we presume it would be but an unnecessary intrusion upon the attention of the reader to attempt entering into
such a description. It may here be noticed, [177]
however, that the Tonga people have obtained a considerable share of information in the art of building and rigging canoes, from the natives
of the Fiji islands. It has already been ob- 648
served, that, in all probability, the communica- 174
tion between these two nations, at the distance of one hundred and twenty leagues, began on the part of the Tonga people, who being situated to windward, it is very likely that one or more of their canoes were formerly drifted to the Fiji islands by stress of weather; and although they have no tradition of such a cir-

to sea, and returned to the Fiji islands to lay in 484
a second cargo.

The Fiji islanders make their canoes principally 439
of a hard firm wood, called *fehi*, which is
not liable to become worm-eaten; and as the 171
Tonga islands do not produce this wood, the 396
natives are not able to build canoes so large or 137
so strong as those of their instructors: all their
large canoes, therefore, are either purchased or
taken by force from the natives of Fiji. The 396
natives of Tonga take the greatest pains with
their canoes, polishing them with pumice-stone,
and paying every attention that they are not
more exposed to the weather than is absolutely
necessary. The canoes of the Navigator's [171]
islands are similar to those which were formerly
in use at Tonga, but the natives of those islands
never venture to the latter place but in canoes
manned with Tonga people.

Fono le, carving ornaments out of whales 306
teeth, for the neck, and inlaying clubs, &c. with 322
the same material. This art, as far as it regards 531
ornaments for the neck, is of Fiji origin; but [177]
inlaying clubs, wooden pillows, &c. is their own
invention. An account of the ornaments for
the neck has already been given, (Vol. I. p. 299.)
They inlay their clubs with extraordinary neat- 322
ness, considering the rude tool they employ, 531
which is generally a *togi* (or small adze), made 412
out of an European chisel, a piece of an old saw,

252 thing that is baked, is dressed after this manner; the larger yams being cut into smaller
[177] pieces. They perform the process of boiling in earthen pots, of the manufacture of the Fiji islands, or in iron vessels procured from ships, or in banana leaves: they also occasionally
252 roast food upon hot embers. As to their made
262 dishes, the following is a list of the principal.

Vy-hoo; fish soup, made with a liquid preparation of cocoa-nut and water.

Vy-oófi; boiled yams mashed up with cocoa-nut and water.

Vy-hópa; ripe bananas cut in slices, and boiled with cocoa-nut and water.

Vy-chi; a sort of jelly made of *ma*, and the juice of the *chi* root.

Vy-vi; a sort of apple grated, mixed with water and strained.

Bobói; a preparation of *ma* and *chi*, forming a stronger jelly, but similar to *vychi.*

Boi; similar to the above, but not jellied.

Fy'caky' lólo toótoo; bread-fruit beaten up and cut into small pieces: it is eaten with a preparation of cocoa-nut, and the juice either of the *chi* or sugar-cane: it very much resembles, in appearance and taste, batter pudding, with melted butter and sugar.

Fy'caky' lólo mátta; same as the above, eaten with the expressed juice of the cocoa-nut.

have been transplanted, in order to give them 285
a finer and softer texture. [291]

Gie, stronger mats made of the bark of the 285
fow or *olongá*, worn chiefly by people in canoes 237
to keep out the wet, as the water does not da- [292]
mage them: they appear as if they were made
of horse-hair. Labillardiere mentions that he
saw a woman of rank with a sort of mat made
of the white hair of a horse's tail. He supposed [177]
that it must have been procured from some
horses that Cook had left there.

Fálla, mats to sleep on, made of the leaves 285
of the *paoongo*. These are double, and are of 513
various sizes, from six feet by three, to seventy
or eighty feet by six; to lie along the whole
length of the house.

La, mats for sails, made of the leaves of the 285
fa; they are very strong and light. [501]

Tacapow, mats for flooring houses, made of [352]
the young leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.

Tattów, a sort of matting, plaited in a very [353]
ornamental way, made of young cocoa-nut
leaves: they are used to screen the sides of
houses from the weather.

Cato, baskets: these are of various construc- [415]
tions; sometimes of a sort of matting made [531]
with the leaves of the *fa*, *paoongo*, *lo acow*, &c.;
at other times of the fibrous root of the cocoa-
nut tree interwoven with plait made of the husk

462 people, when compared with that of the other natives of the South Seas*, and with savage
562 nations in general, that they do not consign
171 the heaviest cares and burdens of life to the charge of the weaker sex; but, from the most generous motives, take upon themselves all those laborious or disagreeable tasks which they think inconsistent with the weakness and delicacy of the softer sex.
562 Thus the women of Tonga, knowing how little their own sex in
177 other islands are respected by the men, and how much better they themselves are treated by their countrymen, and feeling at the same time, from this and other causes, a patriotic sentiment, joined to their natural reserve, seldom associate with foreigners. Thus when the Port au Prince arrived at the Sandwich islands, the ship was crowded with women ready to barter their personal favours for any trinkets they could obtain; but how different at Lefooga! where only one woman came on board, and she was one of the lower order, who was in a manner obliged to come by order of a native, to

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* If there is any exception to this in the South Seas, it is with the natives of Otaheite, but there neither men nor women work hard: the natives of the latter place appear altogether a soft effeminate race, strongly addicted to voluptuous habits; whilst in Tonga the men are of a more noble and manly character, and the women considerably more reserved.

whom she belonged as a prisoner of war, and 562
who had been requested by one of the officers 177.
of the ship to send a female on board. Captain Cook, also, strongly notices the reserve and modesty of the females of these islands; and the observations of this accurate narrator will serve to corroborate what we have been stating. 562
We have already noticed the humane character of [855]
the Tonga females, and in addition we beg [857]
to observe, that their behaviour as daughters, [867]
wives, and mothers, is very far from being unworthy of imitation: [868]
children, consequently, are taken the utmost care of; they are never neglected either in respect of personal cleanliness or diet: as they grow older, the boys are made to exercise thamselves in athletic sports; the girls are made occasionally to attend to the acquirement of suitable arts and manufactures, and of a number of little ornamental accomplishments which tend to render them agreeable companions, and proper objects of esteem: they are taught to plait various pretty and fanciful devices in flowers, &c. which they present to their fathers, brothers, and superior chiefs, denoting respect for those who fill higher circles than themselves. There is still one observation [565]
to be made with respect to females, and which is not of small importance, since it tends to prove

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" fore them with great force and quickness; 175
" but so skilfully managed, that, though stand- 648
" ing quite close, they never interfered. They 545
" shifted their clubs from hand to hand with 535
" great dexterity; and, after continuing a little 411
" time, kneeled, and made different motions,
" tossing the clubs up in the air, which they
" caught as they fell; and then went off as
" hastily as they entered. Their heads were [292]
" covered with pieces of white cloth, tied at
" the crown (almost like a night-cap) with a
" wreath of foliage round the forehead; but
" they had only very small pieces of white
" cloth tied about the waists; probably that
" they might be cool, and free from every in-
" cumbrance or weight*. A person with a
" spear, dressed like the former, then came in,
" and in the same hasty manner; looking about
" eagerly, as if in search of somebody to throw
" it at. He then ran hastily to one side of the
" crowd in the front, and put himself in a
" threatening attitude, as if he meant to strike
" with his spear at one of them, bending the

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* This exhibition with the clubs, as well as the following [177] one with a spear, are practices of Hamoa (the Navigator's Islands), at which the natives of that place are said to be very expert: they are occasionally adopted at Tonga by way of interludes, but they do not form an essential part of the above performance: the particular dress which these performers had on was the war dress of the Hamoa Islands.

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“ and customs of these people. It was observ- 175
“ able, that though the spectators always ap- 648
“ proved of the various motions when well 545
“ made, a great share of the pleasure they re-
“ ceived seemed to arise from the sentimental
“ part, or what the performers delivered in their
“ speeches *. However, the mere acting part,
“ independently of the sentences repeated, was
“ well worth our notice, both with respect to
“ the extensive plan in which it was executed,
“ and to the various motions, as well as the
“ exact unity with which they were performed.
“ Neither pencil nor pen can describe the nu-
“ merous actions and motions, the singularity
“ of which was not greater than was the ease
“ and gracefulness with which they were per-
“ formed.

“ In expectation of this evening show, the 175
“ circle of natives about our tent being pretty 648
“ large, they engaged in wrestling and boxing : 526

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* All the dances where the paddle is used are borrowed [535]
from the natives of the islands of Nuha (Cocos island, and [293]
Traitor's island), situated between Vavaoo and Hamoa (the [177]
Navigator's islands.) The accompanying songs are in the
language of Hamoa, whence the people of Nuha have bor- [533]
rowed them, and both dances and songs have been thus [191]
adopted at Tonga ; but as very few of the Tonga people understand the Hamoa language, it is presumed that the applause of the people on the above occasion was not excited by the sentiment, but by the music and general performance.

535 As among the ancient Greeks it was thought
565 inconsistent with the character of a gentleman
533 not to know how to strike the lyre, so among
the Tonga people it would be considered a mark
of great ignorance to be unaccomplished in the
graceful, manly, and expressive movements of
this dance.

The night dance called *oóla* is a very ancient
535 one in Tonga, though borrowed no doubt
177 originally from the people of the Navigator's
[565 island (Hamoa). This dance was formerly
only adopted in the Tonga islands among the
178] lower orders of people; but of late, some
Tonga chiefs on a visit to Hamoa were so pleased with the superior gracefulness of the *oóla*, which was danced there, that they afterwards brought it into fashion among the higher classes in Tonga, with many improvements and graceful embellishments borrowed from the former place: since which, the *oóla* of Tonga is grown quite out of use, even among the lower orders, though it was once danced in Mr. Mariner's time, by order of the present king, on purpose to contrast it with the *oóla* of Hamoa; but it was a very awkward exhibition in comparison with the Hamoa refinements, and probably
535 will never be introduced again. There
are no particular figures in this dance different
from what have already been described in the

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other dances; but the arrangement of the 535
movements is very different: the whole dance
is considerably more quick throughout, and
there are several other motions of the feet and
postures of the body. The night dance which 535
Captain Cook saw (the *mëë low folla*) is per- 177
haps the only one which can be considered of 533
Tonga invention, and is the only one accompa- 191
nied throughout with Tonga songs: the rest
belong to Hamoa and Neuha, and are accompanied chiefly with Hamoa songs; for although the dance called *hea* is considered a very ancient Tonga one, there is not much doubt of its being of Hamoa extraction, and accordingly most of its songs are in that language. The *mëë too buggi* is a Nuha[*] dance, but the songs
accompanying it are Hamoa. The principal 535
public dances are the four following:

Mëë low folla, i. e. a dance with the arms outspread: a night dance: it is also called *bo mëë*.

Mëë too buggi, i. e. a dance standing up with paddles: a day dance.

Hea; sometimes a day dance, but mostly a night dance,

Oola; a night dance.

These public exhibitions of dances naturally 534
lead us to speak of their music and poetry: with

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[*] The islands of Nuha lie between Hamoa and Vavaoo, and are known to navigators by the names of Traitor's island, and Cocos island.

companied either with music or clapping of the 533
hands: always in the Tonga language. 535

Oóla; that kind of singing which is accom- [191]
panied by the dance so called: to this most of
the annexed specimens belong: generally in
the Hamoa language.

Fucca Nuha; or the Nuha fashion of sing- [177]
ing: this is never accompanied with dancing,
and is always sung in the Tonga language.
Most of their songs are descriptive of scenery; 533
but some of these are descriptive of past events, 538
or of places which are out of their reach, such
as *Bolotoo* and *Papalangi:* the accounts they
give of the latter place are ludicrous enough.
The poet describes, among other things, the
animals belonging to the country, stating that
in the fields there are large pigs with horns,
that eat grass, and at the *mooa* there are
houses that are pulled along by enormous
birds. The women are described to be so
covered with dress, that a native of Tonga
coming into a house takes a lady for a bundle
of *Papalangi gnatoo,* (linen, &c.) and accordingly
places it across his shoulder to carry it
away, when to his great amazement the bundle
jumps down and runs off. One of these songs
describes the principal events that happened
during Captain Cook's visit, and which, excepting
a little exaggeration, is tolerably cor-

Goóa te hóli ger nófo ; cohái ténne áloo ? 533
Cá toógoo Vaváoo, móe mótoo lálo, 539
Lícoo o'ue, móe Váoo-áca,
Moĕ Hálla-vy' gi Máccapápa,
Máttalóco, mo fánga myfile,
A'na a Toótaw-i, béa Mofoóe,—
Iky' téoo toó gi he hífoánga,
Jío hífo gi he felów tafánga.
Toógoo he toogi-héa a Háfooloohów
Ger vála he gnáfi-gnáfi a Tofoóa mo Káo.

Alas! we are entering upon our voyage
By leaving Móoonga-láfa and Talów !
Anxious am I to stay; who can wish to go?
Departing from Vavaoo and her neighbouring isles,
And Licoo-óne, and Váoo-áca,
The road of springs near Maccapápa,
Mattaloco and the myrtle plain,
The cave of Tootaw-i, the beach of Mofooĕ,—
No longer can I stand upon high places*,
And look downwards on the fleet of small canoes.—
We must leave the crimson *gnatoo* of Hafoóloohów
To wear the coarse mats of Toofoóa and Káŏ!

The above is a translation as literal as the sense will allow of this song: it must not, however, be taken as a specimen of the best: it is given because it is the only one of this kind that Mr. Mariner is acquainted with.

Such are the names of their different kinds of songs, some of which are to be considered 533 177

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* This alludes to the Hapai islands being for the most part flat; and although Tofoóa and Káo are both high islands, yet they have not such steep descents as are common at Vavaoo. [133]

533 pieces of recitative, particularly those according [177] to the *Nuha* mode: others again have a considerable variety of tone, and approach to the character of European music: such for example are some of those to which we shall directly give expression according to the European
533 system of notation*. Those who are skilled in the
538 composition of songs and music often retire for several days to the most romantic and retired spots of Vavaoo, to indulge their poetic genius, and then return to the *mooa* with several new compositions, which they introduce at the first opportunity. The man who is related p. 251 to have cut off his own leg, was very expert in the composition of humorous pieces: but a man of the name Tengé was famous for the higher order of composition: he was one of the lowest *mooas* belonging to Hala A'pi A'pi: but he was much esteemed for his abilities. He was principal instructor of one of the classes (or bands) of singers.

With regard to the following seven speci-
533 mens of musical composition, it must be no-
535 ticed, that the first six belong to the kind of dance called *oola*, and the last to that called *mêë too buggi*. In respect of the *oola* it must be farther noticed, that it has two species of

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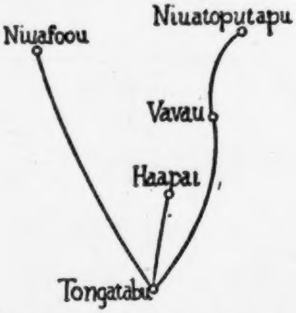
[192] * They have no distinction of term between recitative and actual singing, they call it all *hiva* (to sing); this word happens to mean also the number *nine*.

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

graphic propinquity. Actually Haapai and Vavau have only 86 names ex- 103
clusively in common, while Haapai and Tongatabu have 193, and Tonga-
tabu and Vavau 212. The evidence seems to point to some disturbing 103
historical factor, perhaps intermittent hostility such as was rife between 174
Haapai and Vavau during Mariner's sojourn in Tonga.

The situation revealed by the distribution of Tongan place names is [128]
roughly shown by the accompanying diagram which is based on the
assumption that the principal diffusion has been from the large groups to the small ones. Numerous minor diffusions have doubtless taken place, many of them being reciprocated—that is, for example, not only have names flowed outward from Tongatabu, but they have likewise flowed inward to Tongatabu.



The diagram, and in fact this whole discussion, tacitly assumes a pri- 128
macy for Tongatabu, not only politically, but also in length of period of 174
human occupation. In regard to this last point I should like to state that 172
kitchen middens several feet in depth are to be found in a number of
places in the Tongatabu group. With the exception of a thin surface of blackened soil with scattered shell, which I observed on Euakafa island in the Vavau group, I failed to find either in Haapai or Vavau any evidences of prolonged occupancy comparable with those in Tongatabu. Of course, the Tongatabu shell heaps may be interpreted as indicating a denser population, but it would be rash to entirely cast aside the theory of longer occupancy. Quite likely the magnitude of the shell heaps is due to both factors, longer occupancy and denser population.

SAMOAN PLACE NAMES IN TONGA

103
Five hundred and sixteen place names mentioned by Krämer[19] have 177
been examined for Tongan parallels. One hundred and one of the Samoan [128]

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[19] Krämer, Augustin, Die Samoa-Inseln, Stuttgart, 1902, 1903. [113]

103 names, or nearly twenty per cent, are employed in Tonga, being distributed
177 among the five groups as follows: Tongatabu 71, Vavau 47, Haapai 40,
Niuafoou 15, and Niuatoputapu 9.

The order of frequency of Samoan names in Tonga is very nearly the order of frequency of Tongan names. (See Table 1.) Again Haapai is out of accord with expectancy. Haapai has 1610 names against Vavau's 1513, yet Vavau has 47 names in common with Samoa against Haapai's 40. A full gazetteer of Samoan place names would probably maintain the proportions revealed by the present sample. Here, perhaps, is another clue to the anomalous position of Haapai in reference to the rest of Tonga. Tongatabu and Vavau have absorbed more Samoan place names than Haapai, or conversely, perhaps, Samoa has borrowed more names from Tongatabu and Vavau, than from Haapai.

[128] The high proportion of Samoan names found in Tongatabu is probably
due in some measure to the large number of place names (2264) in Tonga-
177 tabu, increasing the chances for Samoan parallels. On the other hand
174 there are some Tongatabuans with Samoan blood in their veins. Even
144 the line of Tui Kanokupolu chiefs now supreme in Tonga, sprang from a
643 Samoan woman, the mother of Ngata the first Tui Kanokupolu, who was
probably appointed about 1610. It is this line of rulers, half Samoan in
origin, who today hold the throne of Tonga, Her Majesty Queen Char-
177 lotte Tupou being the 21st Tui Kanokupolu. It seems clear therefore that
174 the high percentage of Samoan names in Tongatabu, more than a tenth
103 of those listed for Samoa by Krämer, is due to something more than the
operation of the law of chance.

177 It is worthy of note in this connection that of names shared exclusively
103 by Samoa and one Tongan group, Tongatabu and Samoa have 27, Haapai
and Samoa 7, Vavau and Samoa 7. In other words, of the 71 names
common to Samoa and Tongatabu, 27 are shared by Samoa and Tongatabu
[174] to the exclusion of other Tongan groups. This is very likely correlated
with the direct infusion of Samoan blood into the population of Tongatabu.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan Myths and Tales

COMPILED BY EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

INTRODUCTION

The printing press has undoubtedly done more to preserve the extant 114
Tongan myths and legends than has oral transmission. Fortunately both
the Wesleyan Methodist and the Roman Catholic churches in Tonga adopted
the broad policy of publishing in their Tongan language magazines many
stories from raconteurs now long dead. A number of tales presented in 127
the following pages are drawn from these sources.

A series of stories was recorded at first hand from Tongan narrators 124
during my nine months sojourn in Tonga in 1920-1921. For many of them
the published versions, rather than the tales of some elder relative, were
the relater's source of information. For such tales I have discarded the 128
oral account and have presented only a translation of the printed version. 127

European folk tales have also been published in Tongan for the delecta- 177
tion of the Tongan public. As a result I not infrequently found myself
recording some well known story, such as Cinderella or Dick Whitting- 538
ton's Cat, under a thin disguise of Polynesian names. There were also [124]
hybrid tales in which the leading roles were played by princes, princesses,
and premiers, or again by cats and ferocious mammals.

Through the diligent efforts of the late Reverend Father Francis Xavier 113
Reiter of the Catholic Church and of the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott of the 114
Methodist Church, a number of Tongan myths have been presented in the
anthropological periodicals Anthropos and Folk-Lore. Myths thus recorded 128
are not reproduced in this paper, except insofar as I secured variants or the
original Tongan text.

Modern Tongans have a distinct national pride and feel that they con- 186
stitute a nation superior to their neighbors. I am inclined to believe that
this national spirit is a survival from ancient times, which has been fanned
into fresh vigor under the astute guidance of that remarkable ruler, King
George I. Tupou. An undoubted manifestation of this patriotic feeling is [814]
the interest taken by many Tongans in the past of their nation. As a result 123
of this widespread interest the expedition met with hearty coöperation from
Tongans as well as from Europeans.

The interest of the educated Tongan in the past of his country is well 539
illustrated by the following Tongan verse written by the late chief Tafolo, 814
a scion of the Tui Tonga's house.

MISCELLANEOUS STORIES

TANGALOA AND THE CARPENTERS[131a]

539

There was a god named Tangaloa, who came down from heaven in ancient times. He brought a son with him. After sojourning awhile in Tonga they went over to Fiji. There they built a strong fort for themselves. It was so strong that none could enter there without its occupants' consent.

The Fijians were jealous of these carpenters and came and fought them. They tried and tried to take the fort, but without success. One day, one of the gods of Fiji came down and told the Fijians to let him fight for them against the god Tangaloa and his carpenters. This Fijian god commanded the rain to pour down. The rain came down very hard on the carpenters' fort. The wooden wall, which the carpenters had built round the fort, was water tight. It excluded the water, and after many hours of downpour the fort floated. The carpenters were thus scattered to all parts of the world. For this reason you are now likely to find carpenters in any part of the world, wherever you may go.

THE GIRL, THE SAMOAN, AND THE CAT[132]

There were once a king and a queen. In course of time the queen became pregnant and gave birth to a most beautiful girl baby who was called Sun. As the girl matured she was kept in a house with ten enclosures. She also had a house in the deep ocean. In the daytime she was taken to her house on shore and at night to her dwelling in the ocean. She was taken back and forth, so that no man should know where she was.

Time went on and a man in Samoa heard about her. His name was Moon. He prepared to seek the girl together with his cat. Together they journeyed until they reached the end of Samoa. There he stood, complaining thus: "What a pity Samoa ends here, for I will not be able to go and see the girl that I have heard about." His cat then told him to get on its back and they would go and see the girl in spite of having reached the end of the land. The man was in doubt and asked his cat: "Will you be able?" The cat answered: "Let us go and fulfill our wish." So they swam on and on until they reached a sunken reef. That was the girl's abode.

They dived down to the girl's residence, but as it was day when they arrived, she was on shore. The Samoan went to sleep. When night

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[131a] Told by David Tapueluelu, mayor of Neiafu, Vavau.

[132] Told by Utuvai, of Pangai, Lifuka island, Haapai. Probably adapted from Richard Whittington's cat, published in Tongan, in Koe Makasini a Koliji.

[113]
[177]

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tales and Poems of Tonga

By E. E. V. Collocott

PREFACE

The aim of this book is to allow the Tongan to interpret himself through 121
the mouths of his story-tellers and bards. The references given by Gifford
(22)[1] will guide the curious to other publications wherein further composi- 113
tions and traditions may be found. Most of the known myths and traditions 114
of legendary and historically great personages already have been published.
This collection consists largely of more homely pieces. 121

A well-known ethnologist, who has done notable work in widely sep-
arated Polynesian islands once remarked that, although it might seem to lay 000
him open to the suspicion of being somewhat lacking in scientific interest,
yet his great concern was not for the past but for the future of these
peoples. My own labors have been in missionary and educational under- [114]
takings, which aim at shaping the present so as to secure a happy and worthy
future. Missionary, educational, and governmental work must be guided
by sympathetic understanding of the people among whom it is undertaken.
It is hoped that this collection will add something to the intimacy of self- 121
revelation of a Polynesian people, and that there may be some gleanings for
the ethnologist. If I can do anything to quicken intelligent sympathy of
white people for the brown races of the Pacific, and to stimulate the con-
fidence that these peoples are possessed of intellectual and moral qualities
that demand respect, and will enable them to make their fit contribution to
the progress of the world, I shall have been well rewarded.

The Tongans, alone of Pacific peoples, have maintained an independent 642
native kingship under British protection and with white assistance. It were 177
to be wished that such a system of government were more widely employed
in the dealings of great nations with their more backward neighbors, who,
indeed, have much to teach as well as to learn from the citizens of more
powerful states. In Tonga there has been a very happy adaptation of
native custom to the demands of modern constitutional rule, and to the
conditions of modern commerce. There is a happy, virile people, healthily [181]
proud of nationhood, and kindly disposed towards the foreigner who has not
cast down the native chiefs from their ancient rank.

Besides publications to which acknowledgments appear throughout the 114
work, I should mention my use of the dictionaries of Baker (2), Mission-

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[1] The numbers in parentheses refer to the Bibliography, page 168. The superior figures refer to notes pages 129-167.

teeth were of ivory, and gleamed white upon the girl, and were very 539
beautiful. Then he spread two mats (*kie*), and lay with the girl. Then 773
Tuipulotu bade her take the mats, and return with her sisters to the world. 775
This is the reason of the custom in Tongan marriage of the mat of virginity, [585]
kie tangavai.[3] So they were saved alive.

The Demon and His House of Beautiful Men and Women

In this story no names are given, and the locale is not said to be Pulotu. Probably it is to be considered a brief variant of the foregoing, [177]
though there are differences of detail, and the ending may have been modified by European fairy tales.

There was once a *nifoloa,* whose house was built of beautiful men and women. The house was completed but for the ridgepole. Where the ridgepole should be was a space, left vacant to be filled by a person of flawless beauty. At last the demon discovered a girl whose beauty was in every way perfect, and she was led away to fill the empty space. As she went she wept, and when she was brought into the house the faces of those already built in grinned with envy of her loveliness.

But the demon was moved and softened by her loveliness and distress, and placed a substitute for her as ridgepole. Then he took her to the seashore, and bade her slay him; but this she could not bring herself to do; so he told her to go away, and he himself leaped into the sea. Thence he returned to her a handsome young man, and married her, and dismissed to their homes the men and women who had formed his house.

Lolongovavau, Daughter of Hina and Sinilau

Hina, the wife of Sinilau,[1] a handsome man of the midpart of Tonga, bore him a daughter. After a time Hikuleo came from Pulotu, and, entering Hina's house, bade them bring the child out into the center of the house. The parents obeyed weeping, supposing that their child was to be killed. Hikuleo ordered, however, that she be named Lolongovavau, and that she be taken to Pulotu, to be queen (*tui*) there. Hina's brother, [604]
Ofamaikiatama (Love to the child), said that he would go to Pulotu to look after her.[2] So Lolongovavau was taken to Pulotu, and placed in the [824]
palace (*fale hau*), and the two trees Pukolea (Speaking tree) and Akautalanoa[3] (Talking tree) came at once, and stood, each at a doorpost, to guard the girl. There were also the guards who stood to watch.

Now the maiden was very beautiful, and when she grew up, her uncle, seeing that the time had come for her to marry, went up to the world[4] to seek a handsome man to be her husband. He commenced his search in

on that. The rhythmic hollow drumming of the bamboos, and the move- 535
ments of the slowly-advancing winding line, were peculiarly effective. La- 533
billardière (27) mentions a kind of orchestra of thirteen musicians with
bamboos which they struck on the ground.

Sipa is a dance in which the movements are like those of the *lakalaka*, but the accompanying music is like a chanty (*tauaalo*). (See p. 121.)

A dance which enjoys a great vogue is the Fijian *meke*, or club dance. This is accompanied by the drum alone. A small party, including the drummer, or drummers, sits down at a distance from the dancers, who are all men, each carrying a club over his shoulder. The drumming commences, slowly and softly at first, but quickening in time and increasing in volume. There are shouts from the club-bearers and presently a single figure comes skirmishing forward. His steps keep time to the beats of the drum, as he comes on, bending this way and that, performing various evolutions with his club. He seems to be a sort of scout, or, more probably, a representative of the inciting and challenging to single combat which preceded battle. (I have seen the suggestion made, but I forget by whom, that the reason of the challenging gestures and insults which brought on one or more single combats before the battle became general, in primitive warfare may have had a religious motive, so that the enemy might be guilty of the *hybris* of striking the first blow.) The single warrior advances toward the party where the drummer is seated, but presently retreats again to the main party, which advances, sometimes with both hands on the handles of clubs, which are resting on shoulders, keeping time to the drum with hands and elbows, sometimes performing more intricate movements with club and body and limbs. As the warriors draw closer and closer the beats of the drum and the movements of the dancers quicken, though the rate of their advance is not appreciably accelerated. Heads and faces, bodies, arms and legs, are all expressive of the spirit of the war dance. The tension and excitement of performers and spectators rise higher and higher. It seems as though the dancers will break and rush upon the party with whom the drummer sits, and upon the spectators. Suddenly there is a shout and a dramatic stop. The inciting drumming ceases, and the dancers move quietly away. The *meke* is ended.

The realism of this dance is increased by smears of black on the per- [302]
formers' faces, plumes stuck in the hair, and rattles of dried beans about [301]
ankles and wrists—adjuncts used in all dances. [534]

Another very popular dance is the *mauluulu*, said to be introduced from [177]
Samoa. This is a women's sitting dance, though sometimes a line of men
standing behind keep time with various movements. The music may
be provided by drum, voices, or both. The performers themselves usually 535
sing. The women sit cross-legged, and keep time with slight movements

535 ment rather than a set exhibition, though it is said that previously all the dancers in a *tauolunga* performed the same movement. The *meetaki* is said to be a variation of the *tauolunga*.

The *tafoe* seems to be especially a women's dance. I have not seen it performed, and from the differences in the information regarding it, it would seem not to be familiar to living Tongans. It belongs to dances included under the term *mee*, and is performed by two or three rows of women. It would seem that men might sometimes join in, as an informant has given an arrangement of three rows, in which men and women alternate, or in which men are grouped at one end and women at the other. The front row was called *otu mua*, the second *lango-matai*, and the third *mateiholo*. These names probably may be applied to the rows in other dances. The middle position in the front row in all dances is called *vahenga*, and is the principal place in the dance, those who occupy it being called simply *vahenga* or *taofi vahenga*. They are the best dancers, or the most chiefly persons in the dance, the *mata oe faiva* (face of the dance). Next in importance to the *vahenga* are the two ends of the front row. This position is called simply *faka-potu* (extremity).

In the story of the marriage of the lovely Vae to the Tui Tonga Takalaua (22, p. 60), who reigned about the middle of the fifteenth century, presumably the performers were all women, and the dance may have been the *tafoe*, though one account says that it was a Fijian dance that was being
535 performed. The performance of a women's dance at an important cere-
836 monial doubtless furnished the occasion on which a high-born virgin did *liku*, danced naked, or perhaps girt with only a narrow cincture. This was not an immodesty, but, on the contrary, a vaunt, not only of beauty and high birth, but of chastity.

535 To take part in performances was not beneath the dignity of the highest
565 born. The Tui Tonga Takalaua's beating time for a dance has been noted. Labillardière tells of attending a vocal concert given by the queen, at which Fatafehi, a prince of the Tui Tonga house, sang and beat time. Although the *tafoe* is said to be a women's dance, the name suggests that it may have been a paddle dance.

535 In the *mee laufola*, the women stand and evidently the chief movements are with the hands. I have neither seen this, nor heard it described. Mariner (28, vol. 2, pp. 214-216) mentions this as a night dance, and as one of those
[177] witnessed by Cook. Mariner says this dance "is perhaps the only one which can be considered of Tonga invention, and is the only one accompanied with Tonga songs; the rest belong to Hamoa and Nuha (Niua), and are accompanied chiefly with Hamoa songs." He further describes it as "a dance with the arms outspread: it is also called *bo mee*;" *bo* [*po*] *mee* means night of dancing, and is not the name of a dance. Similarly a night of dancing is

539 *Dracaena* (possibly the leaf and streamer girdle, *sisi*), or whether it is *sii* (as written), the common, usually untranslatable, word of affection.

3. Fetoa and Toloke are evidently localities represented by the suitors.

[103] 4. The champion of Veifefe is Vaenuku, from Eua. Veifefe is the name of a tiny stream in Eua. The word is also written Veefefe.

Page 51. The transformation of Vaenuku's brother

[538] 1. This is the usual ceremonious and apologetic way of commencing speech; *uta* (shore) means the dwellers in the land; *hau*, the comers to the festival at which the poem is recited.

Page 52. Auka and Talataiva

[538] 1. There is a well-known proverb, *Ko ho'o foui ne fai*, "Your *foui* did it," equivalent to "It is your own fault."

[302] [585] [837] 2. This needless betrayal of an illicit amour seems strange, but with it may be compared the painting of brides with turmeric during the marriage ceremony. I have heard, though without much confirmation, that husbands sometimes safeguarded the fidelity of their wives during their absence by painting their bellies with turmeric. Obliteration of the design was evidence of unfaithfulness. Is there, behind all this, a blood ritual connected with sexual intercourse?

[538] 3. There is a well-known proverb, *tuapaki Auka* (relying on Auka) which indicates misplaced confidence (17, no. 552).

[825] Page 58. How the vete was taken to Hihifo

1. Haitau is called also Mufutaaetau (8, p. 228).

[776] Page 59. Flea and nit go fishing

539 825 The *matakelekele* is said to be a very strange-looking fish. For Samoa, Krämer gives *mataeleele* as *filoa* before it is fully grown (26, vol. 2, pp. 417, 419). There are indications that the *matakelekele* was once worshipped, a very intelligent informant saying that he heard a man say that sacrifices were taken to it.

[103] [551] 2. Haapepe and Haatafu are names of localities in Tonga. The not infrequent occurrence in names of *pepe* (butterfly) suggests that there may have been once a butterfly clan.

Pages 59-61. The club-footed children

539 1. In the course of the story three words used of supernatural beings are used of the demon: *nifoloa*, *faahikehe*, and *tevolo*.

[192] [782] [192] [197] 2. It would seem that the success of an incantation, or invocation, was achieved by preceding it by the word *tuputupu-le-fanua*. The form of the word is Samoan rather than Tongan, but it apparently is not known in Samoa, as it is not in Pratt's Dictionary. Tregear (34) defines Tuputupuwhenua as "a celebrated divine or semi-divine personage mentioned in Polynesian traditions. He is also called Tumutumuwhenua." Thus the incantation may have been originally an appeal to the being mentioned by Tregear.

[177] [845] [732] 3. The rock wall can hardly be an original feature in a Tongan story. This feature may be borrowed, or introduced lately, or the story itself may be a borrowed one into which some Tongan ideas are introduced. The mother's shame at the deformity of her children is characteristic. Tongans are more sensitive to physical blemishes than are Europeans.

Page 61. Tafakula and the origin of the papaya

[773] [824] 1. The sandalwood (*ahi*) of a ruddy brown color, is said to be especially associated with this goddess (8, p. 237).

Page 61. The Samoan and the Tongan exchange gifts

[196] [115] 1. The depreciatory effect of the reduplication of *niu* (nut) can perhaps be best rendered by the use of "near" in the sense in which it has become familiar as applied to beer. I heard this story told by Professor A. R. Brown, now of Sydney University.

172 764 The bottom tier, so entirely dominated by the limestone retaining wall that only an interval of 0.7 foot separates the inner edge of the wall from the outer foot of the retaining wall of the second tier, has an apparent outside height of 3.1 feet and an inside height of 3.4 feet. The outer side of the wall is practically perpendicular; the top, 4 feet wide, slopes gently upward toward the foot of the second tier. The individual stones of the lower tier are 8 to 18 feet in length, excepting the L-shaped cornerstone on the southeast corner, which measures 21.3 feet along the eastern side and 6.1 feet along the southern. The northeast cornerstone, also L-shaped, measures 14 feet along the northernmost side and 6 feet along the easternmost. There is a scarf projecting outward from the bottom of the wall, at a level with the adjacent surface of the land, which is 0.3 foot in width at places. This clearly indicates that the stones were finally dressed after having been set in position in the wall. Where the upward sloping top surface of the tier turns the northeast and southeast corners, a sharp though gentle angle is formed by the meeting of the beveled surfaces.

The second tier is 2.3 feet to 4 feet thick and 4.5 feet high. The top surface is horizontal but the outer surface slants from the base toward the mound to such an extent that the outer top edge of the wall is inset 1 foot from the outer base edge. The interval between the inner top edge of this wall and the outer surface of the top tier varies from 0.7 foot to 1 foot. The southeast and northeast corners are marked by large stones cut in an L-shape to turn the corners. The northeast cornerstones measures 4 feet along the northernmost side and 9.5 feet along the easternmost. Stones in this tier are 5 to 10 feet long.

The top tier, ridiculously small in comparison with the two lower, is 1 foot in height and averages 0.6 foot in thickness. It is perpendicularly placed and flat topped. Individual stones entering into its construction average 3 feet in length.

All the large stones in this langi are fashioned from the coral reef limestone, which made it possible to hew out the truly gigantic L-shaped cornerstones. The surfacing is extraordinarily smooth when the porosity of the material used is taken into consideration. All corners except those described are formed by overlapping stones in the usual Tongan manner.

172 764 There is no surface evidence of vaults in the langi. Tradition states that it was built by the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I, otherwise known as Telea. According to one story, Telea was drowned and his body never recovered; according to another, he is 173 [643] buried in this langi. The great stones are said to have been carried to Tonga from Uvea on an immense sailing boat called *Lomipeau* (13, p. 67). Uvea is a volcanic island while the stone used in the langi is coral, identical in every way to that of the reef exposures along the nearby coast.

172 764 [712]

27. Pangai (A-meeting-place) on the outskirts of the town of Feletoa, Vavau, between the two moats protecting the eastern outer wall of the old fortress (p. 82).

At first sight this langi appeared to be a Type A structure. However, closer examination disclosed fragmentary portions of three tier walls. The unusual state of [177] ruin characterizing this structure is due to the fact that many stones have recently been removed for building purposes by natives under European influence. This is the only known example of such vandalism in Tonga, and is in no way compatible with the known native attitude toward these monuments.

The dilapidated condition of the langi made it impossible to obtain a complete series of accurate measurements. The mound is now 10 feet high and the bottom platform was originally about 100 feet square. The stones in the retaining wall of the bottom tier are about 2 feet high, those in the top tier about 1.7 feet. The largest stone seen, in the bottom tier, measured 2 feet (apparent height) by 5 feet by 0.8 foot. As a stone adjoining this one had been quite recently removed, the depth to which it

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 **80. Fakauloula kai:** Doing a dance with the food.

264 A man who is distinguishing himself by fine trencher work, blissfully unaware that his performance is not giving as much satisfaction to his hosts or co-diners as to himself, may be called to his bearings by being asked not to do a dance with the food. An explanation has been offered to the effect that as the onlookers derive pleasure from the dance, so the greedy man behaves as though the spectators derived satisfaction from his exhibition. It may, however, be nothing more than a reference to the nimble movements that the food is being made to execute.

81. Fangafanga uu tau he tae: Preparing to eat, getting to rubbish.

Disappointed expectations, as of one who anticipates food, but finds that there is nothing but rubbish (literally dung) to eat.

539 **82. Fie uo kae kaipo:** Wanting friends (literally crowd) but selfish.

565
622 This is primarily applicable to the chiefs, about whom the people were
554 wont to gather. A chief who treated his people kindly and fed them well would find many happy to live with him. A chief who selfishly ate the best of everything himself was not taking the right measures to attract about him a numerous body of followers. So used of a man who, for the sake of prestige or companionship, desires to have many people about him, but who is too selfish to treat them with that generosity which will win their esteem and make them contented to live with him.

539 **83. Hange ha inu vai lolo:** Like drinking oil liquid, that is,
262 liquid adjunct to food into whose composition the expressed milk of the coconut has entered.

Coconut enters very largely into the preparation of native dishes and is also used alone as a relish to yams and vegetables in default of meat. The phrase indicates one who, if nothing better is offering, is quite ready to enjoy his food with a little coconut milk as the only relish. So used of a man who is easy to suit in the matter of food, and who shows no fastidious preferences.

539 **84. Inu ti inu kota, Kakapapalangi fakatonga:** Drink tea, drink
272 *kota;* European fashion, Tongan fashion.

273 The *kota* is an infusion of fermented coconut which has been ground
177 and strained. The phrase, which is of course modern, indicates one who at one time is anxious to adopt European standards and modes of life and at another clings to the old Tongan ways.

539 **85. Jii a maanga ngako:** Small mouthful (but) fat.

264 A small quantity of food which is tasty and luscious. Used generally of that which is small in quantity but of excellent quality. (Compare No. 203.)

cabulary this phrase seems out of place in Tonga, a country almost entirely without running water. 539 823 312

328. Tafe jino i vai: Perhaps flowing as a body of water.

Pratt (Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan language), translates *tafetinoivai:* "to flow in the river bed." It is used in Tongan of that which is manifestly good and may indicate a distinct, clear-flowing, volume of water in contradistinction to scattered streamlets. Except for a few tiny rivulets in Eua the Tongan group is without surface flowing water, and so such an expression would seem to have originated in Eua, or, perhaps more probably, to have been brought from Samoa. [177]

329. Ta jino-i-vai: Cutting out body of water.

Water making for itself a channel, and becoming a manifest body of water. Like the preceding, this expression is applied to that which is clean, unsullied, as well as to that which is manifest.

330. Tuutuu mounga: Standing (on) mountain. 539

Applied to one who is out of reach by reason of rank or the protection of those of high rank. 823 554

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS

TONGATABU AND EUA

[Tongatabu the chief island of the group, and the seat of Government. It is one of the most southerly of the Tongan Islands. On its southeast side is the high and beautiful island of Eua, separated from Tongatabu by a narrow but very deep strait.] 131 133

331. Hange ko Manaki: Like Manaki. 539

Manaki is a high towering rock in the island of Eua, and is a very prominent feature in the landscape. Used of that which is obvious. (Compare No. 252.) 823

332. Hange koe Matafota: Like Matafota.

Matafota is a place in the sea between Eua and Tongatabu, which has passed into a proverb for its roughness. (See No. 342.)

333. Koena pe he Tuatoi: Tuatoi is just over there.

Tuatoi is a place in Eua at a considerable distance from Ohonua, the chief centre of population. Used in an ironic or deceptive way to one who asks how far a place is away. The one inquired of may just point in an offhand way and say, "Oh, Tuatoi is just over there," but when the one who asked comes to walk the distance he will find that he has a long way to go.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 . (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 184 576 574 276

354. Faka-Niuniua-foou: Niua Foou fashion.

Tongans generally do not ask a stranger his name directly but ask a third person who knows him, whereas the people of Niua Foou make no scruple of a point blank inquiry. Hence to ask anybody his name directly is to act in the Niua Foou way. There is a special application to kava drinking. The *matabule* who is directing the brewing and distribution of the drink may not know the names of all present. A very common proceeding in such as case is to quietly inquire of one sitting near who so-and-so is; but he may say "We'll do Niua Foou way," and then without further invitation the strangers will each tell their names, or someone who knows them will name them out.

OTHER LOCALITIES

539 183

355. Faji pe jila tuku ki Manono: Boom broken—leave it to Manono, or boom broken, impute it to Manono.

Either of these expressions is a literal translation of the words. The origin of the phrase is obscure, but it is applied in two ways in accordance with the two translations given: 1. When a thing is broken, leave it to such a one, or to certain people who are skilled craftsmen and will mend it; 2. When a thing is broken, impute the blame for the mishap to so-and-so.

539 829 177

356. Hange ha tama Polataane: Like a British man.

This indicates one of martial aspect. Presumably the Tongans in the days of their first contact with European seamen grew accustomed to the sight of fully armed landing parties.

539 643 466 264 823

357. Koe aho ni ape e tuku ki Uvea: Today apparently is to be left to Uvea.

When the Tui Tonga had a big piece of work on hand, as for example building or repairing his boat, the *Akihenho*, the duty of feeding the carpenters was apportioned among the various districts in rotation, even as far as Uvea. The Uveans lived a long way off, and on their day the workmen frequently went hungry. So on any day when it was not clear whether any food would be forthcoming for them or not the carpenters were wont to say, "H'm, looks as though today were being left to Uvea." Used generally of uncertainty whether a desired event will happen or not.

539 823 177 609

358. Ko Vaihi e: That's Hawaii.

Indicates that which is far off and impossible. Much as English people speak of asking for the moon. "Did you get such a thing?" "That's Hawaii," that is, I have as much chance of getting that as I have of getting Hawaii. We are unable to say with certainty, but think it probable that this name Vaihi is no old recollection preserved in Tongan tradition, but a recent innovation since the visits of European vessels. A variation of this is *Ko Vaihi mataloaloa*, that is, yellow-eyed, or yellow, Hawaii; but we do not know the reason of the epithet.

387. Maomao ki taovala: Ready, prepared with *taovala.* 539

The *taovala* is the girdle, usually a piece of mat, put round the waist 292
before going into the presence of a chief. The phrase means to have the 183
taovala always handy to be used whenever needed; hence to be prepared for any emergency that may arise.

388. Pule Taoa: Taoa finery.

Pule is literally "spotted," "variegated," as the design in some cloths, 539
or the markings of a cowry shell. This expression is modern and is 291
applied to an European print with a big, gaudy pattern. It is said that 177
one day several women from Taoa, a village in Vavau, went into a store in Neiafu and bought some prints, apparently of rather striking designs. While they were still in the store a man came in and, seeing their purchases, remarked in the words of this expression "Taoa is going in for spots," and the phrase has stuck.

389. Tui momoa: Dry knee, that is, a knee that is hard and dry 539
through exposure to the weather. 291
735

A woman's ordinary dress should descend below the knee; an exception is made of the festive dresses worn in dances and sometimes on other ceremonious occasions. This expression indicates primarily a woman so poor that she cannot afford a sufficiently broad piece of cloth for her waistcloth, and so has her knees exposed to the sun and rain and wind. It is used derisively of a poor person.

390. Vala kovi fie kofu silika: Bad loin-cloth wanting to be silk 539
dress. 291
554

Evidently modern. The point is rendered plainer if the statement is correct that in the early days silk cost as much as £5 a yard. Used of a commoner who wants to act the chief.

FACIAL EXPRESSION AND GESTURES

391. Faka-alinga lelei: Making a fair showing. 539

This expression carries the implication that there are faults behind the 828
pleasant exterior or that an amiable face may be the mask assumed by very unfriendly feelings.

392. Faka-pula-matai: Making eye swell.

Used of a very angry man, whose eyes protrude in his rage. May be 539
152
used also of the victim of this rage, whose eyes may swell with vexation 201
and grief, or who may even get a swollen eye through the physical application of the other man's anger; in this sense not unlike the English vulgarism of giving anyone a thick ear.

539 **420. Teketeke tuakoi:** Pushing one, sitting with his back to mine.

516 This was sometimes done in sport, two people sitting back to back and
526 pushing against each other. Frequently others would join in helping one or
423 the other side. A proverbial use of this expression does not seem to be
571 known today, but Baker gives: "To push away or remove the landmark of
another to increase his own," which evidently pictures two contiguous compounds as sitting back to back.

539 **421. Hiki moe faliki:** Moving with the floor.

352 The floor of a Tongan house is formed of dry coconut leaves strewed
484 on the ground and covered with mats. A man in shifting quarters will not
usually takes these flooring leaves with him, but this expression indicates a migration so complete that it leaves the ground bare; house, floor, and everything being on the march.

539 **422. Kama e mea ae api kehe:** Attending to the thing in another's
829 home.

571 This is much like No. 423, used of one who neglects his own business and attends to that of other people. (See No. 346.)

423. Kama noa he mea ae api kehe: To exert oneself for nought in the affairs of another compound.

To use one's energy in labors from which he will get no return; the fruit of his labors will go to those who own the compound.

539 **424. Lepa tali ki langi:** Cistern dependent on the sky; a cistern
312 which is filled only by the rain.

The whole matter of water supply and conservation has been modified,
[177] of course, by the introduction of European roofing-iron and tanks. Of the
[178] cisterns dug formerly by the people some were filled by carrying water from
springs; others were filled only by rain. As notable examples of rain-filled
cisterns mention is made of natural holes in the rocks near the sea on the
[821] islands of Fotuhaa in Haapai, and Niua Foou. We cannot say whether
any such expression as this was used in pre-Christian days to express the dependence of man on the gods, but it is used now of the reliance of man on heaven.

539 **425. Takamilo jiko i tua peito:** Going round defecating outside
261 cook-house.

515 One should not bring any defilement near the place where his food is prepared, nor should he in any way dishonor his own home. The expression is much like the English proverb about a bird fouling its own nest. (See No. 417.)

539 **426. Tu mo hokohoka:** Lighting and dabbing, that is, lighting a
372 fire and then dabbing the end of the lighted sticks on the
261 ground to extinguish them; frequently lighting a fire and letting it go out.

Applied to frequently preparing food during the course of one day.

539 **448. Nonofo nonofo iloa ae tae oe nonofo:** Living together, living
592 together, the excrement of the living together (or of those liv-
829 ing together) is discovered.

571 Baker renders it: "To live together for a length of time, and then find out the evil of so doing." This seems a very likely meaning, but the expression is also explained as equivalent to the English, "It's an ill bird that fouls its own nest."

539 **449. Tangi ke vikia kae au ae kainga:** Desiring to be praised
622 but the relatives badly off.

565 This particularly indicates a chief who makes a liberal distribution of
602 his food and other wealth, but overlooks the claims of his own immediate
431 followers. He may earn the reputation of generosity from numerous people who have benefitted by his ostentatious gifts, but those whom every consideration of justice and gratitude should have recommended to his most kindly treatment are left to suffer want. Also written, *Holi ke vikia*.

539 **450. Hala a jinifu:** Wrong-doing of concubine.

595 Wrong-doing, punishment for which involves others besides the actual
183 offender. If one of the wives of a chief proved false to her lord the whole
577 harem shared her guilt and punishment.

539 **451. Ofoofa a kui:** Love of grandparent.

603 The love of grandparents is very sincere but their anger is to be
dreaded, as in their wrath they may strike the offending grandchildren how
571 and where they will. The love of one whose affection is undoubted, but whose position of authority is such that he may punish without let or hindrance.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

539 **452. A maumau taimi:** Awake, wasting time.

584 Applied, for instance, to the man who spends his evenings wooing a
girl whom he has no chance of winning. Used also in derision by the war-
[726] riors inside a fortress to the foe whom they see outside watching early and late for an opportunity to force an entrance.

[177] In its present form with its employment of *taimi*, a corruption of the English time, this phrase is modern, but with the slight change to *A maumaunoa*, waking to no purpose, it may well be ancient.

453. Anefe ha taha a Majilamea: When was there anyone of Majilamea?

A beautiful chiefly girl of Vavau was courted by a chief of Majilamea in Vavau. This gentleman was not a very glib speaker nor apparently was he very lavish with his gifts to the lady. His courting was evidently a rather dull infliction on the damsel. She was wooed and won by another man who was not a chief, but who had the art of pleasing speech and the

554. Fele a toua: *Toua* is widely scattered, that is, a multitude 539
in the *toua*. 276

The *toua* (pronounced to-wa) are those who sit where the kava is 554
prepared in a kava ceremony; they are, for the most part, people of no rank and do not drink the kava, that privilege being reserved for their superiors in the *alofi*, or chiefly circle. This expression then indicates a big crowd of people who do not count for much.

555. Fufu mo kokohu: Clapping (the hollowed hands) and dust 539
rising. 276

When there is a shortage of kava the people are constrained to use the little rootlets projecting from the thick part of the main root which in times of plenty they would throw away. To cleanse these rootlets of adhering earth they are rubbed in the hands, then held in the hollow of one hand while the other hand is beaten down on top of them, thus causing dust to arise. This expression is used in a deprecating way by a man who has only a small piece of kava to offer to his friends, and indicates that with this small piece he is completely at the end of his resources.

556. Molumalu faka-fono: Good appearances, *fono* fashion.

The *fono* is the food served with the kava. The distribution of food [264]
with kava is frequently a mere formality to comply with ceremonial requirements, and the little food given out is seldom eaten. The phrase indi- [576]
cates therefore appearances that are only appearances without any solid backing of substance.

557. Nofo e fononga kae eke kava: The visitors having no 539
share, but asking for kava; or perhaps more intelligibly, asking 276
for kava, but the visitors having no share in it (literally, the 574
visitors sitting, that is, just sitting quiet without part or lot in what is going on).

If guests arrive at one's house it is proper to prepare kava to greet them. This phrase indicates one who should ask for and obtain kava but then takes it off and uses it for some other purpose, neglecting the obvious duty of polite hospitality of preparing the beverage to greet his visitors.

WAR

558. Fakalali pakola: Like drum of prisoners of war, that is, 539
the peculiar beating of the drum indicating that prisoners had 727
been taken. 266

Cannibalism was only sporadic in Tonga, and never widespread. The word *pakola* is of Fijian introduction, and in Fiji indicated prisoners of war designed for the oven. Baker considers it an introduced word from Fiji, [177]
used in a low way for "Die, you wretches." In Fiji, therefore, the *pakola* [192]
drum would seem to indicate that the butcher was about to call, but such a meaning can never have been general in Tonga.

Each end for a length of about 12 inches is solid. The intervening space between each of these solid regions and the near-by boom is usually decked over with transverse planking, the innermost board with a mast hole in the center, an arrangement which permits the canoe to be sailed either end forward; this is associated with a float sharp at each end. The rig in use is, [177] however, derived from a European type; no canoe is now rigged in the manner current at the [178] time of the discovery of the islands. In one canoe a wide triangular platform, nearly equilateral, covers each end of the hull, the lateral angles projecting outboard a little distance; this platform is to give footing to the fisherman when spearing fish.

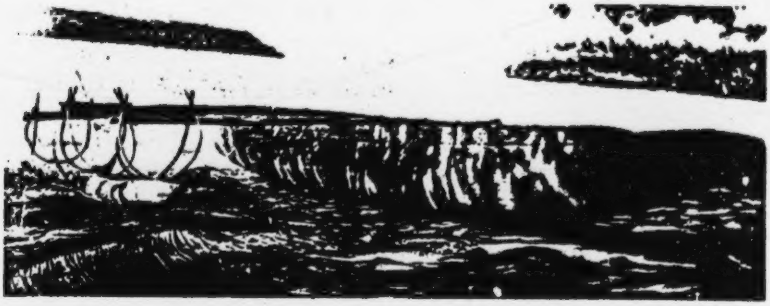

FIGURE 183.—Tongan inshore canoe (*tuinguto*) of Vavao with three booms, each with two pairs of U connectives, typical of the Vavao attachment (photographed in 1925).

In some small canoes the central space or well between the booms is surrounded by a box-like structure consisting of two long side boards, forming rude washstrakes connected at the fore and after ends by a transverse board or breakwater. In the larger ones with three booms, the washstrakes are more typical and extend nearly the whole length of the hull; they are generally closed in at each end by a low transverse breakwater. (See fig. 184.)

Two or three thwarts rest loose upon the edges of the dugout hull at its junction with the washstrake.

Most of the smaller canoes, 16 to 18 feet long, are provided with two straight outrigger booms, fitted horizontally, and the larger, ranging from about 20 to 30 feet in length, with three. The booms may either be slender *toa* (*Casuarina*) poles or somewhat stouter bamboos.

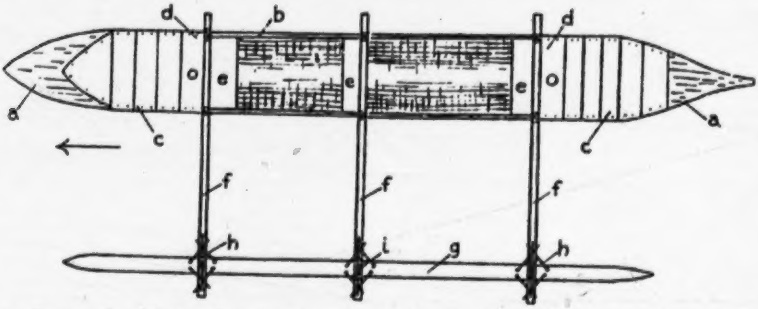

FIGURE 184.—Modern Tongan *tuinguto*: *a*, solid ends; *b*, washstrakes; *c*, cross planking covering space between each outer boom and adjacent solid end of underbody and nailed upon edges of washstrakes; *d*, mast thwart at each end enabling outrigger to be kept to windward on any course; *e*, loose paddling thwarts resting on edges of underbody; *f*, booms; *g*, float; *h*, stanchion connectives; *i*, horizontal rod holding stanchions in position when outrigger is dismantled, when in use lashed upon upper side of boom.

The

booms are attached to the float in the normal way by paired stanchions but there 501 are indications in addition of the use of bracing cords, as lines are shown passing 175 around the float at the places where the stanchions are inserted. Over the outboard 284 region of the four booms is lashed a rude fore and aft staging of planks. From the starboard side a balance spar giving purchase to a shroud projects far outboard, its inner end lashed upon or to the side of the second boom.

Unlike the ordinary *tafa'anga,* this large vessel, which has a crew of four, is 501 fitted for sailing. A mast, short and vertical, is stepped apparently upon or just forward of the first boom. The precise form of the sail can not be determined as it is partially furled by being loosely tied up to the mast by a rope passed around it, midway up; from the masthead run a fore stay to the head of the canoe, a side stay or shroud to the outer end of the balance spar, and another, on the opposite side, to the outer end of the second boom, also a back stay to the stern.

[175]

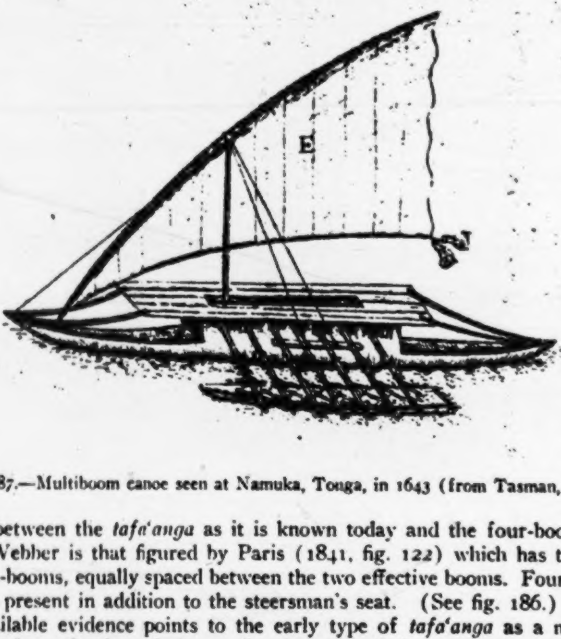

FIGURE 187.—Multiboom canoe seen at Namuka, Tonga, in 1643 (from Tasman, 1898).

A link between the *tafa'anga* as it is known today and the four-boom design drawn by Webber is that figured by Paris (1841, fig. 122) which has two accessory pseudo-booms, equally spaced between the two effective booms. Four paddling thwarts are present in addition to the steersman's seat. (See fig. 186.)

The available evidence points to the early type of *tafa'anga* as a multiboom canoe which by reduction of the median booms both in number and length has evolved into the present design of two effective booms and a median one of a vestigial character.

ANCIENT VOYAGING CANOE

The voyaging outrigger canoes had two forms, an earlier and a later. No [177] description has survived of the earlier type, which was displaced within historic times by a Fijian model. Tasman (1898, fig. 4), however, gives an illustration which depicts a vessel of kindred type to the Fijian *thamakau* but simpler in construction and differing in many important details (fig. 187).

501 The underbody, the hull proper, is without sheer, and is pointed and decked over at each end; in the median section, extending for considerably more than one third the length of the hull, a deep washstrake is fitted on each side, supporting seven athwart beams which project far out on the port side and to a short distance on the starboard side. To their outer ends on the port side a float is attached by pairs of convergent stanchions in the Samoan and Fijian fashion; the float is flat above, round-pointed in front and truncate behind. A wide planked platform is lashed upon the booms where they cross the hull. At both ends it projects beyond its supports, and on each side it also projects outboard some little distance. Two spars at each end connect the pointed end of the hull with each of the adjacent corners of the platform.
171 (In the Fijian *thamakau* there is one only of these connecting spars at each end, both upon the lee side.) No deck fittings are shown. Down the center of the platform a wide continuous hatchway opens into the body of the vessel, exactly similar in position to the long hatch over each hull in the contemporaneous double canoe (*tongiaki*).

The mast is short and vertical, fitted behind the first boom and well forward of the midlength of the hull; probably it was stepped upon one of the booms. Two shrouds pass on the weather side from below the masthead to a stringer lashed athwart the three median booms a few feet outboard; a forestay runs from the same point to the pointed head. No indication is given of a sheet, and halyards were unnecessary. The sail, triangular in shape, is laced or tied along the fore side to a stout curved yard, the foot being similarly fastened to a boom which is shown in the drawing as somewhat lighter than the yard. Instead of being hoisted by means of a halyard, the yard at about midlength rests in a deep fork at the masthead.
175 This unusual arrangement is confirmed by Cook when describing the rig of the *tongiaki*; it is an arrangement clumsy and dangerous in the extreme and it reflects ill on the ingenuity
177 of the Tongan sailors that they did not find any better way of hoisting their sail until nearly the end of the eighteenth century, when they adopted without modification the highly efficient method used by the Fijians. In Tasman's figure the heel of the yard is stepped on the fore decking between the two spars passing from the prow to the fore corners of the platform.

This type of canoe appears to have borne the same relation to its successor, the *vaka* or *hamatafua*, as the old Tongan double canoe did to the *kalia*; both this canoe and the *tongiaki* represent primitive and unhandy craft that gave place to improved types borrowed without alteration or improvement from the Fijians.

VAKA OR HAMATAFUA

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177
501
A voyaging canoe (*vaka* or *hamatafua*) built after the still-existing Fijian design of the *thamakau* displaced an older and indigenous type soon after the time when intercourse between Tonga and Fiji began to be active in the second half of the eighteenth century. Little information survives regarding its details except a colored figure (D'Urville, Atlas, 1833, pl. 78) and several line drawings (Paris, 1841, pls. 119, 121, fig. 10). The figures by Paris represent what is unmistakabably a copy of a finer type of Fijian *thamakau* than any now existing.

The hull remained much the same as in the older type, but the median platform, instead of projecting equally on each side, extended farther over the outrigger framing on the weather side and the long hatchway became two short ones in order to permit the mast to be stepped between them, immediately over the weather gunwale, and exactly amidships (fig. 188). On the weather side of this, partly over the outrigger frame, an elaborate form of thatched hut was erected, with an open stage and railing above its roof to accommodate the chief and his principal officers; various parts of the framework were adorned with egg-cowry shells.

Of the outrigger booms, three only were connected with the float, the attachment being by paired convergent stanchions; the greater number of the booms failed to extend outboard as far as the float, and became accessory booms functioning solely as supports for the deck platform. Spar struts connecting the ends of the hull with the corners of the platform were present only on the lee side as in the *thamakau*.

From the *thamakau* the design differed in only one particular: the two ends were similar and each was brought to a sharp point instead of one end being deep and sharp, to form a vertical cutwater, the other running fine to a small, ovately truncate extremity a few inches in diameter. Whether Paris is correct in showing the ends similar and sharp-pointed can not now be decided. He depicts the Tongan double canoes of the *kalia* design as having similarly sharp-pointed hulls, which is correct neither for the Fijian *thamakau* and *ndrua* nor for models of Tongan double canoes found in museums, which agree in this and other details with the

Fijian type. It is, nevertheless, not unreasonable to infer that during the transitional period when the change over in type was taking place, Tongans engaged in building large canoes in the Lau Islands of the Fiji Archipelago may have modified this part of the Fijian design to harmonize with the form of the canoe ends which characterized their older and indigenous model (compare Hodges' figures in Cook, 1777). The rig is typically Fijian. 501 175 177

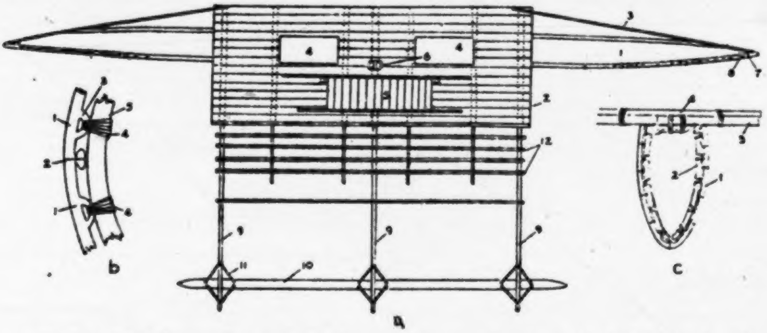

FIGURE 188.—Tongan *vaka* or *hamatafua*. *a*, plan: 1, end cover; 2, deck platform (*rara*); 3, strut between corner of platform and head of canoe; 4, hatchways; 5, deck hut; 6, mast shoe; 7, hole serving as step for heel of yard; 8, vertical hole through which tack of yard is made fast; 9, three main booms; 10, float; 11, paired stanchion connectives; 12, stringers. *b*, details of attachment of portion of rib to hull: 1, two hull planks joined at seam (*2*) by projecting flanges lashed together through perforating holes; 3, comb cleat, wrongly shown as vertical instead of horizontal, through which lashings (4) pass to secure it to inserted rib (5). *c*, cross section of hull showing ribs and their position within hull: 1, planks of hull; 2, inserted rib; 3, outrigger boom; 4, deck planking. (Ater Paris, 1841.)

Some memory of this type of outrigger canoe is still retained in Tongatabu. 501 The Rev. John Havea, a Tongan pastor well-known for his wide knowledge of native customs, informed me in 1925 that the proper term for this vessel in Tongatabu is *hamatafua*. It was, he said, a single outrigger of large size, rigged with one mast and a large triangular sail, but propelled by sculls in calms and contrary winds. He added that the hull might either be a very large dugout or be built up of planks sewn together in the manner of the *tafa'anga* and *kalia*. It could carry a considerable number of people.

The only reference in literature to this vessel under its rightful name is one by West (1865, p. 271), who relates how a number of the inhabitants of Atata, in order to escape from a raiding party from Namuka, "hastily manned a *hamatefua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened to be moored on the lee side of the island . . . Wind and sea carried them straight upon Ata, the Pylstart's Island of the charts, where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony".

The *hamatafua* appears to have lingered on till comparatively recent times, for Mr. L. B. Levin of Nukualofa stated to me that he saw what he believes was the last one in 1883 during a visit to Lafonga in the Haapai Islands.

Although this form of *vaka* was copied undoubtedly from the Fijian, it has 177 so many points in common with the older Tongan design that it seems probable 501 that the Fijian was evolved from one akin or similar to this old Tongan one. The presence of a number of accessory booms not connected with the float suggests derivation from a multiboom ancestor such as is seen in Tasman's Tongan figure. The changes in the form of the deck platform and its fittings are also such as would be expected as skill in canoe building advanced, and I am therefore of

501 opinion that this was actually the course of evolution. But this evolution took 177 place in Fiji, and not in Tonga.

It is unquestionable that the Fijians were notably the superiors of the Tongans [181] and Samoans in the art of canoe designing, although the Tongans could claim the credit of being the more skilful carpenters and the more daring and experienced navigators.

U Attachment

Of the three groups of islands in the Tongan Archipelago, in Vavao the U type [184] prevails to the virtual exclusion of the stanchion type, probably because there are no longer any large canoes in use there; in Haapai, it is predominant, whereas in Tongatabu it is found only in the fishing villages on the south and east coasts; on the more populous north coast of Tongatabu the stanchion type alone is in use.

This distribution might lead to the inference that the U type is of older employ- 501 171 ment in these islands than the stanchion type. Against this conclusion have to be placed two facts. The first is that both in the canoe types surviving in Tonga and in those that have disappeared there is the closest possible affinity with those of Samoa except in regard to the U attachment, which the Samoans have certainly never employed since European contact; neither has there ever been any suggestion that they had it previously. The second fact is that both Tasman and Cook, the one in 1643 and the other in 1773, figured the stanchion attachment as the one in use at the time of their visits. So also did D'Urville and Paris. It seems probable that the Tongans, originally an offshoot from the same stock as the Samoans, had primitively the Samoan stanchion attachment, subsequently modifying this for use only in their smaller canoes into the U type, which may be a localized modification of a pair of stanchions inserted in the float in a Y or V manner, or may be a comparatively recent introduction from some non-Polynesian locality. It is a form of attachment unknown in Polynesia outside of Tonga.

There is evidence that Tongan voyages, usually involuntary, extended to New [484] Caledonia, and it is known, for example, that Wallis Islanders were drifted to the Loyalties about the beginning of the nineteenth century (Lambert, 1900, pp. 501 54-55). Many of these castaways remained there and formed permanent settle- 177 ments in Uvea, Lifu, and other islands, but we may be sure that some returned 178 home, and it may be that in this we have the explanation of the occurrence of the U connective in Tonga.

In New Caledonia the shank of the Y connective in use there is sometimes so deeply inserted into the float that it becomes reduced to an approximation to the V type. The Tongan form may have arisen from the substitution of this modified Y form for two stanchion connectives—the ordinary Tongan attachment. The V part of the device, increasing in relative importance at the expense of the shank, might assume eventually its present form, a broad and deep U-shaped section lashed at the base to two diminutive pegs, the homologues of the original stanchions or a duplication of the shank of the Y. The introduction of the U connective may have taken place at a comparatively recent date; there is reason to believe that the southern New Caledonians adopted the *ndrua* form of double canoe from the Tongans, who did not begin to change over to this design until the latter part of the eighteenth century, as is learned from the accounts of Cook and others; the sketches given by Tasman, Cook, and Paris of Tongan canoes, the *tafa'anga* in particular, all show the connectives as paired stanchions and none make any allusion to the U form.

Corroboration of the course of evolution above outlined is afforded by the form of attachment seen in a canoe of Mare, in the Loyalty Islands, where, although a Y connective is employed, a very short peg is inserted into the float at each side of the shank of the Y, to which both pegs are lashed. This would appear to represent an intermediate phase between the New Caledonian Y and the Tongan U attachment. 501 178 [171]

On the other hand, it is possible that the U attachment was introduced into Tonga by a section of the Indonesoids who were the last-comers into Polynesia. In the extreme eastern islands of Indonesia the U attachment, but in the single U form, is common and occurs in the same Moluccan localities as the *orembai* and its near relatives. A double U attachment, but undercrossed, occurs along the whole coast of New Britain and in the Witu Islands: in San Cristoval at the south end of the Solomon Islands it recurs and this time in the overcrossed condition. However, in all these instances the U withies are attached to the float by cord lashings passed around the float itself. I incline to the conclusion that the U attachment seen in Tonga, where the withies are attached to accessory pegs and thereby have indirect attachment, has had a different origin as suggested above. Further, what evidence we have indicates that the U attachment is too recent in Tonga to have been introduced from a comparatively ancient Indonesian source. 501 171 177

The story of Oceania contains many instances of the substitution of new designs for old in canoe details; the islanders are receptive and quick to recognize and adopt any detail in the design of canoes of other islands which by accident or otherwise come under their notice. Instances in point within recent times are the adoption by the Marquesans of a plank connective in place of paired stanchions and the Samoan utilization of the whaleboat design in the construction of their great modern paddling canoe, the *taumualua*, displaced in the present century by the long *fautasi*, rowed by many oars.

DOUBLE CANOES

TONGIAKI

The *tongiaki* was the form of double canoe in use in Tonga till toward the end of the eighteenth century, when the Tongans began to substitute the Fijian *ndrua* (Tongan *kalia*) as a more serviceable and weatherly craft. Fortunately several excellent illustrations of the *tongiaki* and a fairly full description by Cook himself exist. It happened that the change-over of types was beginning when Cook visited the islands in 1773 and 1774; he saw both and has several references to each. 501 175 [178] [177]

Schouten (1619, p. 39) came across a *tongiaki* off Tafahi (called by him "Cocos Island") in 1616; it had been drifted out of its course and the crew were in a starving condition:

> [The vessel consisted of] two long and handsome canoes connected together but at some distance apart. Along the midships region of each, two broad planks of red wood were secured upon the edges [one on each side]: across these [washstrakes] small beams were laid [from hull to hull] and over them a platform of planks, the whole carefully fitted and made watertight with all the parts strongly lashed together. Toward the fore part of the starboard hull was stepped a short mast, forked at the top, on which was slung the sail: this was of matting and made after the fashion of those carried by Spanish boats [i.e., the lateen]. . . . Their cordage was strong and well laid. [See fig. 189.] [284] [285] [283]

Two days later they came across two other vessels of the same kind and the chronicler records:

> The crew of one of them had aboard their vessel a canoe which they could launch whenever the occasion required. [Compare the Samoan custom of shipping two *va'a-alo* aboard [171]

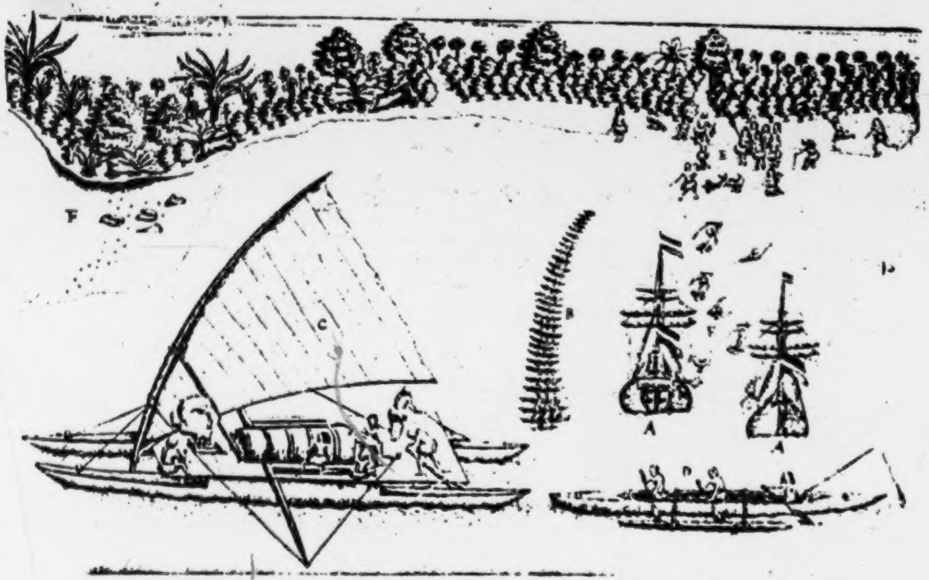

FIGURE 190.—Tongan *tongiaki* seen off Tongatabu in 1643, masthead crutch-shaped, two steering paddles in action; right, bonito fishing canoe (*tafa'anga*), fishing rod correctly shown behind aftmost paddler (after Tasman, 1898).

175
501
226
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177
291

shows the deck hut some distance aft of the mast, and the peculiar shoe in which the mast is 175
stepped; a balance spar is present, abreast the mast but projecting only on the port side of the 501
port hull, and a series of small step cleats are shown on the after side of the mast, as well as 502
two broad cleats on opposite sides of the yard at the point where it rests on the forked masthead—features not present in the central figure. A third double canoe on the left in the drawing, though the hulls and platform are those of the *tongiaki*, has the mast stepped amidships, with deck fittings typical of the *kalia*.

Discrepancies are also seen in the drawing of a double canoe in an aquatint by 175
Webber, who accompanied Cook on his third voyage (fig. 193): 501

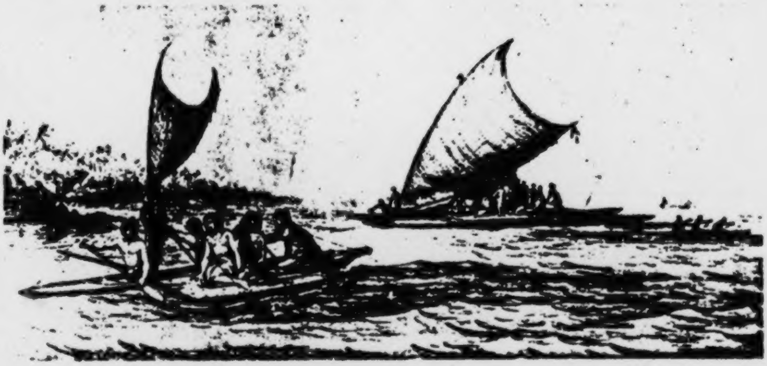

FIGURE 193.—Tongan canoes seen on Cook's third voyage: center, a *tongiaki* having *kalia* features; left, four-boomed sailing outrigger with mast up and sail partly furled against it; balance spar on off-side (aquatint by Webber, published in 1791).

This vessel must be classed as a *tongiaki*, for the hulls are of equal dimensions and are similar in form, with a median row of knobs on each end decking as in the *tafa'anga*. The platform is not raised on a deep median washstrake as in the *kalia*, and there are no spars connecting the head and stern of one hull with the two lee corners of the platform. Conversely, the sail is slung by halyards from the masthead instead of resting in a fork or crutch and appears to be stepped amidships. No balance spar is shown, and the deck hut appears to have a platform over its roof, all characteristics of the *kalia* design.

It is most unlikely that Hodges and Webber should both by mistake mix up
in their drawings the characteristics of the two types. The reasonable explanation [177]
of the departures from the *tongiaki* design shown in their figures is that the *kalia* design—a copy of the Fijian *ndrua*—which at the time of Cook's visits was in course of introduction into Tonga, had been adopted in part only by some of the Tongan chiefs; the inference is natural that, at the beginning of the transition phase, certain of the old *tongiaki* hulls were equipped with the rig and deck fittings of the *kalia*. Only by such hypothesis can the discrepancies noted be explained satisfactorily. A parallel is found in Rotuma.

The *tongiaki* required a steering paddle in each hull: Collocott and Havea 175
(1922, p. 91) state that three were sometimes required for these vessels. They 501
remark also that in fine weather one man apiece sufficed but that when it was 502
stormy more were needed.

The principal features wherein the *tongiaki* differed from the *kalia* were: 1, in 175
the approximate equality of the two hulls; 2, in sailing, the same ends were always 501

175 501 directed forward and in consequence the manipulation of the sail was entirely different; 3, the mast was much shorter and had a forked head in which the yard rested, with the tack of the sail confined by ropes between the prows and not stepped at the fore end of one hull; 4, the presence of an outrigger balance spar; 5, the deck platform was relatively larger and extended considerably farther aft than in the *kalia*; 6, the deck shelter was a tunnel-shaped hut without a platform above the roof.

501 [538] It is common tradition in Tonga today that the *tongiaki* was a notoriously difficult and dangerous craft to handle in bad weather and one not able to beat to windward. It was essentially a fair-weather vessel, a fact pithily expressed in the Tongan proverb, "Takanga a tongiaki", literally, a "*tongiaki's* company", said of a fair-weather friend. Collocott and Havea (1922, p. 91) says: "A couple of these canoes might sail along in company in fair weather, but if a storm sprang up neither could rely much on the other for assistance".

501 502 [484] The clumsiness and lack of weatherly qualities of the *tongiaki* contributed very largely, if indeed not mainly, to the involuntary colonization by Polynesians of several islands well within the Melanesian area. As Thomson (1908, p. 295) remarks, the rig of the vessel enabled it

> [184] . . . to lie close to the wind on one tack, but on the other the sail was broken up into pockets by the mast, which held the wind and stopped all headway. Consequently it was the practice to wait for a fair wind, and set the sail on what would be the lee of the mast, and if the wind changed there was nothing for it but to change the course. It was, no doubt, this fact that led to so many Tongans' being cast away on remote islands, and to the mixing of Polynesian with Melanesian blood.

501 505 [175] According to the Prince Consort William Tungi, the huge stones of the Haamonga trilithon were quarried at Uvea (Wallis Island) and transported to Tongatabu on an exceptionally large *tongiaki* built on Uvea for the purpose. Collocott and Havea (1922. p. 55) also mention what is probably a variant of the same tradition: a double canoe, the "Lomipeau" (erroneously termed a *kalia*), was used to convey from Uvea many of the stones required in the building of some of the royal supulchral langis on Tongatabu. Another version, recorded by Wilson (1799, p. 284), who was in Tongatabu in 1797, though averring that the langi stones came from Lifuka in the Haapai Islands, confirms the statement of their transport by means of double canoes, according to information which he received from the "Futtafaihe".

KALIA

175 177 501 [171] [484] Like the *'alia* of Samoa, the Tongan *kalia* is in no essential particular different from the Fijian *ndrua*. In Cook's time, 1773-74, the Tongans had begun to acquire some of these magnificent craft from the Fijians in substitution for their smaller and more primitive form of double canoe, the *tongiaki*. A few years later the process was accelerated and Thomson (1908, p. 295) states that "from 1790 to 1810 it had become the custom of Tongan chiefs to voyage to Fiji in their clumsy *tongiaki*, join in the native wars, and take as their portion of the loot Fijian *ndrua*, in which they beat back to Tonga; and in a very few years the *tongiaki* was extinct".

These *kalia* were also built in the Lau Archipelago of Fiji in later years by Tongan carpenters sent there for this purpose by their chiefs. Whether the design was modified in minor details is uncertain. Models of the Tongan *kalia* do not depart from the Fijian design in any respect, but in the figures given by Paris (1841, pls. 118, 121), the ends of both the hulls are shown pointed and similar,

the identical form, indeed, that they had in the older type, the *tongiaki*. Whether 175
Paris' figures are correct in this particular is uncertain; in details his figures 177
sometimes show minor inaccuracies, though as already stated there probably was 501
a transitional period when old *tongiaki* hulls were adapted to the new design borrowed from Fiji. A model which I saw being made in Lifuka in 1925 for the [467]
Prince Consort by an old Tongan carpenter had the Fijian form of head and stern, and the builder, who was reputedly 93 years of age and the last survivor of the old carpenters' guild, asserted that such was the normal and correct shape.

Another difference to be noted is that Paris figures the heel of yard as stepped in a hole at the extreme end of the hull (fig. 188, *a*, 7), instead of lashed against an angular ridge socket not quite so far forward. As Krämer (1902-3, vol. 2, p. 258) shows the heel of the yard in the Samoan *'alia* to be stepped similarly (fig. 171), the probability is that this particular difference in design did exist in Tonga as well as in Samoa.

The double canoe has long been extinct in Tonga, longer indeed than in Samoa, 501
but occasionally, as in Hawaii and Tahiti, two small dugout hulls are temporarily [171]
joined together at some few feet apart by two cross booms lashed athwart the gunwales. One of these is seen in a photograph taken from the "Albatross" in 1899, as she lay in Vavao Harbor (U.S. National Museum negative no. 40181). It is noteworthy that the *bobao* hulls are connected head to stern, as in the double canoes of Manihiki.

TECHNICAL TERMS

According to the old carpenter in Lifuka, many of the principal terms for the 192
various parts were common to Fiji and Tonga, either the same or with the sub- 501
stitution of Tongan words for Fijian when these were descriptive. The more important of these in the two languages are the following (Fijian in parentheses):

Fana (vana): mast.
Fohe (vothe): paddle.
Fohe uli (vothe uli): steering paddle.
Fohe-lahi-matau (?): starboard steering paddle; literally the "large right-side paddle".
Fohe-i-hama (?): left side steering paddle.
Fono (vono): strake or run of planking.
Fono tabu (vono tambu): garboard strake.
Fono bajini vaka (vono laulalo): strake above garboard strake (*bajini*, a necklace made of whale's teeth).
Fono ngutu vaka (vono mbati ni wangga): topmost strake (*mbati*, the mouth, i.e. the open well of the hull).
Hama (thama): the smaller hull.
Hua (sua): scull.
Katea (kata): the larger hull.
Kiato (kaso): cross boom.
La (lathe): sail.
Takele (takele): basal or keel region.
Taumua (taumua levu): fore end or decking.
Taumuli (taumua lailai): after end or decking.
Toko (ndoko): poling stick or quant.
Tomotomo (ndomondomo): topmast.
Tuku (tuku): running fore and back stays of mast, also as a verb, "to slacken" or "to let go".
Vilinga hua (?): sculling hole in platform.

RAFTS

A persistent tradition prevails in Tonga to the effect that in former times rafts 501
were employed in navigation. According to information given by Havea, the name *vakavaka-amei* was applied to this primitive kind of craft. He describes it as a shaped raft with side logs boomed out after the fashion of a double outrigger. He states that his father told him that he had seen a small one made of three logs: the median one was longer than the two lateral ones, which were separated from the median by a space, the whole being kept in position by several poles (*kiato*) laid athwart the three logs and lashed thereto. In larger examples it is said that there was more than one log on each side. Probably if more logs were employed

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 mirable,—made as is shown in another part of this
287 work, out of the inner bark of trees, moulded, bat-
tered, and spread into a fine stout cloth, which,
fringed with white, forms a very becoming and ele-
175 gant dress. The mats were very curiously wrought
285 with a tasty intertexture of different coloured threads:
some mats were so closely knitted together, that
when laid on the floor, they were a sure defence
from insects, as they were impenetrable to them:
and the insects crept under them, in the same man-
ner as under a floor-cloth, or a board.

In return, we made the natives as many presents
175 as our stock of articles afforded; but especially to
797 the old chief, who was our protector. We always
conducted ourselves towards our visitors with the
utmost cheerfulness; and in every thing that ap-
peared to excite their curiosity, we were most assi-
175 duous to gratify them with information. We soon
fixed up a cuckoo-clock. This was viewed with
797 great surprise, before it was put in motion. Pre-
177 sently, we set it a going; when, out came the cuc-
koo, and sounded, as the pendulum moved, "cuc-
koo cuckoo." They were filled with amazement,
and for a time could not take their eyes off; till at
last, they looked at each other with dumb surprise,
and withdrew, without noticing or speaking to us,
in perfect astonishment. The news of this surpris-
ing phenomenon, soon spread all over the Island.
They reported we had got Accoulair, i. e. "wood

that speaks." Every one who saw it, went and told 175
his neighbour "Nago* mamattai accoulair." i. e. I 797
saw the wood speak." The numerous visitors that
it attracted to our habitation, wholly employed us 177
from early in the morning till late in the evening.
We were obliged therefore to rise at a very early 175
hour, to unite in our morning devotions before they 797
came to interrupt us. Our visitors, at length, so 609
multiplied, that we were obliged to refuse admittance to many. Every chief came with a large train of attendants; but as they were habited like the rest, we were obliged to behave with attention to all, lest we should, perchance, not distinguish a chief, and so give offence.

Amongst our visitors was Duatonga, or Futtafaihe, 175
who, next to Dugonagaboola, was the most power- 643
ful chief in the Island. He was son of Poulaho, a descendant of those, who were supposed originally to have descended from the sky. When Captain Cook was at Tongataboo, this native was eleven years of age. After the death of his Father, which happened when he was too young to have any share in the government, his Mother lost the sovereignty.

Toogahowe, or Dugonagaboola, who was a great

---

*Nago is a kind of affix in their language, used very frequently at the beginning of sentences, like now, so, well, &c. in our tongue, in conversation.

175 warrior, wrested it from her, and then invested his
643 Father Moomooe with it, who was the reigning
chief, when we landed.

Duatonga was particularly delighted with the
175 cuckoo-clock, and wished to have one. As we
643 had several, we were glad of this opportunity of
797 gratifying the second chief in the Island, with so
177 acceptable a present. He took it home. Curiosity
prompted him to examine the inside. He succeeded
in taking it to pieces; but had not skill to put
it together again. We were sent for to mend it;
we made the attempt; but unacquainted with the
mechanism of the clock, we were equally unsuccessful.
This excited great laughter among them,
and brought down upon us much ridicule. They
were naturally very conceited, and this circumstance
much encouraged their vanity; and now they prided
themselves in the idea, that they were as skilful
and cleaver[1] as we.

175 Soon after this, Moomooe, the reigning chief,
643 died. His disorder and danger excited great concern
through the Island, and one of his own sons
[782] was slain, through a delusive hope that his health
[763] and strength would be communicated to his dying
Father.

175 But it is beyond the power of description, to paint
766 the dreadful scene of horror and bloodshed, which
took place at his funeral, and continued to be acted
[768] round his tomb, for weeks after. Two of his wives

[1] [Errata: this should read "clever." Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

175 in the post of distinction, had, ever since, strength-
648 ened his power with the chiefs by making them his
[662] companions and friends. No sooner therefore were they met, in publick assembly, than one stepped forth from the circle, and proclaimed, "Do bou Toogahowe Dugonagaboola fy talliaba gee ma toolou." i. e. Toogahowe shall be the chief, and we will do as we please; upon which he was unanimously elected, as none dare[1] to oppose him.

Futtafaihe had entertained the hope of regaining, by the vote of this general assembly, the family authority, which his Mother had lost: but as Toogahowe was elected the Dugonagaboola, by the voice of the chiefs, he thought it best quietly to acquiesce in their decision.

175 We soon became intimate with many of the
797 chiefs; and in separate parties, often joined them
177 in distant excursions, and were treated with the best of every thing which the Island afforded.

175 From our own countrymen, we met with our
797 greatest troubles, at this time. No sooner had the
563 ship left the shores, than the two Europeans before mentioned, joined by a third, named Morgan, whom we likewise met with on the Island, began to disturb and harrass us.

Our conduct, so different from their abandoned habits, excited their enmity: and their eagerness for our articles, soon compelled them to show it. Out of kindness to them, as our countrymen, how-

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[1] [Errata: this should read "dared." Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

175 chiefs: with some of whom, all of us were become
797 intimately acquainted, from our many visits and ex-
[563] cursions among them.

Upon this point, a deputation was sent to consult our old chief Toogahowe, who was now Dugonagaboola, under whose protection we lived, who was of chief authority in the Island. The plan receiving his approbation, we took leave of each other. Two went to live with Vahargee, at Ardeo, one with Moolee, in the district of Ahogge; an inferior chief, but an industrious man, and possessed of a considerable tract of fertile land. I went alone to live with one Mulkaamair, the first chief in the Island, next to Dugonagaboola. Two went to live with Duatonga, at Mooa, and three remained at Aheefo.

Two or three months had now elapsed since the ship left us. During my stay with Mulkaamair previous to the ship's return, I went once to visit the brethren. This I found of considerable use to revive and strengthen my religious principles, and to fortify me against those temptations with which I was daily surrounded, and enticed. It would have been well, had I more frequently assembled with them.

Every means of grace was now of great importance. I was going, the second time, to pay them a visit, for which purpose I set off in a small canoe
[177] for Aheefo, to wash my clothes. But, just as I was

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

leaving Mooa, and coming down the channel by 175
Noogoo, I discovered a ship in full sail, at a dis- 797
tance. I concluded it to be the Duff, and imme- 177
diately stood forward to meet her, and followed her
to the place of anchorage. The Captain was rejoic-
ed to see me. I immediately dispatched a messenger
to the rest of the brethren, to hasten them to the vessel.
It was not long before several were on board;
but some, from their distance, did not arrive till the
next day. Our meeting was joyful indeed. The [563]
Captain was pleased with the relation which we
gave him of our treatment amongst the natives; but
our account of Ambler and Conelly determined him
to take them, if possible, and carry them prisoners
to England, to answer for their illegal attempts on
their own countrymen, at a bar where distance from
the seat of justice, would be found no excuse for
the transgression of her laws, and the lapse of time
would not be allowed to diminish its enormity.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 By this time, old Mulkaamair arrived, and re-
797 ceived me with as much joy as ever. I convinced
him that we intended them no injury, but every thing
563 that was good; and that it was only the two turbulent
Europeans that we wished to take. I informed him
too of our danger, and the loss of my pistol, which
was wrested from my hands when I was seized.
He promised I should have it again, and sent for it.
Having used every means to take the Europeans,
without effect, we gained over the chiefs to our side,
and agreed that they should continue on the Island.

175 The Captain, finding he must not delay his re-
797 turn, made preparations to depart. We wrote many
letters to our friends in England, which when the
177 Captain had received, he affectionately bade us fare-
well; assuring us that he thought himself bound, as
far as it lay in his power, to see that the solemn engagement, by which the directors of the mission
had pledged themselves to us, should be accomplished; which was, that "sooner than neglect us,
they would suffer every evil and inconvenience
themselves." We took an affectionate leave of our
beloved and pious Captain. I felt more affected
175 at parting with him than I ever did before. When
797 we returned to the shore we retired to our respective dwellings; and, as we had much property, endeavoured still more to engage and confirm the
friendship of our chiefs, by making them large and
frequent presents. Indeed this was necessary to our
safety.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

PREFACE

THIS monograph is the result of a two-month visit to Tonga during the summer of 1938-39. Some seven weeks of this time were spent in the village of Pangai, Vava'u. We lived in a Tongan-style house built for us in the middle of the village. One of us could speak Tongan with fair fluency. 114 101 122 114

We do not claim any measure of completeness for our study. It is quite obvious that in the time at our disposal, completeness was unattainable. But we do feel that our observations on various aspects of village culture have as much objectivity as is usually claimed by students of society. We also feel that it is worth putting on record something of the life of the villager-commoner in a socially stratified society. Previous description of this society has not always made it clear whether the reference of social custom or fact is to the society as a whole or to the life of a chiefly class only. 121 [114]

It should be emphasized further that what we describe refers specifically to the culture of this village as it is believed and lived today. We have not tried to winnow the chaff of post-European borrowing in order exclusively to present the wheat of a now far distant aboriginal culture. This would be difficult to do and hardly worth the trouble insofar as Mariner and Gifford, separated by more than a century of time, have already given us studies of this pre-European culture that are models of their kind. With these or similar studies as a sort of base line, the need today in Tonga, as indeed in many another Polynesian community, is for extended analyses of present-day culture in action. Only by these analyses and the comparisons they make possible will the student gain insight into many of the problems of culture-contact and resulting culture-change. Since we have at this time opportunity for culture-description only, we have left aside for the moment and for the most part any extended study of the process of historical change as it has affected Tongan culture. For the students 121 177 121 177 178

121 177 178 of Mariner, Thomson, Collocott, Gifford, and other writers on Tongan ethnology, however, the results of cultural change and cultural stabilization will be implicit in all that is described in these notes.[1]

121 Two further points may be noted here: First, all our descriptions refer directly, unless otherwise mentioned, to the culture of one commoner village, the village of Pangai. How typical this village is of other small villages throughout the Tongan kingdom we have no means of knowing directly, nor of stating with precision. We suspect however, that taken in very general terms, Pangai is fairly typical of other commoner villages where there is no high chief or noble in residence and where there is about the same measure of isolation that characterizes Pangai. More than this it is hard to say without more investigation.

121 177 182 The second point we would stress is this: Despite years of contact with an invading western European culture, village culture has adapted itself with very considerable success to the strains and tensions thus engendered. There has been adaptation but not extinction, a new and distinctive cultural blend but not destruction, not disintegration of either personal or social life. Some are accustomed to think that contact with a white culture always brings decay and disorder to a pre-literate culture. There is ample evidence from other parts of Polynesia, from Melanesia, or from American Indian tribes, that this cultural disintegration often occurs under these conditions. In Tonga, however, it has not occurred: and Tonga is by no means unique in this connection, even in the South Seas.

But why destruction of native culture sometimes occurs and why at other times it is possible for a people concerned to elaborate a new culture that blends old with new in a reasonably harmonious fashion, is a problem that has as yet been only noted, not carefully studied with the closeness that it deserves. 121 In this monograph we have no theories to advance, thinking it better at this moment to describe the present-day stabilization of Pangai village-culture with as

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[[113) [1] An adequate bibliography of material bearing on Tongan ethnology is given in Gifford, E. W., "Tongan Society," *B. P. Bishop Museum, Bull.* 61, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1929, 351-353. References to this work throughout this text are given as Gifford, *Tongan Society*.

blow at the time of, or immediately after, heavy rains when 132
the ground is soft and consequently the roots of the trees 731
have little grip in the muddy, yielding soil.

THE VILLAGE

Pangai village is a relatively self-contained economic 621
unit. The villagers look upon their village as their chief
source of satisfaction for both work and play. There is, of [628]
course, continual coming and going between Pangai and
other nearby villages. On the half dozen times each year 574
when the banana and tourist boat calls at Neiafu (population 628
in 1931, 1610 people), many Pangai people, men mostly, [162]
congregate in Neiafu to see the sights and to gossip with
relatives and friends from other villages. Each year a few 871
youths from the village go off to school in Nukualofa, capital 484
and chief port of the Kingdom on distant Tongatapu, 170
miles to the south. They travel by small motor vessel or [505]
more hazardous cutter. Sometimes they return to Pangai
for the annual vacation. Often they stay with relatives in
Tongatapu until their schooling is finished. Adults rarely 484
make the journey to Tongatapu. For the most part they 574
stay in the village, relieving monotony by occasional visits
to Neiafu.

The map of Pangai village (Fig. 2)[A] sketches the lay-out 361
of house-lots which together take up an area of about 20 423
acres. There are four church buildings. One of these is of 368
European, church-like form; another is a small simple four-square board structure; the remaining two are Tongan-style architecture. The school-house is a small frame building, bare inside and out. The children sit on the floor. The community bark-cloth-making house stands next to the school-house. It is a larger frame building that stands
empty and unused most of the year. The two stores are 366
again small frame buildings with large copra-drying plat- 417
forms and small copra storehouses alongside. 343

The style of house common in the village is also 342
indicated on Figure 2. Of the 50 dwelling houses, 36 or 72
per cent. are Tongan style, 14 or 28 per cent. are European [177]
frame houses with iron roofs. Most of the Tongan style
houses are built according to old-time native practice with [178]
coconut-sheet wall-screens and coconut mat thatching. A

A. [See category 116, p. 9--Analyst]

342 few more of them retain Tongan shape but have frame walls
[178] and iron roofs. The old time Tongan house has the advantage
of being cool and is fairly easily built. Frame houses are
costly to build and hot to live in, but they have the advantage
of being generally free from insects and will stand against
all but the severest winds. Most of the villagers, if they were
[177] free to choose, would build for themselves a European style
frame house. It is the ambition of most, indeed, to possess
[185] just such a house before they die.

343 Practically all the dwelling-houses have an adjacent
514 cook-house. A privy is also found on most household lots.
These privies are of the type introduced by Dr. S. M. Lambert
as a method of combating hookworm and other tropical
312 diseases. For the whole village there are fourteen concrete
cisterns collecting rainwater from the iron roofs of adjacent
dwelling-houses to supply the village with water for drinking
and domestic purposes. By amicable arrangement householders
who do not have a cistern on their lot use the water
from the cisterns of close relatives or friends. The cisterns
are supposed to be kept covered as a health precaution. Most
[164] of them are open. As a consequence, typhoid is by no means
an unknown disease.

361 There is one dwelling-house only outside the village
342 limits. This is situated on the nearby plantation of its
owner, a plantation which borders on the boundary of the
village proper. This location of the dwelling-house may
[178] well represent a survival of old-time practice when the
population lived in the plantations rather than grouped
together in a village unit. This grouping of the Tongan
361 commoners in villages has apparently taken place since
565 1773 and is probably due to a breakdown of central
178 authority, consequent wars and fighting, together with the
177 subsequent influence of the Christian missions and the
traders.

361 The village is intersected by two main "roads" that
lead to the beach, the plantations, to near-by villages. By
491 "road" is meant a twenty-foot wide strip of land that is
called a road, but is grass-grown for the most part with a
narrow track down the middle wide enough for foot or
horse travel. Round the village, these "roads" are thick
in mud and hard to pass during the rainy season, even on

361 foot. During the dry season, they are quite adequate for
491 foot or horse traffic. Each householder in the village and
[653] each plantation-holder in the bush is responsible for keeping
that part of the road which runs past his house or plantation
487 free from high grass or obstructions. Numerous tracks
intersect the village winding from house to house, defined
361 according to amount of use.

THE PEOPLE

565 The people of Pangai village, as will be stressed through-
621 out these notes, are commoners. Tongan society is today a stratified hierarchy with royalty and nobles at the top of the social scale, the common people at the bottom. In some villages, a high chief or noble[6] has his permanent residence. In Pangai this is not the case. Pangai island is a royal estate. The only resident in the village who claims some
[554] modicum of chiefly status is Koloamatangi, overseer of the
estate. He is not a noble but stands with certain limited
[502] authority at the head of the village both because of his
position as overseer and because his position as pilot for the port of Vava'u brings him sufficient pilot-fees each year to give him a more than average annual monetary income. For the rest, the villagers are just Tongans of the commoner class. Some may hint vaguely at distant relationships to some noble. In practice all disregard such hints. All think of themselves as commoners whose job in life is to work the land, to get what food and money is necessary, to obtain what pleasures life may have in store for them, to take what pains with as much fortitude as they can muster. The only significance of the following notes is that they attempt to explore some facets of this commoner life that are not yet adequately defined in published Tongan ethnologies.

CONTACT WITH WHITES

177 The attitude of the villager to non-Tongans is difficult
609 to characterize. Excluding a few half-castes and other Pacific islanders, the non-Tongans with whom the villager

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[6] Within the chiefly class, the present-day Tongan social system distinguishes between nobles and chiefs. Nobles are those chiefs who retain by royal grant their hereditary lands *(tofia)*. Chiefs are those other members of this class who have not retained any hereditary lands or estates but yet are chiefs because of their hereditarily-established status.

comes into contact consist of a handful of whites, Asiatics, 177
and Hindus. The Asiatics are mostly Japanese storekeepers, 609
the Hindus tailors, and the whites are store- 177
managers, government servants, missionaries, their wives 609
and dependants. For the Kingdom of Tonga the proportion 563
of Tongans to non-Tongans, according to the police census [162]
of 1937, was about 31 to 1; in Neiafu in 1938, the proportions were more nearly 50 to 1. Tongans therefore make up the large majority of the population. By law, whites, Asiatics, and Hindus may not take up residence in the small Tongan villages; elsewhere they may lease land only. The Pangai villager therefore sees whites in his village only when the government doctor makes an occasional visit. When the villager visits Neiafu he may come into contact with the white doctor or the white postmaster, perhaps with the white store managers (though store-attendants are generally half-caste Tongans), possibly with the few white missionaries or the Asiatics or Hindus (if his business takes him to a Japanese store, requires the services of a Japanese commercial photographer or needs the skill of the Hindu tailor). The villager's knowledge of, and attitudes to, the non-Tongan foreigners stem from his contact with these individuals, from his observations of a few tourists and travellers, and from any further contacts he may have had with these foreigners during residence in, or visits to other parts of the Kingdom.[7]

The general attitude of the villager to foreigners is one 177
of curiosity and interest which gives way to a matter-of-fact 609
acceptance of them and their services (medical, administrative, spiritual, commercial) on the basis of greater
familiarity. The villager furthermore tends to reflect a 186
common attitude of pride in being Tongan which is naturally more pronounced in the larger towns of the kingdom. Buried somewhere in his mind is the slogan, "Tonga for the Tongans" which is the expression of this

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[7] It may be noted that there are no discernible influences of either Japanese or British Indian cultures upon village life. The only exception to this was the provision at one feast we attended of two Japanese fans, covered with advertising, for us to use to keep away flies. The Japanese manager of the Japanese-controlled store in
Neiafu has a Japanese wife and children. His store sells the usual [366)
run of trade-goods in which all South Seas stores specialize. The Hindu tailor is married to a Hindu wife. He also keeps a small store.

186 pride. He does not think of himself as being a "native," as one who creates burdens for the white man to bear. He thinks of himself first and foremost as a Tongan with various civic and political responsibilities.

177 609 186 Foreigners are permitted to reside in the kingdom, indeed are welcome in the towns, because of specific technical skills and training which are vitally necessary at the present time to provide the mass of the Tongan population with various social and governmental services which the Tongan state wishes its citizens to enjoy. Foreigners therefore, are thought of more as advisors than controllers, very necessary advisors in a very complex world which the Tongan feels himself unable as yet properly to understand, let alone to play in it an independent role. Significant of this attitude [144] is the fact, for instance, that whereas white doctors are thought of as advisors to the Tongan health service (and practitioners with special skills too), the burden of providing these health services is conceived as falling on Tongans who have been trained as medical practitioners in Suva. These Tongans are officially known in Tonga as "Tongan Medical Practitioners"; elsewhere in the Pacific, Polynesians and Melanesians who have received similar training in Suva are known simply as "Native Medical Practitioners." The social distance between being a "native" and being a "Tongan" may not be particularly relevant for the more obtuse foreigner resident in Tonga. To the Tongans, those two words mean all the difference between being a subordinate people on the one hand and being theoretical masters of their own bailiwick on the other. In this connection, the term "theoretical" is used advisedly. Realistic insight into the ultimate nature of the functioning, and not merely formal, control of the Kingdom of Tonga quickly suggests that the invisible hand that guides the destiny of this Kingdom is definitely white in colour, and not a Tongan brown—were the colour visible!

177 609 123 In the attempt to characterize further the attitudes of villager to whites, it is also difficult to distinguish between the attitudes toward familiar whites on the one hand and to us as strangers on the other. Our arrival in Pangai was greeted with a mixture of reserve, suspicion, curiosity, interest. Suspicion was probably the most important

element in the mixture. This was the first time that whites 177
had ever thought to stay in Pangai. Suspicion of motives 609
was therefore natural. It was only after some days that 123
suspicion was supplanted by the acceptance of familiarity
and we could slip into the everyday activities of the village.
Some, however, even to the end, appeared dour and unresponsive. We had in fact the very definite impression that [157]
compared with some other Polynesian peoples, the Tongan
villager was much less open-hearted and communicative than
his kinsmen in other Pacific islands.

The average villager seems to have little personal 177
acquaintance with any white people in Neiafu. He may 609
recognize the doctor by sight, or one of the store-managers. 563
His relations with them will consist in an exchanged greeting
as he passes them on the road. With the postmaster in
Neiafu his relations will be freer. This white man has lived
in Tonga for many years, speaks Tongan fluently, acts also
as customs-officer, deputy-treasurer, occasionally as acting-governor for Vava'u. He is friendly with the Tongans and
they are friendly with him.

Intermarriage between whites and Tongans in Neiafu 563
is rare, although, to judge by the number of half-castes that one meets, it has occurred frequently in the past. Reason for this rarity is that now most of the whites coming to Tonga bring their wives with them. Half-castes tend to marry into other half-caste families. The addition of white blood to Tongan ancestry seems to interest the villager little. A very few of the villagers are known to have had one or more white grand- or great-grandparents. The matter is unnoticed and is hardly worth a comment to the villager unless some enquiring white is seeking information. This intermarriage in the past has always been of white men with Tongan women. This fact, taken in conjunction with the numerical proportions of Tongans to whites in the Kingdom, may hold the key to an understanding of some of the factors of social change and stability noted in the following sections of this report.

Most of the contact between villager and whites today 177
is carried on by village men. This applies particularly to 609
Protestant men. Few if any of the Protestant women have 795
come into even the most formal of contacts with white men

177 609 795 [484] [872] or women, except perhaps a very occasional and formal meeting with a white missionary's wife. The case is slightly different for the Catholics of the village. At least once each week men and women journey to Neiafu to attend Mass. The women use this opportunity to consult with the Convent Sisters on matters that are of common interest. At least one of the adolescent girls in the village is a boarding-pupil at the Convent School and several of the village boys journey each day to attend this same school in Neiafu. The teachers here are naturally all women. It is likely therefore that Catholic girls, women, and some of the boys develop attitudes toward white women that differ sharply from those developed by their relatives who remain Protestants. It is also likely that one reason for cultural conservatism in the field for instance, of birth customs, lies in this fact that the village women have practically no opportunity to acquire any knowledge of the birth-customs and practices of white women.

177 609 291 (797) This reasoning would also appear to hold when applied as an explanation for conservatism in the village woman's dress. Her dress is of the overall sack-style known as the "Mother Hubbard," a style introduced by missionaries to the South Seas almost one hundred years ago. The style was then supposed to add a small amount of femininity to large amounts of modesty. It has been carried on unaltered to this day even though dress styles worn by the white women in Neiafu are only a little behind the latest Paris creation. Because of this lack of intimate contact however, between village women and white women there has been no incentive among the village women to alter or modify the old-fashioned Mother Hubbard dress.

177 [157] Some have suggested that in this matter of culture-contact women are more conservative than men in taking over elements from one culture to another. Whatever the worth of this generalization, if it is assumed to hold true for Tongan women and is then considered along with the relatively few contacts that village women make with whites, a still further key may lie in our hands for interpreting the dynamics of culture-contact in present-day Tonga.

Village women have no opportunity to engage in domestic service among the few white families in Neiafu, no opportunity therefore, to obtain any close or intimate 177 knowledge of any non-Tongan domestic economy, domestic morals, domestic manners, or domestic relations. What [871] slight knowledge there may be on these topics among the [521] village women is derived almost entirely from Convent schooling or gossip. [123] From this viewpoint our own stay in the village might possibly have added something to the culture of the more observant or curious of the village women.

Economic Life

CONTROL OF LAND

All land in Tonga is ultimately owned and controlled 423 by the Crown. Functionally it is divided into three groups: Government estates, the estates of nobles, and the Royal estates (including those of the Queen and Crown Prince). Of the thirty-nine estates into which Vava'u is divided, seventeen are Government, sixteen are noble, five are Royal and one is the estate of the Crown Prince. Again in theory, [425] each adult Tongan male above the age of sixteen years is [651] entitled to an allotment of 8½ acres of land from the Government estate for which he pays taxes at the rate of eight shillings per year. [432] Land is not sold to anyone. Applications for the leasing of land are made to the Minister of Lands. [427] Land from the Royal estate or from that of a noble may be [428] acquired by lease and may be inherited in either the male or female line provided the rent of eight shillings per year continues to be paid.

Pangaimotu (the island of Pangai) is Royal estate. Within the limits of Pangai village, the residential sections are nearly all controlled by named households. The bush lands on the islands are divided into sections called *api uta*, more briefly *api* (see Fig. 1), which range in size from eight or nine to sixteen or twenty acres. Each of these bush *api* 423 is leased for the usual rental of eight shillings. 427 As long as the rental is paid, the lessee has full control of his *api* and full right to produce what he pleases thereon. Should the rent, however, be in arrears for three years in succession, the land may be allotted to another individual.

This pattern of division is not a hard and fast one in 462
all its aspects. For some of the activities the division is 183
fixed. Thus one would certainly not expect any Pangai woman to function as an undertaker or as a church-pastor. It would also be rare for a woman to work on the building of a house frame or assist in the making of a canoe. Similarly no man would attempt to plait mats or make bark cloth. He would make *kava* only if it was impossible to find an available girl or woman when he and his friends were craving for *kava* to drink. The pattern is most flexible in regard to agriculture and cooking. Women are primarily the cooks in Pangai. But men spending all day in their plantations will often pause to make an oven and bake food for themselves, particularly if other men are present and helping them. On feast-occasions also, men and women work together with food preparation. Similarly, cultivation is mainly left to the men. Women help whenever their help is needed. Sometimes they may even do all the cultivation for the household should it be necessary. Thus Fakataha's (164)
husband was suffering from a long bout of filarial fever which kept him in his house. His children were all young. Fakataha spent day after day in the plantation doing all the rough work of clearing land, planting, and hoeing. She was sometimes assisted by her two eldest sons. Villagers admired the way she worked although they thought her unfortunate. On the other hand, Biukala, somewhat sophisticated with (177)
European ideals, was proud of the fact that his wife occupied herself entirely with domestic work and rarely left the house-lot. He felt that many village women showed interest in men's activities merely as an excuse for gadding about the bush or the village when they would be much better and more safely employed with domestic tasks.

Daily Routine

For fourteen days during the month of January, nineteen 512
Pangai men and two Pangai women kept a daily record 124
of their chief activities. From this consecutive record it is possible to get a rough idea of how the villager fills his day with work and play (or better, with work and non-working activities—the concept of play is not one that the villager could easily master).

805 calendar issued by the government printer. The only virtue
[213] of this calendar seems to lie in its possession, not in its use. Dated days are of no significance to the villager except to mark off one Sunday from another and this function is performed equally well or better by church-bell and pulpit-announcement.

212 So far we have been referring to the average villager.
[644] The village-overseer and the church-pastor make more use of reading and writing than the villager. For them these
[793] techniques are necessary for the study of government or church reports and notices, for the compilation in turn of their own reports. A few others in the village may also try to make effective use of their reading ability. Thus a village
212 school teacher, home in Pangai on vacation, had developed
875 an interest in world affairs through a chance gift of a copy
829 of *Reader's Digest.* Even the simplified English of this magazine was much too difficult for him, and it is doubtful whether he will long keep up his study of the magazine. One
[554] suspects that his initial and only interest in it was based on the prestige gained among his fellow-villagers by his
[123] apparent ability to discuss with us "in English" obscure subjects whose text was so obviously derived from what to the ordinary villager was the very mysterious page of an English-language magazine.

212 Another villager interested in the use of his skills is Biukala. He carries on a very simplified book-keeping to
[451] provide a rough check on the sales of his garden-produce. He is an assiduous student of Biblical commentaries which he borrows from the missionaries in Neiafu. He writes an
212 occasional letter to his aged mother in Tongatapu. He is very keenly interested in keeping alive these skills which he
177 has observed white men such as church-missionaries using so
829 frequently. Here the incentive to use reading and writing techniques of white culture is far stronger than for the average villager. But this comes about from the fact that Biukala, for obscure personality reasons, is much more interested in adapting himself to the white man's culture than he is to the folk-culture of the village. This is particularly evident when Biukala talks of the future he has planned for his son, now a child of barely two years. For this child he talks of professions such as engineering,

which he has read about. That such professional ambitions 212
for his child may be realized Biukala has decided that he 177
must become as much like a white man as possible: 829
particularly in the sense of being able to read and write easily, more particularly in his possession of what to him are large amounts of ready cash. But in this respect Biukala is a deviant in village-life. He does not represent [183]
in any sense the ideals or achievements of village-culture. He is rather an example of the way in which there is within the village, minor inequality in the use that is made of some of the traits that have been taken from white culture into village-culture as the result of culture-contact.

PREPARATION OF FOODS

The preparation of food does not show great variety. 252
The staple vegetables are cooked by grilling on hot ashes, by baking in the earth-oven, by mixing with coconut-cream and then oven-baking, and finally by boiling (either with water or coconut-cream) in an empty five-gallon kerosene can. Oven-cooking is the most troublesome method. It demands a large supply of firewood and a long wait before the food is cooked. It is always used for feast foods but for everyday eating there is a tendency for boiling to supplant the use of the oven. Food may be baked by the average household once or twice a week. For the rest, the diet is boiled food. Kerosene cans are at a premium in the village. [415]
They have, after all, many uses ranging from a food container to a baby bath. Each household likes to have more than one as part of the household furniture.

Fruits are eaten raw, crushed or squeezed and then 252
mixed with coconut-cream, baked with coconut-cream, some- 262
times boiled. Apart from coconuts and papaia, however, fruit figures little in the diet of the adult. Children ranging the bush are more likely to eat substantial amounts of wild fruits. Bananas are mostly boiled while green and unripe. Ripe bananas are saved for feasts.

Pork, chicken, and meat are cooked by oven baking. Canned meats and fish are eaten as they come from the can. Fresh fish is baked, grilled, or boiled.

Green leafy vegetables are seldom eaten. Sometimes *taro* leaves are oven-baked between layers of pork fat or

443 [452] [437] [157] 5/-. It was only by tremendous effort that the auctioneer was able to increase the opening bid to twenty times its amount. This is not to be taken as implying in any way that Tongans are dishonest in money matters. They are just carelessly easy-going where money is concerned. Storekeeping in Tonga therefore, is perhaps fraught with more hazards than is usual elsewhere.

438 177 The itemized list of sales from the more reliable of the two native store managers in Pangai shows that about forty different articles were sold during the year. Table 9 shows the items of western European material culture that are significant to the culture of the Pangai villager today.

TABLE 9.—STORE SALES

Article	Percentage of Total Sales	Group Percentage of Total Sales
Canned meats	21	70
Flour	14	
Sugar	11	
Tobacco	10	
Piece-goods	7	
Soap	7	
Kerosene	5	20
Fishlines	5	
Fishhooks	2	
Canned fish	3	
Shirts	3	
Bushknives	2	
Matches, rope, crockery	Each item small	5
Singlets (vests), lanterns		
Spades, candy, blue	Each item very small	4
Groceries (cocoa, canned milk, coffee, jam)		
Cotton thread		
Teething-powder		
Ink, pencils, slate-pencils	Each item smaller	1
Buckets, tubs, umbrellas		
Needles		

This table lists materials and foods according to percentages based on volume of sales. This does not of course necessarily correspond to the value or status-position of these articles or goods in the lives of the villagers. Piece-

goods (used for making the *vala*, dresses, etc.), shirts and 438
vests are vitally important in order to conserve what might 177
be called a decency-status in village life.[16] Soap and blue
are similarly necessary to keep both clothing and the person
reasonably clean. Tobacco for the villager is more than a
luxury, specially when alcoholic liquor is practically unobtainable.
Reels of cotton, though costing relatively little, play a
vital part in clothes-repairing. Lastly, teething-powders, 438
which account for almost one quarter of the expenditure 177
on the items with which it is grouped in the table above 757
(one per cent. also out of total store expenditures), perform
the incredibly useful function of keeping teething infants 854
from wailing wretchedly day and night and thus preserve
a sufficient measure of quiet for adults to sleep. (Expert (165)
medical opinion in Tonga suggests that the frequent use of
these teething-powders, which generally contain a large
measure of powerful drugs, is one not unimportant contributory
factor in a high infant mortality among the villagers.
But it is hard to convince a Tongan of this fact; all the more
so in that adults, children, and infants all share the same floor
at night and the frustrations imposed upon one who would
sleep by the wailing of a toothache-racked child can always
be relieved by administering teething powders to the infant.)

The percentage-distribution of sales as set forth in this 443
table refers only to one of the two stores in the village. There 438
is no reason to think that the general percentages and proportions
would be materially altered were it also possible to
include sales from the second store in the village and also
sales made to villagers from the several stores in nearby
Neiafu.

Although some few men in the village obviously have a 434
greater yearly income of money than the majority, there 556
are as yet few signs of any tendency to reckon social prestige
in terms of wealth-accumulation. The village overseer, the

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[16] By Tongan law, rigidly enforced, men and women (both Tongan 291
and white) must cover with clothing upper and lower parts of the
body. Considerable ingenuity is exercised by those pleading before 671
Tongan courts in order to determine what constitutes for men an
upper garment that infringes neither law nor decency. Apparently a
necklace does not constitute an upper garment but a shirt collar with
hardly more than a tatter of shirt hanging precariously to the collar,
is considered to be well within the law!

swimming-beaches lie within easy walking-distance. Yet 181
young boys rarely learn to swim before the age of six or 823
seven, and girls often much later. Younger children are 868
often severely whipped for venturing to stroll unattended [861]
toward the nearest village beach. Yet the beach itself
provides safe swimming at all tides. Elsewhere in Polynesia, [171]
by contrast, children of three are already fair swimmers and
none, parents or children, seem to have that fear of the water
which is characteristic of the Pangai villager.

This decay in the art of fishing can be paralleled in other 178
aspects of village economic life. In bark-cloth-making for 287
example, there is apparent a sort of technique atrophy which may be the prelude to slow death. Mariner describes a technique for making bark cloth at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the prepared cloth was baked in an earth oven and then spread out all night to be dampened by the dew before it was sun-dried on the next morning and packed away in bales. None of the villagers had heard of the use of this oven-baking or dew-dampening process even though Mariner says that it increases the durability and strength of the bark cloth. The lack of just these two qualities in their bark cloth worries the Tongans today, when they compare bark cloth with cotton piece-goods. They have evidently forgotten, therefore, two skills that might be used to improve the quality of the bark cloth for which they still have major use.

A somewhat similar atrophy is noticeable in the arts 178
of cooking. Here the introduction of the kerosene-tin or 252
the iron cooking-pot has meant the ever-increasing use of the [415]
simple technique of boiling and a progressive lack of interest [177]
in oven-baking. By comparison with oven-food, even the villager admits that boiled food is tastelessly sodden and lacks variety of flavour. We read out to Biukala some of the recipes that Mariner gave for preparing Tongan foods. Most of the recipes he had heard of by name, many he could cook himself. But he had to admit that few of the villagers had either the knowledge or the patience to prepare Tongan
food according to these older methods. Whatever variety 178
there is introduced into the food eaten today often comes 177
from the addition of large amounts of cane sugar to mixtures 262
of flour and water, or else from the use of tinned beef and

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177 tinned fish. It is apparently easier for the villager to buy
262 a tin of beef from the store than to fish, even though the beef
is the bull's toughest cut. But to buy the beef, you need
[432] money, and money you get by cutting copra to sell to the local
[434] store. Thus, the villager has tended to concentrate on his
plantation and on his copra. From this point of view, the art
178 of fishing is being so rapidly lost that the sea is becoming
226 about as interesting and as important to the villager as it
823 is to the average large city-dweller in our own society.

The villager does not bewail the loss of his techniques.
178 He would become a mere sentimental antiquarian if he did,
181 especially where new methods and novel appliances are more
efficient than the clumsy and inefficient techniques of a past
age. Where he might well feel, however, that the balance-sheet shows him in the red is in the arts of fishing and
cooking and in the loss of the arts of leisure—the arts of
dancing, singing, and playing. Here Christianity has taught
(177) him that play is mere idleness, dancing is sinful, and singing
respectable, provided only that the music and words are
(795) concerned with sacred topics. As a result, the villager plays
cricket and football in brief seasonal spurts and nothing at
other times. He sings loudly in church, rarely at any other
time. He leaves dancing to untutored children who dance in
no tradition except that of their own making. All in all,
change in these arts of leisure has given the villager time to
spare. But for the *kava* circle and its saving sociability, he
would tend to kill his time and then wonder why happiness
so often eluded his searching.

THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The Pangai household consists of that group of individuals living together which uses the same cook-house for
the preparation of common meals. Generally this group
[513] uses but one sleep-house. A further sleep-house may be
necessary however, if the numbers of the household are large.
592 The relationships of the persons making up the individual
602 households (as determined by a census taken of all the
households in the village) consist of twenty-six different
[125] groupings of kin. Omitting for the moment the biological
groupings of parents and children, there are represented ten
types of patrilineal relationship of household members to

585 the bride and groom slept at Semisi's house. Thereafter
[591] they went to live with the bride's family in Toula on a sort of
extended visit.

585 This marriage as just described shows very clearly the
178 blending of old and new. The feasting and gift-giving are
Tongan, the civil registration and church-marriage originally
[177] white importations, though now none of the villagers but
conceives them as anything but right and natural. The
necessity for the young people to obtain the consent of their
elders before the marriage can be carried out is also well
[833] illustrated. Finally, the custom of delaying intercourse for a
noticeable period after the marriage ceremony is still
strongly observed as one of the customs which no villager
would think of breaking.

ELOPEMENT

584 It is obvious from the foregoing accounts of marriage
that the elders may and do decide whether a marriage shall
occur. Their decision is generally based on a cool calculation
[581] of compatibility together with such matters as reputation for
industry, relative wealth of the family of the groom, and
other materialistic factors. The elders must also be
prepared, should they assent to the marriage, with suitable
quantities of food and mats for the celebration of the
584 marriage. Many young people today rebel against this
domination by their elders, and many elders (it must be
561 admitted) are not unhappy over this rebellion if it saves
178 them in the expenditure of food and gifts necessary for the
proper Tongan marriage. Elopements and marriages with-
584 out consent of parents are therefore becoming not uncommon
583 in the village. This is shown by the fact already mentioned,
178 that of thirty-five marriages studied, sixteen only were full-
style Tongan marriages, the remaining nineteen being civil-
and church-registrations only, without the benefit of gift-
giving and feasting.

583 Two young people who marry without consent of their
593 parents may return to Pangai if they feel that the anger of
their parents is not too great to be faced, or else they may
find shelter with distant relatives or friends in far-away
villages if parents' ire is great, only returning to Pangai

765 served to all the mourners. This again is most unusual
858 for a funeral-feast, which should be a large quantity of oven-baked
574 food including the inevitable pig. However, the village
276 overseer had suggested that because the deceased was an
766 infant and because he had died two days after Christmas and
thus in the middle of the holiday-making time, it would be
advisable not to trouble with an oven. The parents, being
poor, were only too glad to acquiesce in such advice. The
mourners disbanded about midday. There was no ten-day
mourning period.

766 This account emphasizes the somewhat casual fashion
858 in which an immature infant may be buried as compared
with the burial of an important adult. It must be remembered,
however, that the family of the dead child had
apparent right to be more casual than most village families
would have been in similar circumstances. This was their
fourth infant dead. None of the remaining children in this
family looked the picture of anything except ill-health and
hence the parents could probably expect further deaths
among their offspring. It is most likely, however, that little
of this casualness would be evident if death had happened to
take the first-born and favourite son of affectionate parents.
761 Presumably like most people everywhere, the villagers infuse
152 dynamic quality into the observance of custom according to
the strength of attitude and feeling that they experience.
[765] Where death is not unexpected, or where family status is not
at stake, mourning may become casual. Where it is unexpected,
[594] or where deep affection is involved, or where family
status is at test, then observance of custom becomes charged
with all the emotional quality of deeply-felt experience.

MEDICINE

757 For most of his aches, pains, and sicknesses the villager
759 prefers treatment from one of the recognized experts in the
village. He consents to treatment from the white doctor
[743] only if his trouble obstinately refuses to yield to Tongan
[177] types of cure, and some friend or relative, more sceptical of
Tongan medicine, can persuade him to visit the hospital in
753 Neiafu. In general, however, the villager probably feels
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even though this knowledge is used only for diagnosis and 757
not specifically for treatment. Thus Sane, our housegirl, 759
came to us one morning suffering from pronounced and 753
painful swellings of the hand and arm. Everyone was 775
greatly mystified by these swellings until it was remembered 164
that on the day before, Sane had been gathering wild
flowers in the village cemetery. She had noticed us on
a nearby beach and had shouted and cried out to attract
our attention. This noise had both disturbed, and been
highly disrespectful to, the ghosts of the cemetery-dead.
They had retaliated by sending swellings to Sane's arm and
hand. The swellings disappeared in a day or so, but had [757]
Sane consulted a medicine man, the treatment would have [759)
been a course of massage. We have no record of any method 775
of laying village ghosts by disturbing or rearranging the 789
bones of a suspected troublesome corpse—a method noted 114
by Collocott.

Many of the villagers are not averse to a consultation 757
with the white doctor provided they do not have to make a 177
two-hour trip to the hospital for this purpose, and provided,
too, they are not necessarily expected to carry out the white 743
man's treatment, especially if this treatment is surgical.
They do not mind swallowing such medicines as aspirin or [554]
sodium phosphate; in fact, they rather welcome the
opportunity to do this since the taking of such drugs rather [521)
increases their prestige in the community by giving them
something of endless interest to talk about with their friends.
Fear of the hospitalization and surgery which their government 743
provides for them at no cost is partly a fear based on 177
the novel and new-fangled, partly a fear based on the knowledge 829
that in the past hospitalization has often been equivalent [657]
to a death sentence. This latter fear is very real among
the villagers and, of course, often well-founded. Irresponsible white medical officers in the past have sometimes thought of their Tongan patients as unprotesting objects upon whom a surgical technique might be polished and refined, irrespective of whether or not immediate surgery was called for, and irrespective of resulting and perhaps unnecessary death.

This and other factors have resulted today in an attitude among many Tongans of going to hospital at so late

743 a stage in their disease that the case is hopeless: the patient
177 will surely die if he stays out of hospital, he will most likely
829 die if operated upon. The dilemma of the conscientious white
doctor, therefore, is a cruel one: whether to use what skill he possesses in an attempt to save life, an attempt in which the chance of success is small; or whether to keep the sick person out of hospital on the theory that the fewer the Tongans who die in hospital, the more chance there is in the long run of having the Tongans accept white medical skill at a time and stage in their illness when safe and effective help can be given. The white man's medical science will only be accepted by the villager in preference to native treatments and conceptualizations when he has confidence in this science. In the present day relations between white doctor and village-patients, there is nothing more difficult to achieve than this substantial measure of confidence without which white medicine is ineffective, and the pain and suffering of preventable disease among the villagers go unchecked.

The attitude of fear is no longer a specific attitude
177 directed to this white doctor or that. It applies to the whole
829 system of white medicine. It applies also, therefore, in
759 large measure to those Tongans who have been trained in
759 Suva as native medical practitioners, and who conscientiously
757 attempt to apply in Tonga what they have learned of white
medicine. It is revealing to note in this connection that one trained Tongan medical practitioner who, far away from control by a white doctor, practises a strange mixture of white science and native herbalism (mostly the latter), is so extremely popular with the Tongans that they come from far and near among all the northern islands of the kingdom to consult him and to suffer his treatments. They feel confidence in this Tongan because his medicine is nearer ancient Tongan practice than white medicine. The addition to these familiar techniques of a crude surgery and some of the more potent white man's drugs, serves but to increase his prestige among his patients. His treatments combine both the familiar and the strikingly novel in a manner that has irresistible appeal to the Tongan of today who has a foothold in two cultures and is not yet prepared for the best that white medicine can offer.

The practice of this Tongan incidentally offers a difficult 177
problem for the white doctor who is his theoretical superior. 829
Should the Tongan be disciplined because he is to some degree
playing fast and loose with the knowledge of white medicine 759
gained in hospital and medical school in Suva? Should he 757
be allowed to practice unchecked, with the end in view that he is accustoming some Tongans at least to some of the methods and ideas of white medicine, even though he is admittedly "misusing" others? The questions are hard to answer. The white doctor, more thoroughly trained in a scientific tradition than the semi-trained Tongan, may decide that the practice of the latter is nothing but a travesty of white medicine. Hence it should be strictly controlled. On the other hand, the student of culture-change must perhaps recognize that today, the Tongans are still closer to aboriginal culture than they are to full participation in traditional and scientific beliefs of western European culture. From this viewpoint, a Tongan who combines native with scientific medicine, skilfully blending the proportions of the two in such a way as to secure and keep the confidence of his Tongan patients, represents not only what the Tongan wants, but also in a very real sense, what he needs and can absorb, according to his position on that theoretical base line that joins aboriginal Tongan culture at one end to western European culture at the other.

At this stage, to give the Tongan more than he can 177
adjust to, even though that "more" will theoretically keep 829
him in better health, is to overlook the fact that there is such 757
a person as a patient and not merely a disease to be treated: a patient with all the hopes and fears and anxieties, all the attitudes, beliefs, and customs which make him regard a scientific medical tradition with more than a little scepticism. A rigorous and orthodox practice of this medicine may theoretically cure a disease. At the same time it may also antagonize a patient, a person of flesh and blood, but also a person chock full of the most contradictory emotions. Education of the Tongan in such fashion that ultimately he will accept and welcome white medicine is bound to be slow and laborious, a step-by-step method with the only alternative an all-or-none reaction that is more likely to be none rather than all.

177 A practitioner, therefore, who gives the Tongan only
what he can absorb and adapt to at the present phase of
759 cultural change, may thoroughly shock the rigorously-trained
829 white doctor (forgetful as the latter may be at times of the
757 stubborn resistance to modern medicine among the less-enlightened members of his own culture). But at the same time, such a practitioner may in the long run be doing more for the health of the Tongan by giving the patient what he can take instead of what he ought to need, than all the most freely available refinements of surgical skill and drug therapy. Recognition of a sick Tongan rather than of a disease with a Tongan attached thereto is indubitably one of the more important lessons in the book called culture contact!

KAVA-DRINKING

574 *Kava*-drinking in Pangai is a purely social activity.
276 For some few men the social significance is outweighed by
an addiction to the drink which drives them to drink *kava*
more for the drinking's sake than for the opportunities which
the drinking provides for social intercourse. These men are
exceptional, however. For the rest *kava*-drinking provides
574 the excuse for meetings where everything that can possibly
571 come within the intellectual horizon of the villager is argued
and discussed again and again. For young people these
meetings offer an opportunity to listen to their elders talk.
In this way they learn much of the stock information and
574 traditions of the village. This of course applies only to
571 young men. Young women are not present at these parties,
except only the young girl who has been chosen to make the
562 *kava*. But girls may participate as listeners in the smaller
and more occasional parties initiated by older women for
women only. Older women may also be present at the men's
parties, particularly those women of the household in which
the party is being held. An older woman or two are most
[584] likely to be present at the party if it is pretty clear that it
has been started by a young man wishing to court the girl of
the household who is acting as *kava*-maker.

574 A record was kept for sixteen days of the frequency of *kava*-parties in the village. There is no reason to assume that the number of parties held during these days was in any

276 574 571 182 [535] [178] [177] [799] It is hard to give adequate feeling for the manifold interrelations of the *kava*-drinking circle in village life. It is to be realized that the villager has few other outlets for his sociability. Old-style Tongan dancing has practically vanished as a folk-activity. None in the village has adopted the white man's dancing. The church does not sponsor social gatherings except choir-practice meetings where opportunities for sociability are rare. The men's work takes them for the most part to their gardens by day. *Kava*-drinking provides good reason therefore for coming together during the evenings to discuss topics of common interest. In a very real sense a large village *kava*-circle is the Pangai equivalent to the New England town-meeting. It provides an outlet for social impulses and a forum in which matters of common concern may be argued. Because the composition of any *kava*-group changes materially from one night to the next, it is possible for the village to develop a uniformity of opinion and at the same time to avoid any splitting of the village into conflicting or partisan sub-groups. Four churches and four religious dogmas in a small village might [795] be a source of tension when religious belief is still a matter of life and death to the believer. There is no tendency in the village for religious differences to be significant in the formation of *kava*-groups. Hence the *kava*-circle provides a common and neutral ground where men may meet on the basis of social need and for purely social purposes.

276 574 565 184 [171] It has been evident throughout this discussion that *kava*-drinking in this commoner-village of Pangai has none of those overtones of elaborate formality and delight in social design for its own sake which are so characteristic of the *kava*-circles among the Tongan noble class and also among the chiefly class of Samoa and other islands of western Polynesia. The villager is of course aware of this formality [576] and etiquette as practised elsewhere in Tonga.[28] He has occasionally watched in all probability, a formal *kava*-party elsewhere when nobles have met or royalty has been greeted.

[28] The formal *kava*-circle with all its etiquette, rank-symbolism, and customs is well summarised by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 156-170). This account should be consulted to gain some idea of the many differences between the informal village *kava*-circle and the formal circle composed of those of chiefly and royal rank.

moment of oratory itself. Should the assignment have been 000
to conduct service in a village other than Pangai, then the 794
conclusion to all this labour of love is a feast given 574
immediately after the service by one of the chief supporters 554
of this church. The lay-preacher is the guest of honour. His is the first *kava* cup called, he is chosen to say the Grace. Then, after the eating of much good food, the lay-preacher begins his long walk back to Pangai accompanied by the thanks of his hosts for the sermon and a material symbol of these thanks in the form of a large root of *kava* or a good-sized basket of pork and other oven-baked foods.

The rewards and responsibilities of being a lay-preacher 794
are such as to appeal only to a few of the more sober and 554
older village men. Biukala, after passing a three-day written and oral examination, found himself during our stay in the village the proud possessor of his preacher's certificate. He
is a very serious and sober, hard-working Tongan, but he [123]
beamed under our congratulations and was very obviously pleased with all the new possibilities of service and increased village prestige that now opened before his wide-glancing
eyes. Only one major worry now filled his mind. He had 794
neither dark suit nor black shoes properly to costume himself 554
in answer to a preaching call. He was not particular, of 292
course, about the fit of either suit or shoes. As long as his
feet could be squeezed into shoes, no matter what the agony, 177
for a two-hour service, as long as he could make pretense of slipping into the suit, no matter whether the coat could be buttoned or the trousers reached to his shins only, he would be attired in clothing favoured by white missionaries. For Biukala, such clothes, though hot to wear, a hindrance to free movement and hard to get, definitely represented a symbol both of his newly-gained village-status and of a wishful longing to identify himself with the white man's way of life. Later on, we were grateful to be able to help Biukala grasp firmly this symbol of his desiring.

CONCLUSION 177

The culture of the village as it functions today is a 178
well-integrated blend of the old and the new. How much of it is aboriginal Tongan culture and how much of it is derived from western European culture is hard to say with any

precise accuracy.[33] What is needed in this connection is the 177
development of some techniques whereby the student of 178
contemporary primitive cultures could express an index of
acculturation that would state concisely and adequately the 177
cultural level of the culture studied. This index would then 178
constitute a simplified way of describing the position of the 121
culture in question on an imaginary line whose polar limits
would be aboriginal culture at one end and western European
culture at the other end. If it were possible to establish such
an index-expression for the various contemporary Polynesian
cultures, we would have gone far in our understanding of
what is meant by the processes of acculturation and culture
change. This index might express theoretically either the
number of aboriginal elements surviving in the present-day
culture or else the number of new elements transferred from
the carriers of the alien culture. This index-expression of
the status of contemporary culture together with complete
knowledge of the temporal order in which various elements
of culture have been transferred from alien to aboriginal
culture would then open the way for a more realistic attack
upon the dynamics of the processes underlying the diffusion
of culture.

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[33] For a brief consideration of the number and kind of cultural (113)
elements borrowed by the Tongans from western European culture,
reference may be made to Gifford, E. W., "Euro-American Acculturation
in Tonga," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 33, 1924, 281-292.
This survey of Gifford applies to Tonga as a whole, particularly perhaps
to present-day Tongan culture as carried by the Tongans of Nukualofa,
the capital. Many of the changes listed by Gifford obviously do not [184]
apply to small commoner-villages, as for instance, use of water-
closets, automobiles, horse and cart, telephones, motion-pictures, type- [565)
writers, addiction to horse-racing and the like. Still other of the
changes refer almost exclusively to the life of the chiefly class.
References to the functioning of Christianity with its commandments
(tapu), the use of writing, and customs relating to tobacco-smoking,
and eating, apply with fair accuracy to the culture of Pangai village.
When compared with village culture, Gifford's paper has some [184]
theoretical significance, however, in that it describes the results of
culture-contact for the urban Tongan as opposed to the village Tongan. [369]
It thus gives insight into the dynamics of contemporary culture-change
among two types of Tongan community. Reference may be made [113)
in this connection to the methodological discussion in Redfield, R.,
Tepotzlan, A Mexican Village, Chicago, 1930, and the orientation to
culture-contact among the Hawaiians in Beaglehole, E., *Some Modern
Hawaiians*, University of Hawaii, Res. Bull. 19, Honolulu, 1939, 7-11.

At the present stage of technical development in the 177
social sciences, an index of acculturation is still to be dreamed [121]
about, not worked with. A brief survey of the present
culture of Pangai village might well suggest that some such
cultural elements as the following would come within the
scope of such an index. First of all, it is easy to see that
there has been more cultural transference in the field of
material culture than is obvious in social organization. Even
with material culture, however, many distinctions have to be
drawn before it is all clear what has been transferred from
the alien culture. Thus many non-aboriginal foods are 177
cultivated today—corn, melons, tomatoes, and the like. But 262
compared with the use of aboriginal staple vegetables, such
imported foods play a non-significant role in day to day
eating and have gained little significance as prestige foods
for feast-purposes. In the preparation of foods, the process 177
of cooking by boiling has been developed with the importation 252
of kerosene-tins. Boiled food is quicker to prepare than [415]
oven-baked food. Hence there is a tendency to eat boiled
food much of the time, using the native oven whenever something
a little out of the ordinary is desired. In the technique 177
of eating, there is wide use of a few simple plates, dishes, 264
and cups, but transferring food from container to mouth is
still done with the fingers. In the use of foods, therefore, 177
the present culture illustrates a blend of new and old. How 178
much of each is involved is difficult to characterize with any
simplicity of statement.

The position is similar with regard to clothing. There 177
is today an extensive use of clothing materials derived from 291
European culture. The village women all wear dresses. All 178
the men at one time or another wear cotton shirts, but for 292
most purposes and occasions as a lower garment they have
borrowed the use of cotton materials which they use as a
skirt *(vala)*, thus following aboriginal practice in the style
of the garment. For ceremonial or out-of-the-ordinary
occasions both sexes wear either in place of, or on top of
the ordinary lower garment, a fine mat skirt together with
a belt of plaited coconut sennit *(ta'ovala)*. In dressing up
for special church occasions, deacons or lay-preachers almost
invariably try to wear the white man's suit, shirt, sox, and
shoes, though none of the village men would wear any of

177 these clothes at any other time. Clothing therefore is a
178 blend of old and new, but when materials and clothing-styles
291 are both considered, it is again difficult to say in any simple
292 fashion whether current practice is more nearly related to
aboriginal or European custom.

178 Finally, to take but one more example, there has been
in the field of housing a transfer of both form and materials.
177 In the village today one sees frame houses with iron roofs
342 of European form, frame houses with iron roofs of Tongan
form, and thatched houses of aboriginal form and materials.
This refers only to dwelling- and sleep-houses. Separate
[343] cook-houses are uniformly of Tongan materials and form,
while the privies are uniformly frame structures of European
form. Is the present housing of the villager more European
than Tongan as regards both form and materials? Again
it is hard to give a simple answer.

177 Village attitudes in regard to both clothing and housing
may perhaps be best understood partly as an expression of a
178 substitution of new for old which, to use Parsons' phrase,
gives "an old habit of mind a new expression" or uses
"something new in accordance with something old."[34]

When we consider social and economic organization,
177 answers are equally hard. At one end of the scale, treat-
178 ment of disease is almost purely in terms of Tongan concepts
757 and materials with such exception, for instance, as in the
[304] control of a typhoid outbreak when quarantine is enforced
and European medical treatment often welcome, or in such
[743] surgical practice as the supercision of adolescent boys,
where the tendency in the village is to expect such surgery
to be carried out at the hospital in Neiafu. At the other end
177 of the scale might be placed religion, where Christianity has
178 been taken over lock, stock, and barrel, and there are
771 relatively few survivals of either knowledge or belief in
aboriginal religious forms. A Christian morality based on
Biblical teaching has also become the accepted morality of
the community.

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[113] [34] See Parsons, E. C., *Mitla, Town of the Souls*, Chicago, 1936, for a consideration of the role of this factor, among others, in culture-contact. Herskovits, M. J. has a brief but valuable discussion of this and other studies of acculturation in his book, *Acculturation*, New York, 1938.

Between two extremes, there are such aspects of the 177
culture as economics where a subsistence-economy that is 178
largely Tongan in techniques and organization has been 585
interpenetrated by a money-economy derived from European (433)
culture; or the ceremony of marriage where a Christian
ritual and a civil registration have been imposed upon a
Tongan way of marriage—here the Tongan form is likely
to be submerged in the near future by an imported form that
appeals because of its simplicity and is felt to be a necessity
because of Christian teaching. But the function of marriage (581)
is still regarded in Tongan fashion as the producing of
children.[35] There is as yet no evidence of a European (842)
cultural attitude that thinks in terms of contraceptives and
planned parenthood.

Again, in customs relating to birth and death, Tongan 177
practice is still largely followed in the village. Tongan 178
midwifery is uniformly the rule at the birth of a child; and 764
at death, Tongan customs are also followed with the excep- (844)
tion that on the one hand Christian prayers and the singing
of Christian hymns have now a part in the funeral pro-
ceedings, and on the other hand, villagers are all buried in the
one village cemetery whereas in ancient aboriginal practice,
before grouping in villages took place, a dead person was
buried on his own plantation or under the floor of his house.

Finally, to take one more example, education, previously 177
informal, has now become institutionalized by the establish- 178
ment of a formal school-system. The curriculum and the 871
content of this system are based on European models, the
language of instruction is Tongan. This means that what- (212)
ever changes are introduced into the village culture by the
ability of the ordinary villager to read and write, nonethe-
less he is still viewing this culture through the medium of
his own native language. The basis of communication 177
within the culture, therefore, is still in terms of thought- and 178
language-patterns which are given formal structure by the 19

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[35] Dr. Lopdell gives us the case, which he regards as not untypical of Tongan belief and practice, of a still young married woman and her husband who had had twelve children in the first fifteen years of their marriage and none for two years thereafter, and who consulted him because of their worry over lack of more offspring. Their fear was that their neighbours would think that they no longer loved each other! (626)

177 178 19 aboriginal language. There have been additions to the vocabulary of this language to fit it to meet contemporary needs. There are also further changes in the usage of words which possibly indicate an initial break in the use of words to indicate relative social status. This is suggested by the fact that whereas in pure or classical Tongan, there are three sets of words which are used when talking to leading chiefs, middle chiefs, and to commoners, there is an apparent tendency in village speech today for villagers to use among themselves many words that would formerly have been used only in speaking to middle chiefs. There is no tendency, however, for villagers to use among themselves words formerly reserved for talking to leading chiefs.

177 178 This discussion of the difficulty of characterizing precisely the status of culture-contact in the village today may also be used to emphasize the fact that there are apparent lines of resistance-stability in the aboriginal culture on the one hand, and lines of pliability on the other hand which have influenced the course and probably the temporal order of cultural diffusion from European to aboriginal culture.[38] Changes are pronounced in marriage-customs but not in birth-customs, in the economic system but not in the language-system, particularly pronounced in the institutions of religion but not in medical treatment. Why there should be these lags in some institutions and not in others is hard to explain in almost every case. Certainly, in terms of efficiency and durability, cotton goods are superior as clothing to bark cloth. This together with Christian mission teaching in regard to bodily modesty might explain an early adoption of European clothing-materials. In the field of religion, it is also understandable in the light

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[38] Full discussion of this point would have to consider also the relation between relative rapidity of social change as the result of culture contact and the specific character structure produced in the Tongan by the culture of which he is the bearer. Thus it may well be that one of the keys to our undersatnding of Tongan social change and social inertia is to be found in a more thorough empirical knowledge than we have at present of the process of socialization as this develops within the Tongan the character structure implicit in Tongan institutional patterns. See, in this connection, the paper by Margaret Mead, "Social Change and Cultural Surrogates," *Journal of Educational Sociology* (1940) 14: 2, 92-109. [113]

of the Tongan class-system how the conversion of influential 177
chiefs to Christianity would result in the conversion by order 178
or imitation of commoner-followers of the chiefs. And as soon as trader followed missionary to show how, by the production of copra, money could be obtained wherewith to buy the new clothing-materials, then this particularly close relation between religion and clothing would be established. This kind of explanation would not hold however, for an understanding of stability of native custom as regards medicine or birth- or death-procedures. One can only make a negative statement here and this to the effect that the three aspects of Tongan culture just mentioned do not result in behaviour that might conflict with the teachings of a Christian morality. Hence there has been no organized pressure to bring about a change of belief or behaviour.

The situation is somewhat different in the case of 177
language. In general, it seems to be the rule that when there 178
is close and long-continued contact between two cultures 197
there is a tendency for the language of the culture which is represented by a clear majority of carriers to become the language of communication between the two cultures and ultimately the language of the new culture that results from the culture contact situation. Hawaii and New Zealand may be compared with Tonga and Samoa. Hawaiian and Maori are of course still spoken languages, but they are giving way before the spread of English, the language of the culture of the majority. In Tonga and Samoa, Europeans still represent only a very minor fraction of the total population, and the native language still constitutes the functioning language of the present-day native culture.

In the study at this time of situations that result from 177
the contact of cultures, it is simple for the social scientist to 121
raise many more questions and problems than can possibly be answered with the empirical data now available. To collect these data we have need of both a contemporary and an historical study of any particular native society which has been influenced by processes of cultural transference. Ultimately it seems likely that the key to the understanding of what these processes mean and how they come about will lie in the cross-fertilization of social data by the results of modern psychological research.

177

[For further information on social and cultural changes introduced by the missionaries in Tonga, see Category 797.]

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648 suggestion did not occur—namely, that the "Honourable and Reverend" Shirley Waldemar Baker, First Minister of the king and the State Church, had fallen from his high estate, and had been removed from the little kingdom where he had so long ruled the natives for their good and his own profit.

The tongue of rumour was hushed at last. Suva awoke one morning to find the Red Cross fluttering from the signal-staff, and her Majesty's ship, ironically christened
[797] the Rapid, creeping slowly along the reef. Almost before the yellow flag had been hauled down the news flashed along the beach that Baker had indeed fallen, and could not again set foot in Tonga for two years on pain of imprisonment.

128 A sketch of the events of the last few years cannot be avoided, but it shall be a sketch in outline only.

797 When George Tubou became king in 1845 his people were in the white-heat of a conversion to Christianity.
[212] The missionaries had taught them to read and write, and
[671] to pass a simple code of law. They had imbued them with
797 envy of the dignity of civilised States,—their law courts,
177 their police, the uniforms and salaries of their officials,
178 and their other blessings of civilisation—including taxes. All these the Tongans might have if they were shown how to begin. For years there was no one to direct their nascent aspirations. Their teachers had no enterprise, and devoted themselves to the spiritual rather than the temporal needs of their flock; but at last with the necessity came the man. Mr Baker was a genius in his way. None knew better than he how to work upon the feelings of his congregation, or could better gauge the exact

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moment to send round the collection-plate. None could 797
lay out the funds thus collected in church-building with 177
better effect. None was so jealous of the honour and independence 178
of Tonga, warning her when any of the great
nations cast greedy eyes upon her emerald shores. He [186]
designed the national ensign, and the royal standard with
three club-knives, such as the European officers strap to
their sides, and a dove carrying a branch in its beak, and
the Great Seal, and many other things that make a nation
respected. These were foreigners' things and their meaning
was therefore not known to Tongans, but they were the
emblems of civilisation. He it was who ordered the timber
for the palace and the churches and all the public
buildings, which cost a great deal of money. And lastly, [1,48]
it was he who persuaded a German Consul-General to
come to Tonga in a man-of-war to make a treaty, so that
Tonga was recognised of the Great Powers: for this
honour only a small island was given to Germany as a
coaling-station, and for his labours as interpreter between
the plenipotentiaries Mr Baker received, as was right and
proper, a decoration from the German Emperor.

Then Unga, the premier and the king's son, died in 797
Auckland, and Mr Baker, out of his love for the king, 645
brought back the body to Tonga in a German man-of-war,
and consented to fill the place that Unga had left empty.
For charges had been made against Mr Baker—the great [794]
are always envied!—and a committee of his peers in the
Methodist Church had advised his removal to Australia.
Thus Unga's death saved him from the pain of leaving
the Tongans whom he loved.

Now the king had a grievance against the Conference. 797
795

here and there between them. A few cable-lengths to 000
the northward of our anchorage was the spot where the 175 177
privateer Port-au-Prince was treacherously taken by Finau
Ulukalala, and on the beach opposite to us the master and
crew were murdered. The two rusty iron guns among [501]
the ballast in the hold of our schooner are part of her
armament. To this event we are indebted for a book of 114
travels that closely approaches 'Robinson Crusoe' in style 175
and surpasses it in interest. Mariner, one of the sur-
vivors, spent scarcely four years among the people, yet his
account of the Tongans, elicited by questions put to him
by Dr Martin, leaves little to be added by later travellers.
The book so produced has become a classic: one does not
know which most to admire, Mariner's observation and
wonderful memory, or Martin's ingenuity, industry, and
pure style.[1]

As our visit to the king was to be one of state, we 643
had brought with us an old *matabule*, or master of cere- 644
monies, who landed with a root of kava to announce our 276
arrival. We followed him immediately afterwards along 574
the beach to the great native house occupied by the king.
Before we reached it we saw the old man coming down
from the unfinished church, followed by a train of his
matabules. We halted until a mat was spread under the
shade of some large trees, and his attendants formed a
kava-ring, a large oval, with the bowl facing the king.
Fatafehi then led me round outside the oval of sitting 643
men, and we took our seats on the king's left, with our 644
matabule between us and him. On my left was a white- 276 574
haired man with very bright eyes, who afterwards proved 576

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[1] Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands.

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did not make matters better. He returned from spying 645
with black care on his brow, and with rumours of war 578
on his lips. The people were talking of fighting; they 645
were not going to submit tamely to the yoke of Tungi 578
and his son. "When was Haapai under the authority of 829
the Tongatabu chiefs?" But their resentment was not [634]
confined to Tukuaho—poor good-natured Fatafehi, their
own Governor, came in for a share of the obloquy. Had 634
he not sold his country to England? And, as a proof of 186
it, here was a white man sent down by the British Govern- 578
ment to meddle in their affairs. Tukuaho was much
depressed, but, fortunately, at this juncture the burly
Governor himself came in bursting with good-humour.
He had heard the news too, but it did not disturb him in
the least. As a descendant of the Immortals, human [554]
affairs were never more to him than food for amusement.
His own rank was too secure for any popular aberration
to disturb his composure, and his digestion was too good
to allow him to look far into the future. "Let them
alone," he said; "they're all fools. All that we have to do [643]
is to prevent the king from listening to these Free Church
ministers. Only wait until the *bolotu* on Sunday, then
we'll talk to them. No, thanks. I have just eaten. I
am full." The son of the Immortals sat down, and we
got to business.

The first thing to do was to persuade the king to hold a 645
Privy Council, and to appoint me a Minister of the Crown; 643
the next, to pass certain draft Ordinances restraining the 177
public expenditure within the limits of the Budget. First, 652
I had to explain to my fellow-conspirators what a Budget 645
really is. "But," I asked, "how is it that you do not 642

642 know all about this? It is provided for in clause 19 of
the Constitution." "That may be," retorted Tukuaho;
"many things are provided for in Mr Baker's Constitution,
but we have never seen any of them done in Tonga.
[666] When has there been a ballot? Yet the Constitution
says no one may sit in Parliament without being first
[694] elected by ballot. It is unlawful to confine any person
without a warrant, yet where are the warrants for the
[696] prisoners in Tofua? There are none, because the men
were taken there without trial."

652 I produced my draft Estimates, drawn up by Mr Campbell,
@ 177 and unfolded the idea that no expenditure not first
authorised by the Privy Council could be incurred. My
colleagues scarcely contained their admiration; but when
I modestly produced voucher forms, and explained that
not a penny could be spent without the signature of the
Premier and the Auditor-General, and then only when
proper detailed accounts are attached, my reputation as
a statesman was thoroughly established. Fatafehi, giving
short barks of half-comprehending appreciation, asked me
to say it all over again. Then he leaned back in his
chair, and laughed long and loud, looking all the while
at Tukuaho, and crying, "How now, boy? If it had
been like this in Mr Baker's time, eh? Would there
now be debts, eh? Would the money have been stolen,
643 eh? This is a real thing. Look here," he added, becoming
645 grave, "you go and see Tubou now, and tell
him all about it. Get him to fix the Council for tomorrow,—just
we three, and we will pass this law, and
keep our money."

"Wait a moment," I interposed; "you must first have

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823 persecuted Wesleyans as a sign of the wrath of heaven 795 against the Free Church; but the tables were turned, [186] and the dull glare of Tofua, which we had seen every night from Haapai, was now seized upon by the Free Church ministers as a warning of the peril of the State from British machinations. But an eruption is public property, and I was told that Tofua was used by our own supporters to awe the opponents of "the just-dealing Government" into complacency.

With the view of seeing the crater more closely we 133 steered direct for Tofua, and were becalmed within two miles of the volcano long after sunset. The night was very dark, but every few minutes the dull glare of the crater was illuminated with a burst of flame, and masses of red-hot rock were projected into the air with deep reverberations. The crater was not more than 200 feet above the sea-level, and was close to the north shore of the island. I therefore tried to persuade the crew to take us into the deep strait that separates the island from the sugar-loaf cone of Kao. But they were frightened at the explosions, and flatly refused, urging that we should be becalmed on the lee side, and become a target for the missiles from the crater. It was useless to urge that the stones would not fall into the sea: they were obdurate, and we had reluctantly to steer southwards.

175 It was within sight of this island that, on the morning 177 of May 1789, the crew of H.M.S. Bounty mutinied and set their commander, Lieutenant Bligh, adrift in the launch. On landing at Tofua he was treacherously attacked by the natives, and John Norton, his quartermaster, was struck down as he was casting off the stern-

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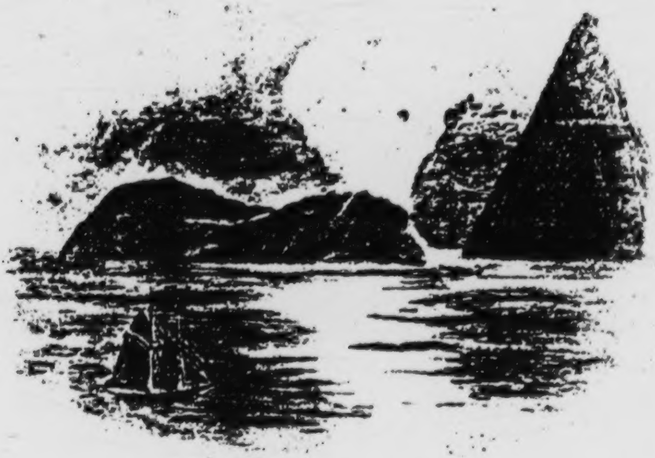
fast. The sequel is thus told by the natives. They 175
dragged the body inland to a *malae*[1] (the island being 177
the property of the Tui Tonga, there are many there),
and after exposing it for three days, they buried it. But [823]
the whole of the track made by the body as it was
dragged along has ever since remained bare of grass,
as well as the spot where the corpse lay exposed.

[133]



Tofua in eruption.

Mariner, who visited the place in 1808, saw this track, and says that it had not the appearance of a beaten path. At the end was a bare place, at right angles to the path, about the length and breadth of a man's body.

Daylight found us within sight of the "new island." 133
Early in 1886 a submerged reef broke out into sub-

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[1] Sacred enclosure where sacrifices were offered.

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645 statue. Four years passed away, during which the
643 curious learned that an artist in Italy was carving the
651 marble at the very moment of the inquiry. But this
652 picture of the patient Italian artist failed to satisfy the subscribers, and I was entreated to track the sealed bag of silver, last seen in the hand of Sateki, and to set the question of its fate beyond a doubt. Sateki remembered the occurrence perfectly. He had given the bag to the Treasury clerk for custody in the safe. That was all he knew. It was the last clerk but one—he who was dismissed for embezzlement. I waded through the incoherencies of the Treasury book till I found the entry I wanted, "Revenue from the Paymaster—£1299, 13s. 6d.,"—the exact amount of the subscriptions—used for purposes of general expenditure. Let us charitably suppose that the purchase of a statue was really intended, and that, when the Premier published the financial statement in which this sum figured as revenue, the divers cares of office had chased the recollection of its purpose from his mind.

652 Among the disbursements for the past year was the following:—

Julian Thomas	£50	0	0
Printing	37	10	0

177 A peripatetic journalist, writing under the pseudonym
114 of "The Vagabond," had passed through Tonga during the previous year, stopping some six hours in Nukualofa, and about half that time in Haapai and Vavau. He was bound for Samoa, where the political squabbles promised to furnish him with material for "copy." Lack of ac-

5

quaintance with his subject never yet deterred a special correspondent—least of all when he hails from Australia—from writing about it. In a style founded upon that of Mr Pomponius Ego, the correspondent immortalised by Mr Jorrocks, he chatters unblushingly of personal adventures in every quarter of the globe, of those playful familiarities which personages seem to reserve for their intercourse with "specials," of the miracles which discriminating Nature disdains to reveal to less gifted mortals,—till the bewildered reader, forgetting the purpose of the letter, finds himself speculating whether Mr Julian Thomas was coeval with his grandfather, and possesses the gift of ubiquity and the personal friendship of the celebrities of half a century, or whether—— But the alternative is too discourteous to be set down here.

It so happened that he was smarting from an action for libel in which the plaintiffs, the Wesleyan Mission, had been successful, and the spectacle of their reverses in the religious strife in Tonga tempted him to turn aside and curse them. In seven long letters to the 'Melbourne Age,' he worked up his seven hours' visit into an indictment of their agents personally and their methods in general, contriving by the way to bespatter Mr Baker with the eulogy of faint dispraise. He wrote of the history of the islands, lacking, we may charitably suppose, the time to read more than the opening chapter of Mariner's 'Tonga,' which he glibly quotes as his authority for the remarkable statement that King George was the grandson of Finau, and that the latter murdered the Tui Tonga. He wrote of Mr George Brown, and so unlovely is the picture that he paints of the gifted Secretary of

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114 177 Missions, that the reader instinctively scrutinises the line-spaces for the record of some affront offered to the special correspondent. "He calls upon me," says the guileless Vagabond, "as the heathen did upon Balaam, to also curse the Premier of Tonga." But not even the son of Beor could surpass Mr Julian Thomas in incorruptibility and a delicate sense of honour; for he at least allowed the Balak to offer burnt sacrifice, and the latter, if we may believe him, feared the blunting influence of even a dinner upon his sensitive conscience. "I may hint here that I am bidden to sit at meat with the king, . . . but neither from monarch nor Premier nor missionary could I accept the slightest hospitality. I do not know what I may have to say about each, and keep perfectly unfettered and unbiassed by any considerations which the reception of any courtesies might enforce upon me. My attitude in this matter rather offends the Tongan Premier."

It is a fine image this of the pressman, after years spent in the hurly-burly of colonial journalism, so punctilious of his honour that he puts behind him the temptations of a meal, lest they turn him from the stern duty which he owes to society. Would that no rude hand had been
652 put forth to smutch so fair a picture! But there in
645 damning evidence lay the voucher "for the right of
[114] reprinting 'Holy Tonga,'" signed by The Vagabond as claimant, and by its side a copy of Mr Baker's letter inviting him to fix his own honorarium, and his reply naming the modest sum of £50.

6 The letters to the 'Age' were reprinted in Auckland in pamphlet form under the title of 'Holy Tonga,' and a thousand copies now lay upon the floor of the Premier's

dawn till dusk all over the island, with a bat if they 526
could get it, but otherwise with a cocoa-nut branch and
an unripe orange. They played matches, one village 526
against another, and all the men of each village took 628
an innings. With perhaps seventy-three on one side and
fifty-two on the other a match lasted for days; and party
feeling sometimes ran so high that at the end the losers
fell upon the victors with the bats and stumps to avenge
their disgrace. This was all changed when cricket was
regulated by law, and confined to Tuesdays and Thursdays
only; besides, the heat of the cricket-passion has had
time to cool. But I record the matter if only to serve
the speakers at cricket-dinners with a useful illustration.

The two principal papers in Auckland were bespatter- 114
ing us with satirical abuse. This was not unexpected, for 177
we had been warned that Mr Baker was a shareholder in
one of them. It is good for a Government to be reviled by
the press—it produces a healthy glow of reaction, like a
shower-bath on a cold morning; but we owed money in
Auckland, and were dependent upon our credit for our sup-
plies. I had a weapon to brandish over the head of one of 114
these organs: the Government printing was done in its office, 177
but I could scarcely insist on its closing its columns to 659
hostile criticisms without providing it with a correspon-
dent free from prejudice. I knew of no one in Tonga at
the time who could be trusted to write without bias
against the new Administration except myself. I there-
fore had a message conveyed to the proprietors of the
'Herald' that we could not continue to give our printing
to a hostile journal, and that if they wanted our custom
they must amend their tone. If their "own correspon-

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114 dent" was past reform, I promised to provide them with a 177 monthly letter. To the 'Star' I wrote that we were think- 659 ing of dividing our printing if we could find a friendly firm to undertake a portion of it, but that the inimical tone of their paper had hitherto prevented us from doing so. If, however, they would adopt an impartial attitude, I should be glad to meet them half-way by supplying regular news. Thenceforth I became "Our own Correspondent" to both papers, and wrote by each mail two separate letters, alike only in their colourless stolidity, in which neither favour nor ill-will to the Government of Tonga shocked the eye, and the printing was divided. This arrangement was not made too soon, for the wordy effusions of the disappointed schoolmaster, had they appeared in print, would have created a panic among our creditors.

795 798 The impartiality of the Government in sectarian disputes had had the effect of allaying to some extent the bitter feeling between the rival Churches. But the Wesleyans still suffered disabilities, and were far from satisfied. The *abi*, or plantations of the ministers, confiscated during the disturbances, had not yet been given back to them, and indeed could not be restored without injustice to the present occupants, who were given possession in good faith by the late Government. The Free Church ministers still had possession of a quantity of timber, some windows, and a church bell, bought with the mission funds, and refused to give them up, on the ground that they were paid for with the subscriptions of the Wesleyans who have since turned to the Free Church. No doubt the property was vested in the trustees of the Wesleyan Church, but I urged forbearance, for every day of harmony was a gain

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794 his interests the hearts of all the patrons and their
796 friends. After the benediction had been pronounced,
[563] the congregation walked thoughtfully home to cool down
and face the future.

It is easy to sneer at the missionaries in the South
797 Pacific as drones sucking the honey that others have
stored; as ministers of the collection-plate rather than
of the Gospel; as moral teachers whose grim code is re-
797 sponsible for the deterioration of native morality. The
177 books written about the Pacific Islands have been the
[114] work of either missionaries or passing travellers, and
hostile criticism by the latter has been in obedience to the natural law of reaction after the sometimes nauseous series of self-laudatory books given to the world by the missionaries themselves. Casual travellers, who hoped to see the natives in their primitive simplicity of manners, are disappointed to find them clad and in their right minds, and galled at the restrictions, apparently arbitrary and unreasonable, laid upon them by their spiritual guides. They have read much of the hardships of the missionary's life. They find him sleek and prosperous, the autocrat of his flock, living in a good house, travelling in a comfortable and well-found boat: they feel that an attempt has been made to obtain their sympathies under false pretences, and they write down mission enterprise a fraud, and the system a mere institution for raising
[563] money from the gullible native. In this extreme view
[441] they are supported by the Europeans of the place,—for
traders do not love missionaries, regarding them as competitors who, besides crippling trade, interfere with their domestic arrangements.

The Wesleyan missionaries had made two mistakes— 797
they had humbled the chiefs, and they had vilified their
rivals. They were now to make a third. Political power
was in their grasp, and with the fearlessness of deep
ignorance they rushed on their doom. Brought up in 797
Australia to believe that universal suffrage and representative 177
government is the nearest approach to Utopia 642
attainable by mortal man, they persuaded the king and
chiefs against their better judgment to exchange the
ancient communal system for a bran-new constitution on
the English plan. Those who have seen the machine at
work in the Australian colonies will know best how it
was to behave in Tonga. They had sealed the fate of
their own cause. The commoners, accustomed to let their
chief think for them, now found themselves free to think
and act as their inclinations led them, and the first result
was a weakening of the influence of the missionaries,
who began to find the smattering of education they had
given to their native helpers a source of danger. The 797
native ministers had a vote in their district meetings, and 793
began to exercise it independently. Awkward questions 465
were whispered about salaries. What was the difference
between the foreigner and the Tongan, that the one should
have £200 a-year and a wooden house, and the other £20
and a grass hut? When Mr Baker brought his acquisitive 797
genius to bear upon the system of mission collections, 795
the conference in Sydney had still the absolute disposal
of the funds, and the country was annually drained of
many thousands of dollars over and above the cost of local
expenditure. Demands were not unnaturally made for
a share in the disposal of this money, and, as I have

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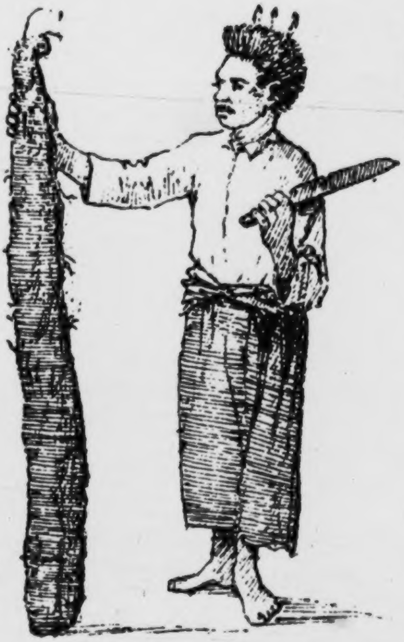
eating the yams, or destroying the produce of the land, the 671
owner of the hog shall be at once informed that he may shut 421
the hog up, and he shall restore whatsoever be damaged. If 231
the owner neglect to take
warning, either in con- 142
fining his hog, or in re- 291
compensing the damage 302
done, and the hog be 244
again found eating the 412
yams, it shall then be lawful to kill the hog, and the owner of the plantation shall have the carcase for his own.



A giant yam.

By the end of 1855 671
the original code had 797
been so tinkered by 177
the missionaries that little of the original remained. Their hand is detected in the following excellent provision, designed to check the growing indolence of the people, and turn their labour into a channel of profit to the reverend legislators:—

XXXVI. *The law relating to men.*—You shall work and persevere in labouring for the support of your family as well as yourself, and in order to contribute to the cause of God and the chief of the land, and each man shall find a piece of land to cultivate. Any man who is not willing to work, shall not be fed nor assisted, all such persons being useless to the land and its inhabitants, and unprofitable to their friends.

671 Hitherto the laws had merely expressed in writing the
681 prohibitions that already existed in the native mind, but
642 for which no fixed punishment had been stipulated. The
government by chiefs was defined and their powers described,
but it was the same form of government that had
been in force since the social organisation of the people was
642 crystallised out of the primitive family. King George—
797 to his credit be it said—long resisted the importunities of
177 the missionaries to grant his people a Constitution, and
ape the form of government evolved in Europe from
centuries of civilisation. The people were not ready for
it, he said. It might suit England very well. There the
people were perhaps accustomed to think for themselves,
but the Tongans were wont to let their chiefs think for
them.

642 The Tongans had reached a stage of development midway
565 between the patriarchal and feudal systems. Their
chiefs had the blood of the founder of the family in its
purest form, and were the earthly incarnation of their
deified ancestors. Each chief had hereditary retainers
who followed him to battle, and obeyed him in time of
peace; but the constant wars during the latter half of
the eighteenth century had created a lower class of servants
than these—the *tu'a*, children of prisoners of war.
These, together with the illegitimate children of the
chief's father or grandfather (his cousins, in fact, for a
chief bred servants for his descendants), were in the
nature of serfs, leading, however, an easier life than such
642 a designation would imply. The missionaries had perhaps
565 read of Peter the Great and Wilberforce, and they too
797 panted to win the grateful admiration of posterity. To
177

their heated fancy the people appeared as slaves, because 642
they yielded service without fixed wages, and nothing 565
would content them but a formal liberation. They did 797
not stop to reflect that these "serfs" were fed and clothed 177
by their chief, and that as members of his household they enjoyed privileges which men of their low rank could not hope for in other societies. If they were contented, they ought to be taught a noble discontent, and to pine for the Anglo-Saxon fetish, freedom. King George, as he hoped to be saved, must "liberate the serfs."

In 1862 he yielded, and signed a bran-new Constitution, 642
drawn up by the missionaries, after a model devised for 797
the King of Hawaii by a Mr St Julian. On the 4th of 177
June 1862 there was a solemn meeting of the newly constituted Parliament. In the intervals of feasting the code was passed, and at the end of two months the legislators dispersed, leaving the land as bare as if a swarm of locusts had passed over it. The missionary historian waxes emotional as he tells of how they contrived to eat 150,000 large yams and 9000 hogs, besides other provisions, and of how they feasted daily at a board spread in European fashion, clad in decent black broadcloth and white chokers, to the glory of God and the triumph of missionary statecraft.

This code was considerably altered,—I reject the word [671]
"amended" advisedly,—and in 1875 a complete penal code, far too elaborate for the Tongans, yet infinitely better than the pretentious laws that afterwards repealed
it, was passed by the native Parliament. From 1875 to 642
1888 Mr Baker tried his 'prentice hand at legislation. 797
He altered the Constitution four times, and he drafted 671

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

671 A Tongan who wished to strike his enemy had first to
645 ascertain whether he had children. These are only two
797 out of the many claims put forth by the late Premier
in this wonderful book to a high place among the unconscious
humourists of literature.

692 Following the general policy of complicating the administrative
machinery of the tiny State, the law established
a vast number of unnecessary law courts. There
were (1) the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council;
(2) the Supreme Court; (3) the three District Courts;
(4) the Police Courts. There were thus three appeals
against a decision of the police court, and each appeal
696 brought in fees. Even in criminal cases the unfortunate
defendant was mulcted in fees which had to be worked off
in the form ot additions to his term of imprisonment.

Besides these courts there were—the Probate Court,
692 the Divorce Court, the Admiralty Court, the Lands Court,
695 and Courts-Martial, for none of which was any form of
428 procedure laid down. In the case of disputed wills I
695 found the practice to be for one claimant to seize the
property, and for the other to prosecute him for larceny.
In one case an unfortunate widow was convicted at the
suit of her stepson of *stealing* her late husband's house in
which she was living.

We condemned this code on its first hearing. No
671
645 amount of amendment could make it work. The Tongan
177 version was unintelligible; the English was ridiculous.
Nothing less than a new code would meet the necessities
of the case. I confess that at first I recoiled from the toil
of drafting a code, translating it into Tongan, taking it
through Parliament, and passing both volumes through

the press with compositors ignorant of the language they 671
were setting up. The work must be done in odd hours, 695
snatched from arduous administrative duties, in a period 177
of less than six months. I succeeded, and a consideration of the difficulties against which I had to contend should soften the harsher criticisms that may be passed upon my code in the future. I worked upon the Indian Penal Code and the existing law of Tonga, using the plan of the former, and simplifying the latter as far as the constitution would let me. Working far into the night, I made my rough draft in English, and then with the help of a little shorthand writer, Pauli by name, I turned the draft into halting Tongan. This version went sheet by sheet to Tukuaho for conversion into elegant Tongan, and then came back to me for careful revision, lest the sense should have suffered in the process of decoration.

My principal difficulty lay in the Constitution. Though 642
the king readily consented to the abrogation of the laws, 643
he had an almost superstitious dread of tampering with the Constitution. This attitude had its advantages when 642
we wanted to silence our opponents of the Radical party 646
in the House. We had only to point to the Constitution, which "Tubou did not wish to alter," as a reason for reenacting an old statute, and the opposition collapsed; but we were well aware that the pretentious document beginning, "Seeing it appears to be the Will of God for man to be free," with its complicated machinery, designed to deceive strangers into the belief that Tonga was a State growing in importance and prosperity, was utterly unsuited to the Tongans. I had a strong objection to include 642
in my code any matter couched in such wretched English

643 646 father, did not read well. The Speech consisted of the usual Ministerial platitudes, congratulations upon "our cordial relations with the other Powers," and promises for the future. The allusion to the past was very brief. He, the king, gave thanks to God that these clouds were happily dispersed, and left it to the Legislature to provide for the future by revising all the laws and regulating finance. [177 829 875 759] Convinced that their efforts in pursuit of civilisation would not be crowned with complete success until they mastered another language besides their own, and that national prosperity could not be assured unless the population ceased to decrease, he had provided them with a schoolmaster for their minds and a doctor for their bodies. In conclusion, he commended them to God, and trusted that there would be no more dissension between the Churches—the expectation which, in the present temper of the missionaries, is, of all those contained in the Royal Speech, the least likely to be realised. The king interrupted the Speech twice, telling the reader impatiently to speak up.

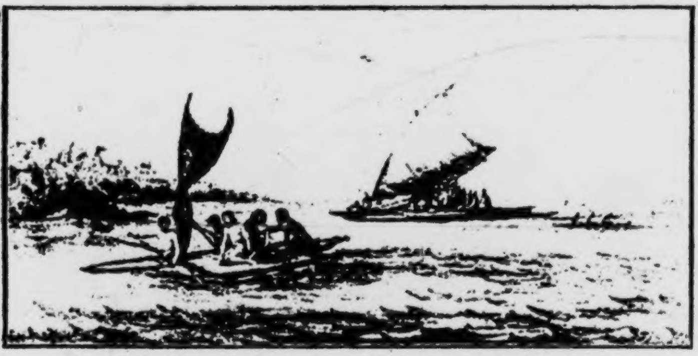
It had been intended to unveil a picture of the king, but almost before Taufaahau had articulated the closing words, his Majesty rose and strode out as he had come, with the air of a man who has loyally discharged an irk- [533] some duty. The band dash recklessly into the triumphal march from Tannhäuser, struggle awhile, and arrive breathless at the end within a bar or two of one another.

646 574 The senators streamed away to their quarters at Pangai to disrobe; the guests strolled home to doff their finery. The morning had been devoted to propriety; pleasure was now to have its turn. In half an hour not a black coat

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

505 175 484 are known to have settled in Mangaia to the eastward, and in Ongtong Java to the westward,—castaways, perhaps, who fought their way into the possession of lands belonging to the aborigines.

[501]



The Tongiaki,[1] *the canoe, now obsolete, in which the early voyages of the Tongans were made.* (From a plate in the British Museum.)

II.

THE COMING OF THE FOREIGNERS.

175 177 Under a strong central Government, knowing nothing of civil disturbances, never called upon to repel invasions from without, the people had time to digest the new in-

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[177] [1] Unlike the Fijian canoe, the *Tongiaki* had a fixed bow, and went about like the modern cutter. In tacking, the sail was unlaced from the yards and carried to leeward of the mast. It was entirely displaced by the more complicated *Ndrua* of Fiji about the beginning of this century. Both Schouten and Captain Cook give detailed descriptions, and I have an excellent model built for me under King George's directions.

stitutions. If their young men wanted excitement, there 175
was Fiji: there they might have their fill of war and rapine, 177
but in Tonga they must obey the chiefs set over them [622]
by the gods or brave the consequence of the broken *tabu.* [784]
In those days no Tongan had dared to test the belief. 175
It was not a superstition. They had seen men die whom 784
they knew to have infringed a *tabu*, and others, cursed by 761
some enemy, had withered away before their eyes. Thus
was royal authority strengthened by physical fear—ever
the strongest influence with the mob.[1]

For sixty years the land was at peace. They built great 175
tombs for their chiefs, and turned the islands into vast
gardens, so that there was abundance, and rich portions of
the first-fruits were presented to the gods. Then Moungatonga, 175
the Tui Haatakalaua, took the Samoan woman 643
Tohuia to wife, and when her son Ngata grew to manhood, Moungatonga grew wearied with the weight of authority, and charged him with the dominion of the people, while he withdrew himself into the honoured obscurity of rank without power. The new temporal king took his title from the sacred soil of Kanokubolu

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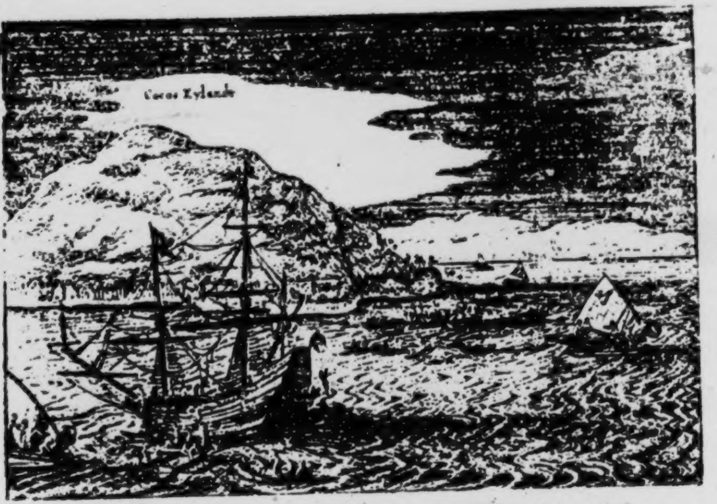
[1] Now that the bugbear of the *tabu* has been put to flight before the
light of Christianity, they have preserved the belief in a changed form.
They believe that he who swears falsely, after kissing the Bible, must die. [779]
In 1886 a house was burned down by an incendiary, and before the courts [626]
could interfere, all the villagers met together for a trial by ordeal. A Bible
was brought, and each person took a solemn oath that he or she was innocent
of the crime. They took no interest in the judicial inquiry, feeling
sure that the culprit would die within a few weeks. Not long afterwards
an elderly woman named Ana began to sicken and refuse her food. She
grew rapidly worse, and at last confessed that, in a fit of jealousy, she had
set fire to the house of her rival. Her end was hastened by the warnings [769]
of her relations that if she was guilty of perjury she had no chance of recovery.
She was fairly frightened to death.

175 643 in Hihifo. At first probably he was the mouthpiece or messenger of the higher chiefs, their Chancellor and perpetual Prime Minister; but the power was destined to grow until it overshadowed the dignity of the heaven-descended Tui Tonga himself.

175 177 609 [501] In Ngata's reign the Tongans first heard of a world outside their own. On May 16, 1616, the two high-pooped Dutch ships of Schouten and Lemaire anchored at Niua-tobutabu. To the fierce inhabitants they were no visitants from the world of spirits, but men like themselves, possessed of property worth seizing. Under colour of selling cocoa-nuts to the crew they tried to carry off a boat; and one of them was shot dead before they would desist. They then made a general attack upon the ship,

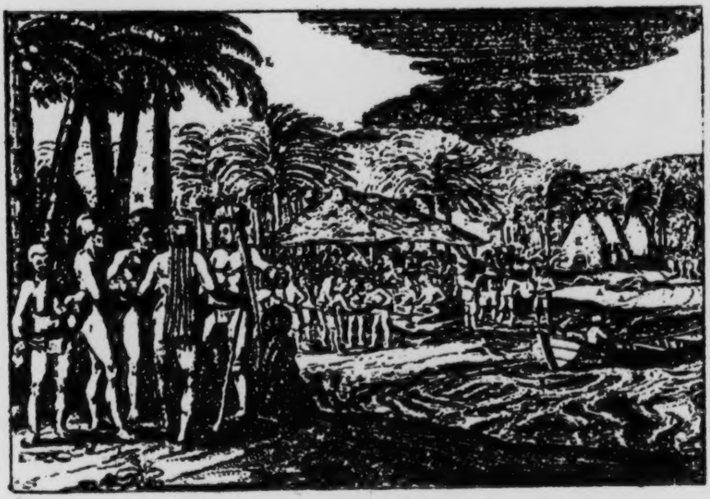


The discovery of Niua-tobutabu by Schouten and Lemaire, 1616.
Vide Appendix II. ^
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

A /See p. 402 for further information--Analyst/

and were repulsed with heavy loss. Thus one fact was 175
learned—the strangers could not be openly assailed with 177
safety; and the fame of Schouten's prowess, recorded in a 609
rough poem, may have served to protect his great countryman Tasman.

On January 27, 1643, Abel Tasman anchored off Hihifo in Tongatabu. The natives crowded on board his ships to barter provisions for iron, but beyond pilfering when unobserved, they did not annoy their visitors. A chief, probably the Tui Tonga, Tabuoji, entertained them very
hospitably, and invited them on shore. They found that 175
the country was cultivated like a garden. It was divided 177
361
by neat reed fences into plantations, within which stood [311]



[291]
[301]
[302]
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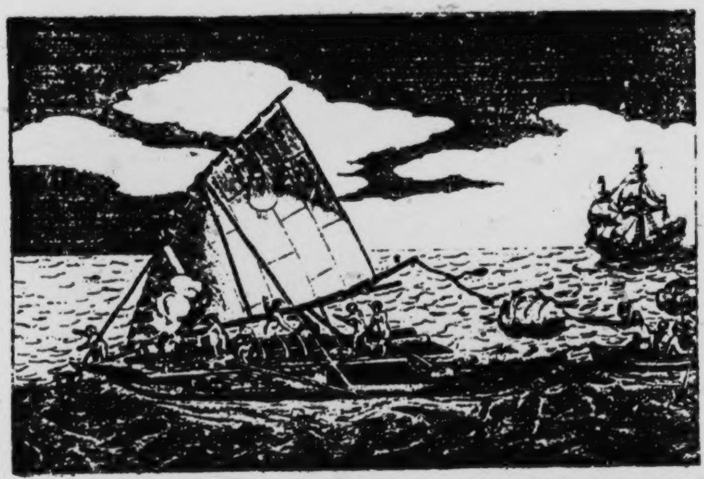
Schouten and Lemaire buying provisions in Futuna, 1616, showing ancient mode of wearing the hair. Vide Appendix II. A^

(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

A^ /See pp. 402-403 for explanation of picture--Analyst/

175 177 [361] [411] [669] the house of the owner. They saw no weapons and no villages, for the time had not yet come when the alarms of civil war would drive the people together for mutual protection. The age of *Fanongonongo Tokoto* (making proclamation while reclining) meant the age of peace and plenty rather than the age of a crowded population. Among the presents given to the Tui Tonga was a wooden bowl, said to be that which, in the Tui Tonga's absence, was used by his subjects to absolve the *tabu* in the ceremony of *moëmoë*. Tasman sailed away, and the Tongans saw no more of the foreigners for 124 years. The priceless iron tools they had given them had long been worn out and disappeared, but the memory of their coming, embalmed by one of the native poets, remained fresh to its smallest details. Four kings had reigned and had been laid in their

[501]



An unprovoked attack by Schouten upon a Tongiaki *off Niua, May* 1616.
Vide Appendix II. A
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

A /See p. 402 for further information--Analyst/

malae when foreigners again set foot on the soil of Tonga. 175
On August 13, 1767, Wallis, fresh from the discovery of 177
Tahiti, brought to for one day at Niua-tobutabu, and gave the people a few nails in exchange for provisions. These gifts, so precious to a people still in the stone age, were at once carried to their suzerain chiefs in the islands to the far southward; and when Captain Cook landed six years later in Tongatabu, he saw them in the hands of his entertainers.

When the Discovery anchored at Hihifo on the 10th 175
June 1773 the principal chiefs were absent in the islands 177
to the northward, and he saw no one but Latelibulu, the 642
brother of the Tamaha, whom, judging from the honour paid to him, he mistook for the king. Four years later he landed at Namuka in the Resolution and Discovery, and met Finau Ulukalala, whose restless character had raised him from the position of hereditary chief of Vavau to one of greater power than the Tui Kanokubolu himself wielded. Cook thus describes him: "He was tall and thin, and appeared to be about thirty years of age. His features were more of the European cast than any we had seen here." His evident authority in Namuka led Cook at first to suppose that he was king, but when he was confronted with Pau, the Tui Tonga, and performed to him the humble act of *moëmoë*, he rated him as an impostor of that contemptible kind that pretends to a dignity to which he is not entitled. When, however, he realised in Tongatabu the extent of his influence with the older chiefs, and saw that even the Tui Tonga did homage to his female relative the Tamaha, he abandoned all hope of solving the mystery of the Tongan Constitution, and, for want of a better

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 definition, elevated Finau to the dignity of Commander-
177 in-Chief.

612 Anxious to keep the visitors to himself, Finau showed
175 them the most lavish hospitality at Haapai, and did all in
177 his power to persuade them to visit Vavau. But the Tui
609 Tonga, attracted by the accounts of the priceless possessions of the strangers, now arrived, and invited them to become his guests at Tongatabu. Finau, nothing abashed at having fallen in his visitors' estimation, followed in his own fleet, and encamped on the shore opposite the little island of Pangaimotu, where the ships were anchored.

The white men were not always conciliatory. The peasants, or serfs, were a noisy, uncouth set, who, when unrestrained by their chiefs, treated the strangers with scant respect, and robbed them whenever they had an oppor-
[554] tunity. In their eyes a successful theft was an achieve-
[565] ment to be boasted of rather than a crime; and as a serf has no soul, it was a matter of indifference to the chiefs how they were punished. Thieves were flogged almost daily on board the ships without disturbing the friendliness of Finau in the least; indeed he himself recom-
[151] mended this punishment. An officer wrote in his journal: "One was punished with seventy-two lashes for stealing only a knife; another with thirty-six for endeavouring to carry off some drinking-glasses; three with three dozen each for throwing stones at the wooders; but, what was still more cruel, one man, for attempting to carry off an axe, was ordered to have his arm cut to the bone, which he bore without complaining." As no such punishment as seventy-two lashes was allowed in the navy at that time, and the writer was so evidently hostile to his com-

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OU9 Tonga OU9

mander, it is probable that the severity of the punishments has been exaggerated. 175
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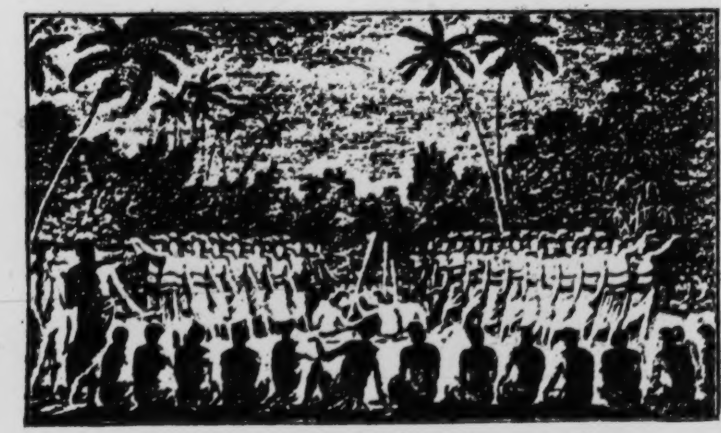
609

The chiefs owed their visitors no gratitude. Every present they had received, every condescension shown to them, had been repaid by liberal gifts of provisions. The ships were filled with treasures as precious in their eyes as gold would have been in the eyes of their visitors, and in a few days they would sail away never to return. Why, they thought, should they not prevent this? For the details of the conspiracy they had recourse to Finau, who had seen more of the white men than any of the others. Preparations had already been made for the assemblage of a vast concourse for the performance of dances in honour of the visitors: what would be easier than to fall upon the white men during a night dance by torchlight, conceal the bodies, and, when a party came from the ships to look for



[535]
[516]

A bo-mee or night-dance at Haapai, June 1777. (From a steel engraving in the British Museum.)

175 their commander, to lead them inland and massacre them?
177 The ships thus weakened would be an easy prey. But
609 Finau thought that the attempt should be made by daylight, lest, in the confusion caused by the darkness, they should fail in boarding the ships. When he found that the majority were disinclined to adopt his advice, Finau declared that he would have nothing to do with the scheme, and it was reluctantly abandoned. On Tuesday, June 17, Cook and his officers attended the dances without suspicion, surrounded by nearly 10,000 natives, who, if the signal had been given, would assuredly have succeeded in massacring the whole party.[1] The gathering of so vast a crowd in the neighbourhood of the ships could not fail to produce disorder. There was a scarcity of food, and the parties landing for wood and water were insolently plundered. Several turkeys were stolen, and for the first time Cook determined to hold the chiefs responsible for the acts of their serfs. He landed with an armed guard, and without any warning put Finau and Maealiuaki, the Tui Kanokubolu, under arrest in their own house. A number of armed men now assembled with the evident intention of attacking the guard, but Finau, concealing his feelings, ordered them to disperse, and despatched messengers to recover the turkeys. As soon as these returned with the birds the guard was withdrawn, and their friendly relations were resumed. They still dined on board, and continued to send provisions to the captain. But when, a few days later, the muskets of one of the shore parties were stolen, and Cook proceeded on shore to repeat his policy, he found that the chiefs had wisely with-

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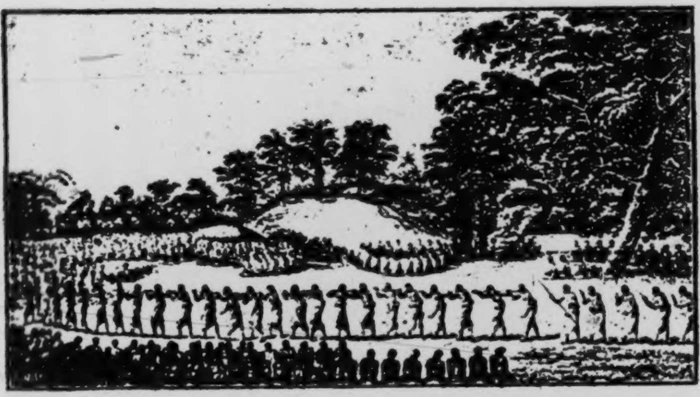
[1] Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands.

drawn, and it was not until he had given them solemn 175
assurances of their safety that they consented to return. 177
The stolen arms were eventually recovered through the 609
medium of the chiefs, who were not in the least concerned
that one of the thieves, who had been wounded with a
ball, was not expected to live.[1]

Cook now prepared to leave Tonga, but contrary winds 175
detained him long enough to witness the ceremony of the 177 609 643 782 [535]
inaji, or the presentation of the first-fruits to the gods in
the person of the Tui Tonga, their representative on earth.
The ceremonial, the dresses, the wooden symbols for the
yams, puzzled him extremely. Though forbidden to approach, he forced his way into the inner circle that surrounded the Tui Tonga, and was allowed to remain on the



The great inaji *at which Captain Cook was present, June 1777.*
(From a steel engraving in the British Museum.)

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[1] This man was seen alive and well sixteen years later by D'Entrecasteaux-Labillardière.

175 condition that he bared his shoulders; for the Tongans,
177 then as now, did not expect foreigners to conform to their
609 manners, and were lenient to any breach of their laws
643 committed by a stranger in ignorance. On June 25 he
782 set sail, after a stay of seven weeks, and not many months
later met his tragic end in Hawaii from an over-confidence
in the natives, which his experience of the Tongans (whom
he misnamed the "Friendly Islanders") may have helped
to engender.

It seems strange that a people who, to both Tasman and
175 178 Cook, appeared unaccustomed to the use of arms, should,
721 twenty-two years after the visit of the latter, be found
practising all the barbarities of savage warfare. What
internal ferment, one asks, can have produced so abrupt
a change? Native traditionary history supplies the
175 answer. Intercourse with Fiji was warping the Tongan
177 character.

178 At the time of Cook's visit increasing and regular
intercourse with Fiji was rapidly changing the Tongans
for the worse. Ethnologically, between Fiji and Tonga
[144] there is a great gulf fixed. The former belong to the
great family of the Melanesians; the latter to the pure
stock of the light-skinned race, which, for want of a
[171] better name, are called the Malayo-Polynesians. The
Fijians knew no higher form of society than that of the
family or clan, shut up within its own intrenchments, at
perpetual war with its neighbours; no nobler occupation
than the devising of treachery against their enemies. But
generations of peace had dulled the warlike instincts of
the Tongans, and allowed their institutions to take a firm
[313] root. Timber for sea-going canoes was scarce in Tonga,
[505]

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14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

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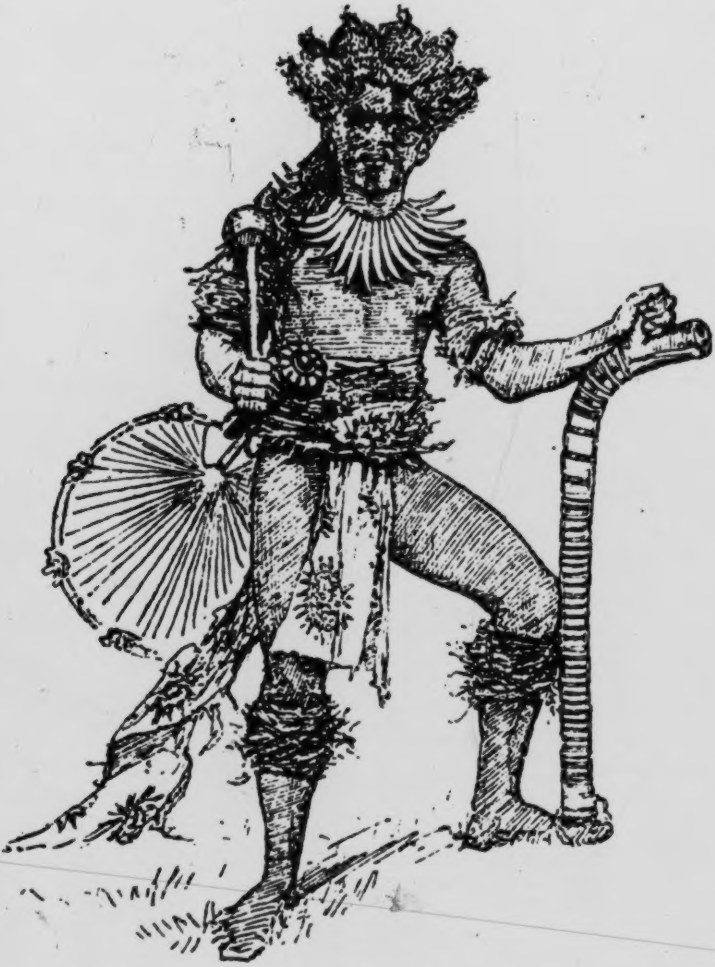

A warrior of Fiji.

175 and it was not until the eighteenth century that any
177 but the principal chiefs could fit out expeditions for
178 distant voyages. A little before 1750 several canoes had
[313] run down the wind to Lakemba, and their crews, after
[505] joining one or other of the local chiefs in war, and gaining
him the victory by their superior daring, had taken their
share of the spoil, exchanged their small canoes for larger
craft, built of *vesi* from Kambara, and returned to their
own country laden with exotic plunder, and boasting of
[86] their foreign experiences. Thenceforth an expedition to
[565] Fiji became the keystone of a Tongan chief's education,
just as in Europe at the same period the "grand tour"
was considered essential to the training of an English
gentleman; and as our travellers brought back outlandish
habits and strange wares, which were admired because
they were foreign, so Cook found that the Tongans spoke
of their neighbours as their superiors in war and in the
175 useful arts. The cold-blooded treachery that will betray
177 a brother to gratify the thirst for blood; the brutal
186 ferocity that spares neither sex nor age; the depraved
178 lust that is gratified in outrage on the dead; the foul
appetite of revenge that will eat the body of a slain
enemy,—all these seemed to the young Tongan the badges
of a manliness worthy of imitation. He regarded the
comparative refinement of his own people as effeminacy,
and vied with his fellows in imitating the accomplishments of his more travelled countrymen. It would surprise the Tongan of to-day to hear that his fathers looked
up to the Fijians as his superiors. A contempt born of
familiarity has taught him to estimate the characteristics
of his neighbours at something less than their proper

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OU9 Tonga OU9

value. The taste for licence engendered by intercourse 175
with Fiji could not but have its effect upon the political 177
situation of Tonga. The young chiefs chafed at their 178
enforced inaction, for there was no scope for personal 186
ambition in a State controlled by so firm a central [642]
Government.

III.

THE REVOLUTION.

Tukuaho now became the central figure upon the stage. 175
In his morose and cruel temper, his unbending policy, 643
his tragic end, and the long years of bloodshed and misery that followed it, he stands out in the memory of his countrymen in lurid relief. About the year 1784 the Tui Tonga, Pau, who had so hospitably entertained Captain Cook, died, and Tukuaho immediately seized the estates claimed by his widow on behalf of her son Mauulu-beko-tofa, who was still a minor. Her resistance was useless, and she was driven to take refuge in the island of Eua. It was the first sign of the waning power of the Tui Tonga, and the growing assumptions of the high temporal chiefs. Tukuaho's motive was doubtless to seize upon a conspicuous place and secure to himself in due course the reversion of the office of Tui Kanokubolu.
About 1790 Finau Ulukalala died, and was suc- 175
ceeded by his brother under the same title. The younger 643 634
Finau was Tukuaho's only rival for the leadership of the young party, and he, being occupied with the affairs of

175 Haapai, could not as yet interfere in the affairs of Tonga-
643 tabu. As soon as the office of Tui Kanokubolu became
[634] vacant by the death of Mulikihaamea, Tukuaho successfully schemed for the election of his father Mumui to the title, that he himself might wield the power. His father was already so old that he could not long stand in his way. Meanwhile a bitter jealousy sprang up between Finau and Tukuaho, none the less bitter that it was concealed. It was unfortunate for their country that the two men should have existed in the same generation. Both ambitious, both unscrupulous, both of inflexible purpose, the tiny stage was not large enough for both to play their parts, and a struggle to the death was inevitable.

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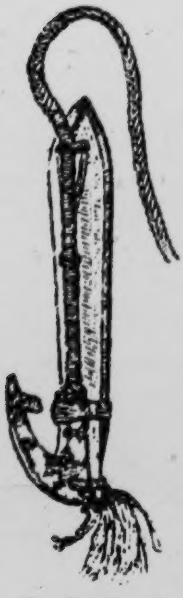

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[609]

The Tui Tonga's fish-hook.

At this juncture the ship Duff, fitted out by the London Missionary Society, landed nine artisan missionaries, who attached themselves to various chiefs, and were thus enabled to record the events of the most stirring times in Tongan history. Unfortunately for themselves, they quarrelled with two runaway sailors who had landed some months before them, and were already in high favour with the chiefs; and these men lost no opportunity of damaging them with the natives, by representing their religious services as witchcraft designed to destroy them, — a statement to which a prevailing epidemic among the chiefs gave colour.

Mumui was now very infirm, and not likely to survive 175
many months. The executive power had therefore passed 643
into the hands of his son Tukuaho, who lived at Hihifo,
but virtually governed the whole island. The power of
the spiritual chiefs had so far declined since Cook's visit
that the missionaries describe the Tui Tonga as coming
below the Tui Kanokubolu in power and influence. On [782]
the 29th May 1797 Mumui died, in spite of the sacrifice
of one of his relations at the shrine of the gods. Two of [768]
his widows, after the custom of Fiji, now fast becoming [593]
the fashion, were strangled at his grave, and the usual [177]
scenes of barbarous grief ensued.[1] At the close of the
funeral ceremonies Tukuaho was formally elected Tui
Kanokubolu, and inducted with the ceremony of kava-drinking.
He is thus described by a contemporary: "He [157]
is a stout man, and may be about forty years of age, is
of a sullen, morose countenance, speaks very little, but
when angry bellows forth with a voice like a roaring
lion." Possessed at last of the supreme power in name
as well as in substance, he gave rein to his instincts
—the instincts of a beast of prey. Many stories are
told of his cruelties: how for a mere whim, worthy of
a Commodus, he ordered the right arms of twelve of his
servants to be amputated; how, as a punishment for a
woman who had offended him, he had her sawn asunder
lengthwise while still alive.[2] But these were not the true 175
causes of Finau's hatred against him, though they served 643
as an excuse for his ambition and insatiable restlessness. 669
Against a more popular ruler he would not have
dared to rebel; but the savage and wanton cruelties of

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[1] 'Missionary Voyage of the Duff.'

[2] Mariner's 'Tonga.'

175 far as Mua, driving their enemy before them to Hihifo.
643 The eastern and central portions of the island were
669 thus ranged against the western. Tradition has left us
no clue to the motive of Mulikihaamea, but, to judge
from Finau's subsequent conduct, it seems probable that
the rebels were assured of his support before they ventured to strike the blow.[1]

For the events that followed we have the accounts of
127 the missionaries who accompanied the Royalist army; of
the apostate Vason, who actually fought on the side of
the rebels; and the descriptions given by the natives to
Mariner eight years later.

175 Tukuaho fell on the night of the 21st April 1799.
669 The missionaries were scattered throughout the different
797 districts, each living under the protection of some leading
622 chief, who, though willing to protect them during times
of peace, was quite unable to restrain his people after war
579 had broken out. With the first news of the rebellion the
serfs broke down all restraint, and slaughtered pigs and
fowls wholesale to compensate them for their enforced
abstinence in times of peace. For the first fortnight
there was no general engagement, but there were slight
skirmishes which served to embitter the hostility between
266 the two parties. One of the rebels was taken prisoner,
and was cut up alive and eaten,—a reversion to cannibal-
177 ism, after the lapse of two centuries, that was owing,
175 doubtless, to the baleful example of Fiji. Ata, the hered-
669 itary chief of Hihifo, ordered the bones of Finau's father
769 to be exhumed, and hung upon a tree in Pangaimotu.
576 This was the grossest insult that could be offered to the

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[1] Vason's 'Four Years in Tongatábu.'

the person of Laufilitonga, the last of the Tui Tonga, the 175
ceremony of the great *inaji* had been discontinued too 634 643
long to be resumed. 782

Mariner, the only historian of this period, left in 1810; 175
and for the events of the next few years we are depen- 177 127
dent upon native sources. In 1811 Finau II. died, and 175
was succeeded by his uncle, Finau Fiji, otherwise known 634
as Tuabaji—a wise and temperate chief, with greater
experience if less natural mental activity than his
nephew. Under his rule intercourse with Haapai was [628]
resumed, for he felt himself strong enough to keep disorderly spirits in check.

Haapai now became the political, as it was the 175
geographical, centre of the kingdom. Tubou-toa had 628
gathered round him the great warriors of Tonga, many 643
of them trained in the arts of war as practised in Fiji. [701] [177]
With him were his brother Tubou-malohi, the nominal
Tui Kanokubolu, and Vuna, the banished chief of Vavau.
To keep his warriors employed, he was obliged to make [578]
an annual descent upon Tongatabu without any decided
success. In 1812, however, Tubou-malohi died, and his
brother became the natural successor, although his mother
had been a woman of inferior rank. He was duly elected [578]
to the post by the chiefs who were under his leadership,
and he lost no time in invading Tongatabu. During the [669]
eight years that remained to him, he succeeded in mak- [642]
ing some at least of the revolted chiefs acknowledge his
authority; but at his death, in 1820, the fortresses were
rebuilt, and the island relapsed again into anarchy.

the priestess of Haehaetahi, and beat the unfortunate 175
woman, challenging her god to avenge the insult; they 634
hanged five idols by the neck, and burned the spirit- 797
houses, to convince the people by ocular demonstration 798
that infringement of the *tabu* had no penalties.

In 1827 Captain d'Urville in the Astrolabe anchored 175
at Pangaimotu,[1] and was attacked by a party of natives, 177
who carried off with them one of his marines. Not being 609
disposed to land, or apply to the local authorities, and knowing the evil character the people had earned in their attempts to take ships, he bombarded the island for two days without doing serious damage. Later in the year Peter Dillon, on his way to find the remains of de la Perouse's ill-fated expedition at Vanikoro, put in for a few days to secure interpreters.

Finau Ulukalala III. (Tuabaji, *alias* Finau Fiji[2]), who 175
now held independent sway over Vavau, following Taufaahau's 634
example, had also written for a missionary; but 797
his motive proved to be that of mere curiosity, and he
soon cast off his new professions. In April 1831 Taufaahau [628]
visited Vavau with twenty-four sail of canoes, on political business, and took that opportunity for attempting the conversion of his eccentric neighbour. It was a hard task, and he found it necessary to sail back to Haapai unattended to ascertain from the missionary whether it would be safe to promise Finau a missionary if he would consent to renounce his gods. Satisfied upon this point, he returned to the attack.
Being before all things practical, Finau determined to 175
give his fathers' gods one last chance before finally 634 797 776 778

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[1] Near Nukualofa.

[2] Described by Mariner.

[1840]

besieged jumped over the wall and joined the besiegers, 175
leaving the garrison too weak to resist. Hihifo thus yielded 798
without the loss of a single life, and Taufaahau, true to 669
his promise, spared the lives of the 500 prisoners who fell
into his hands.

He now consented to take up his permanent quarters in [761]
Nukualofa with his army of 900 men and their families.
On April 20, 1840, an attack was made upon some stragglers
near Nukualofa. The Christians were upon the point [177]
of making reprisals when Commodore Wilkes of the United
States exploring expedition arrived, and offered his services
as mediator between the hostile parties. But his
efforts were frustrated by a fresh attack by the heathen,
and he left the island without effecting his object. Rightly 175
or wrongly, he formed the opinion that the missionaries 798 669
by their indiscriminating zeal had brought about the war, 797
and that King George Taufaahau was using the opportunity 643
to so increase his prestige as to secure his succession
to the office of the reigning king. Although the result of
the war was the advancement of the interests both of King
George and the missionaries, I see no reason to believe that
either were disinclined for peace. The worst that can be
said is that it was a missionary war, brought about by zeal
untempered with discretion, and that in this respect only
can the bloodshed be laid at the missionaries' door.

On the 21st May 1840 Captain Croker anchored at 175
Nukualofa in H.M.S. Favourite, and was appealed to by 177
the missionaries to help them out of their difficulties. He 798 669
landed half his ship's company, and advanced upon the
fortress of Bea with three field-pieces. The guns were
brought into position within range of the enemy's muskets,

[1840]

175 and Captain Croker entered the fort under a flag of truce. 177 The garrison were willing to listen to his terms, and he 778 left them with the understanding that they should have 669 half an hour to consult their allies. At the end of the time an English sailor, nicknamed Jimmy the Devil,[1] who was armourer to the heathen forces, appeared above the gate and asked for more time—indeed it afterwards transpired that they were upon the point of accepting the terms; but Captain Croker stood watch in hand, and upon the stroke of the half-hour he ran towards the gate crying, "Now, men, follow me." In the first volley from the fort he and several of his men were wounded, and as he leaned for support against a cocoa-nut-tree he was shot through the heart. Two of his officers were killed, and nineteen men wounded: the survivors succeeded with great difficulty in carrying off the injured, and they at once put to sea, taking with them the missionaries and their families. The field-pieces are still in the hands of the Tongans, and serve to keep green the memory of how they beat a British man-of-war.

The whole blame of this extraordinary incident, which has done so much to damage British prestige with the Tongans, must rest upon Captain Croker, who paid for his folly with his life. For becoming the aggressor in a quar-

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[1] There was more than one "Jimmy the Devil" in Tonga. A few months after the attack upon Bea, some of the blue-jackets were discussing the affair in a public-house in Sydney. A man sitting near, hearing the word Tonga, joined in the conversation, saying that he had been in the islands. "They called me 'Jimmy the Devil' down there," he added. The wretched man barely escaped from the blue-jackets with his life. They had mistaken him for the "Jimmy" who shot down their commander.

[1840-1845]

rel that did not concern him he may be excused—for, in the 175
excitement of the time, it is more than probable that the 177
missionaries greatly exaggerated their own danger, and 798 669
thus placed him in the position of a protector of British
interests; but for the gross incompetence and indiscretion
shown in leading the attack he must bear the sole responsibility.

The heathen party, having beaten off their assailants, 175
began to grow tired of the confinement of life within their 798
intrenchments, and readily accepted peace without the 669
imposition of terms on either side. The new converts, 175
with the doctrine of universal love ringing in their ears, 797
were now to learn something of Christian hate, and, to do 798
them justice, they made very apt pupils. In 1842 some
Roman Catholic priests landed and joined the heathen at
Bea, among whom they had as much right to be as the
Methodist missionaries who had failed to convert them.
The mutual recriminations of the rival teachers could not
leave their followers unaffected. Religious differences
among natives, fostered as they always are by their
spiritual guides, invariably lead to political troubles.
The heathen chiefs now asserted that they had a right [669]
to be independent, and that they would give asylum to [643]
any fugitive from the laws promulgated by the king.
The priests had set their followers in the road that
leads to civil war, and for the misfortunes that overtook
them they had only themselves to thank.

On November 14, 1845, King Josiah Tubou died. On 175
his deathbed he summoned Tungi, the representative of 643
the Tui Haatakalaua and the principal heathen chief, and 634
charged him to regard George Taufaahau as his succes-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1852]

175 dependence. They were the more ready to adopt the
643 latter alternative since the priests pointed out to them
798 669 that they would be surrendering not to King George—
622 that they had already done—but to the English missionaries, who had become his Ministers of State as well as of the Gospel.

175 Before finally taking the field, the king made an effort
643 to induce the priests to leave the rebels—for his foresight
797 told him that any injury they might sustain would afford
669 a pretext for the demands of a foreign Power for indemnity. They refused, however, to leave the fort, probably feeling that the desertion of their friends on the approach of danger would destroy their prestige beyond repair. The courage they showed in braving the dangers of a siege by a stronger party, with the prospect of the horrors of savage victory at the close, compares favourably with the conduct of their rivals who fled the island in 1840, and deserves something better than the sneers that have been heaped upon them by the Wesleyan missionaries.

175 On March 1st the king distributed muskets among his
643 chiefs, and formally declared war. After two slight skir-
669 mishes, a pitched battle was fought near Bea, with con-
[713] siderable loss on both sides, but without decisive result.
[725] On the 14th the Roman Catholic Bishop of Samoa arrived
[177] in a French ship-of-war to inquire into the cause of the
[797] war, and left again with the avowed intention of bringing
[701] help for the beleaguered priests from Tahiti. On the 12th
of April the king closely invested Bea, by throwing up four earthworks at different points of the fortification, garrisoning them with a total force of 10,000 men. He

[1852]

might probably have taken the place by assault, but for 175 some reason he hesitated from day to day in the hope that 643 669 the enemy would themselves sue for peace.

Houma meanwhile had resisted all Ata's efforts to carry it by storm, and the king's troops were driven to try the expedient of starving the garrison into submission. Early in July the Houma people sued for peace, and received the king's pardon, sitting before him with *ici*-leaves, emblematic of submission, hanging from their necks. Five weeks later a large ship was reported off the anchorage, and the king, supposing it to be the help promised to the enemy from Tahiti, prepared to assault Bea before the French should have time to interfere. But she proved [177] to be H.M.S. Calliope, commanded by Sir Everard Home, who offered his services to the king as mediator with his enemies. Terms were again sent to the enemy by [728] four chiefs of high rank,—that the lives of the entire garrison should be spared, on the condition that the fort should be given over to pillage and destruction. But the enemy distrusted the faith of the king's troops, and asked for one of the missionaries and the king's son as hostages for their safety. To this the king would not consent, and 175 the negotiations threatened to break down when news 643 669 reached Nukualofa that the principal chiefs had left the 727 fortress, and that the royal forces were sacking the place. The king, accompanied by Sir Everard Home, set off for Bea in hot haste, and traversed the four intervening miles almost at a run. They arrived just in time to prevent the victors, drunken with the excitement of rapine, from proceeding to outrage. The town was in flames, and the priests were threatened with rough treatment. By the

[1852]

175 king's efforts they were removed to a place of safety, and
643 their property was dragged out of their burning houses.
669 Lavaka, Maafu, and Tubouleva were pardoned, and they
[727] forthwith renounced both heathenism and the Christianity
[797] of the Roman Church, which the Protestant chronicler
[798] naïvely classes together. Thus ended the second Wesleyan
[797] crusade, and Protestantism, sustained by the musket
and the club, was again triumphant.

175 In the following November the long-expected help from
177 Tahiti arrived in the person of Captain Belland of the
643 Imperial frigate Moselle. A formal inquiry was held to
investigate the charges brought by the priests and the
captain of a French whaler; and the French commander,
while acquitting the king of responsibility for any injury
sustained by the priests, warned him against allowing
his zeal to blind him to the right of his subjects to entire
freedom of conscience. In closing the inquiry he said to
the interpreter, "Tell him that I have known many chiefs
in the South Seas, but I have never met his equal."

175 Relieved of his anxieties at home, King George had
643 now the leisure to consider his long-cherished scheme of
travelling abroad. More than once in his youth he had
almost yielded to a temptation to ship before the mast in
one of the passing whalers that made Tonga their annual
port of call. Had he done so, the history of his country
would have been different, but he was reserved for higher
175 things. His mind naturally turned to Fiji, where a new
643 kingdom had been unexpectedly won for him. The number
648 of Tongans settled in Fiji had grown into a standing
669 menace to the peace of Tonga. Any disaffected chief
167 might recruit an army of free-lances there, well trained in

[1853]

175 of Fiji to England reduced him from the position of an
648 independent viceroy to that of a pensioner of the British
721 Government. Deprived of all stimulus to activity, he
became demoralised, took to drink, and died in 1880.

175 Affairs stood thus when, in 1853, King George embarked
643 for Sydney in the mission brig John Wesley.
484 The ship dropped anchor at Bau, and King George met
177 Thakombau and formed the alliance that ultimately
648 brought about the annexation of the group by England.
The Fijian chief promised him the canoe Ra Marama, the largest craft afloat, if the king would visit him to bring her away. His power was already waning, and he hoped that his alliance with the Tongan king, whose name was become a terror throughout the group, would cow his enemy Ratu Mara.

175 Sydney made a deep impression upon George's mind.
643 His questions were unending. Nothing escaped him,
484 from the form of legislature to the uniforms of the policemen.
177 One fact, indeed, he lost no time in applying to his
423 own country, and to it is due the present independence of
609 the kingdom of foreign interference. European settlers
had already been pressing him to sell land to them, and he had resisted hitherto, feeling that it would give them a status in the country that would sooner or later affect his own independence. He now found that in Sydney land could be granted to a stranger without passing out of the hand of its real owner. He resolved that not a rood of Tongan land should be alienated except upon lease, and he kept his resolution.

175 On his return to Tonga he wrote to Thakombau the
643 letter that induced him to accept the missionaries' teach-
648
797

[1853]

175 dashed against the stockade, and after a few minutes'
643 hand-to-hand fighting the enemy were in full flight, and
648 Kamba, invincible to Fijian methods of warfare, was in
721 flames. None of their Fijian allies appeared until the
looting had begun. With the fall of Kamba the heart of
Mara's rebellion was crushed, and Thakombau recovered
his prestige. Had King George failed him, Bau would
have fallen, and the cession of the country to England,
which Thakombau brought about, might never have taken
175 place. Before leaving the group, King George made a tour
643 through some of the heathen islands to urge upon the
648 chiefs the adoption of Christianity. Traces of this expedition
[797] may still be seen in the wavy seal-like hair of
some of the natives of Kandavu and Vatulele, who were
born shortly after the departure of the Tongans.

175 After settling the policy to be adopted by Maafu in
643 Lau, the king set sail for Tonga. He found the Governor
648 of Tahiti, M. du Bouzet, awaiting his return with a treaty
797 ready for his signature, which was so worded as to give
the French priests the fullest liberty of action. It was
then the policy of the Empire, as it is now of the Republic,
to lend the Church the powers of the State abroad
while ignoring her claims at home.

175 To this point, in spite of the bloodshed the introduction
797 of Christianity had cost, the missionaries' influence had
642 been for good; but from the king's return from Fiji they
177 felt their position to be secure, and they began to abuse
178 their power by meddling in the affairs of the State. They
were burning with a desire for radical reform: they panted
to see their flock enjoying the sweets of constitutional
government. Mr St Julian, the King of Hawaii's Mayor

[1853-1862]

of the Palace, having persuaded his own patron to bow 175
down before the freedom-god, wrote a flattering letter to 797
the Tongan missionaries to enlist them in the same holy 642
cause. The king, to his credit be it said, long resisted, ob- 177
jecting that his people were not ready for such reforms; 178
that, though in Sydney it might be well to curtail the [643]
power of the chiefs, the Tongans would use their new liberty for the indulgence of their natural idleness. But in 1862 he was over persuaded, and a Constitution was granted which swept away the form of government which had taken centuries to elaborate, and substituted executive machinery on the English plan. A system evolved from centuries of experiment to suit the needs of Anglo-Saxons was forced in a single day upon a handful of ignorant Orientals, with whose inborn convictions it was in complete antagonism. The *Konisitutone* became thenceforth the fetish of the Tongan people. Most of them did not know what it was, but it had been introduced by the missionaries, and was intimately connected, they believed, with its outlandish fellow *Konisienisi* (Conscience), and in some mysterious way it elevated their country to the
level of one of the Great Powers. It was not until after [622]
the feasting and the speech-making and the ecstatic ser- [565]
mons of the black-coated missionaries that the chiefs had time to realise that they had sold their birthright for a sheet of vellum, and that their power was gone. It was a heavy price to pay for being *sivilaisi*.

The power of the missionaries was now at its height. 175
The king had no other advisers, and it was natural that he 797
should rely upon them. The early indifference to their [643]
teachings had given place to an almost hysterical en- [645]

175 thusiasm. They had scarcely to ask for contributions—
797 the emulation among their congregations filled the mission
oil-tanks—and they, too, began to be astonished at their
[645] own moderation. As the king's advisers they now began
[177] to dabble in politics. They designed a Royal Standard
[178] with doves and crossed swords, and other un-Polynesian
[291] devices; they ordered a Crown and a Great Seal; they
[719] taught the officers of State to pace the beach in English military uniforms; they encouraged the women to disfigure themselves with bonnets and European dress. They had laboured hard, and if they now complacently accepted the blind adoration of their flock, it was but human nature.

But there was one among the new converts who was less blind than his teachers. One of the missionaries was leaving the group, and the villages for miles round assembled to take leave of him. A vast pile of mats, cloth, and other native property was heaped up before the smiling clergyman: the excitement was hysterical. Tungi, the latest convert, was curiously watching the scene with a companion by his side. "Uiliame," he said, "do you remember how they treated Mr—— when he came, how they stole his things and insulted him, and do you see them now? They are dying of love for him, Uiliame; yet I think that you and I will live to see the time when their love will be turned into hate. This will not last for long, Uiliame; their minds are too hot." Uiliame remembered these words twenty years later, when he saw an angry crowd assembled outside the mission-house demanding the bodies of the native Wesleyans who had taken refuge there, and he told the story as a proof of

533 present day. As in most primitive countries, both ~~words~~
538 and music are the work of the same hand. The modern
177 music has adopted the harmonies and cadence of the
European compositions which the composers have heard,
but it retains a distinctly native character, widely different
though it is from the form of the ancient melodies.
The songs are all sung in four-part chorus without accompaniment.
538 The poetry is uninteresting in that it generally
treats of scenery and flowers, seldom of the drama
of life, never of the drama of love.

538 Of traditionary poetry little remains. The admirable
173 efforts of the Rev. J. E. Moulton came too late to rescue
the stores of legendary lore that passed away with the
advent of Christianity, but the purely historical traditions
that have been rescued, and which form the basis for the
early history of the people, may be relied upon as having
000 been correctly handed down. I had a curious instance
of the durability of tradition. While conducting the
native newspaper in Fiji, I took some trouble to collect
and preserve the fragments of historical poetry that were
still remembered, and invited contributions from the
whole native community. At the same time I sent to
press some fragments that were published in a missionary
book about 1860. Among the contributions received in
response to my appeal was a poem of the murder of
Koroitamana (*circa* 1825). It had been gathered from
the mouth of a very old woman of Bau. My native subeditor
recognised it as being the same as one of the fragments
from the missionary book, and brought me the
printer's proof. Here, then, was an opportunity of comparing
versions of the same poem taken thirty-three years

000 gotten, the primitive method of raising weights is likely to prevail in that district. I asked the old men what they did with heavier weights still, and they immediately answered, "We make the platform of earth, and dig it away to make the log tip up." No doubt, when the log or stone is on end, they dig away the platform, throwing the earth into its old position, so that no trace remains. Having seen the whole process, I shall continue to believe that Stonehenge was built like this, until some one offers a better explanation.

349 There is a legend that the Haamonga stones were
773 brought by the god Maui in a gigantic canoe from Uea
(Wallace Island), and that you may see there great holes
823 in the rock whence they were quarried. A European
even assured me that the stone is of a kind not found
135 in Tonga at all. This part of the story at least is not
true, for the stone is mere coral, hardened by exposure, of
exactly the same quality as the reef close by.

136 In discussing the peculiarities of man I have altogether
neglected the lower animals in Tonga. The only indig-
enous mammals were a small field-rat, a fruit-eating bat
226 or flying fox, and a small cave-bat. The rat, having no
526 enemies but man, swarmed throughout the islands: so
numerous were they that it was a chieflike sport to shoot
them in the paths with a bow and arrow. They have
almost vanished now before the cats, dogs, and their
voracious Norway cousin, and rat-shooting is now as
extinct as bear-baiting in England.

231 The first foreign arrival was of course the pig. It is a
177 popular fallacy that Captain Cook, among his other benefi-

cent actions, introduced the pig into the islands of the 231
Pacific. It would be questionable whether, if he had done 177
so, he would have deserved the gratitude of posterity; for [136]
the pig, in his *rôle* of universal scavenger, adds to the
insanitary state of the village when alive, and when dead
disagrees with his owners. For he was never an article [262]
of common diet, being killed only on occasions of ceremony, and then eaten to excess. So far from taking pigs
to Tonga, Cook called there to obtain them in order to
preserve his crew from the scourge that wrecked so many
other expeditions, the scurvy. One hundred and thirty
years before Cook's visit Tasman exchanged iron for pigs
at Hihifo. But pigs had not then reached all the islands.
Penrhyn was without them; and tradition tells of a time
when even Fiji, so rich in all else, knew not the taste of
pork. The story comes from Samoa, and its very incoherence 000
seems to stamp it as having a core of true metal
within its thick coating of alloy:—

"Many generations ago, when the world was still young, the crops in Upolu failed, and there was a great famine. And a man, who had a daughter married to the chief of Tutuila, called his son to him and said, 'The people are dying of hunger, and beside these two pigs we have naught to eat. If we kill these the neighbours will come in and take the meat from us, and afterwards we shall all perish together. But I have heard that in thy sister's land, in Tutuila, there is yet plenty. Now go to her and ask her for shelter for me and thy mother and thy brothers who made her marriage-feast for her, for we would live with her until there be again plenty in Upolu.'

000 and there was great rejoicing, for there were no hogs in the island. And from this sow was the whole island replenished."

231 177 192 Some writers have remarked upon the Polynesian word for pig—*puaka* or *vuaka*—as being a proof that the pigs were first introduced by the Portuguese. There are, however, other words of Melanesian origin for the animal in Fiji—*ungō* and *rore*—that show the animal to have been known in the Pacific by others than the Malayo-Polynesians. It is most probable that the name is a mere coincidence, and that the people brought their pigs to the Pacific with them. The name may even be onomatopœic.

231 [136] The pig of the Pacific is long-snouted, humpbacked, lean, and out-at-elbows. He seems to have forgotten such of the decencies as may be traditionary among his civilised cousins, and will eat putrid flesh and other things that are unmentionable. He is, besides, stricken with a deep melancholy, from which neither the sunshine nor the cloud of flies in which he passes his existence can rouse him.

235 [171] Domestic poultry must also have come to the Pacific with the ancestors of the present Polynesians. The Tongan name *moa* and the Fijian *toa* are of course onomatopœic. The Maories, already possessing the word to denote domestic fowls, applied it to the great wingless birds they saw on their arrival in New Zealand; for the *moa* in their eyes was simply a hen on a gigantic scale.

231 177 192 The cat was probably the next arrival, and its native name is proof-positive that it was introduced by a person who called it "pussy," therefore an Englishman. In an

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

ancient poem celebrating one of the earliest visits of a 231
European ship, an unsuspecting cat has been handed down 177
to posterity as sitting on the fo'csle:— 192

"Pusi ka tiko e mua ni wanga."

To the native poet it was the most remarkable feature of the ship. In Tonga it is *pusi*, in Fiji *vusi*, and, by metathesis, *kusi*. If the Polynesians had brought their cats with them, we should no doubt find that, like the ancient Egyptians, they called it *miaw*. As for "puss," has not a living writer remarked that the god Pasht had a cat's head?

Then came the dogs. The name *kuli* has given rise to a popular delusion that the first dog was a colley, but this satisfying theory will not withstand the fact that the accent of the native name falls on the ultimate, and that dogs were called *kuli* as early as 1777, before sheep-dogs were generally known as colleys, the dogs in the Pacific at that date being not colleys at all. The more ancient Fijian name for dog is *tui*, but the word *kuli* is in use in all parts of that group that have been affected by Tongan immigration. Captain Cook found no dogs in 231
Tonga in 1773, but on his return four years later he 177
noticed numbers of dogs, "commonly of a sallow colour, [136]
small and pretty, nearly resembling the Pomeranian dog," which the natives declared they had lately obtained from Fiji. Whence the Fijians acquired them will now never be known; but, since the dingos or native dogs of Australia and New Guinea are very unlike the animals described by Cook, it seems probable that they are late introductions, landed from some vessel the tradition of

231 whose visit has now been forgotten. Vessels from Manilla
177 and the East Indies probably visited Vanualevu for sandal-
wood at intervals throughout the eighteenth century,
recording their visit in their log-book, but not thinking it
worth while to report their discoveries on their return to
port. In one of these the first dogs may have been landed.
It is perhaps safe to assume that animals whose names
are onomatopœic are indigenous, and that those that are
called by a corruption of a foreign name are recent intro-
000 ductions. A curious instance of the latter kind of nomenclature is to be found in Rotuna and the Gilbert Islands,
where a dog is called a *kamia*, the elegant native conversion of the homely "Come 'ere" with which the first dog
was addressed by his illiterate master. The natives fled
in terror from the new monster, and the sailor called it
off, little thinking that he was adding a new word to the
language of the island.

Little less curious is the origin of the Fijian name for
231 cattle. The first cattle brought to Tonga were presented
177 by Cook to Finau at Haapai. The two animals were
192 pointed out to him as a bull and a cow (*bulu mo kau*).
000 When they were afterwards shown to the Fijians, whose
conjunction is not *mo*, the names were taken to be one
word; and thenceforward all cattle, irrespective of sex,
were called *bulumokau*, the sex being distinguished by
suffixing the words for male or female. The ridiculous
word is applied even to beef, and by the Melanesian
servants domiciled in Fiji to mutton, when qualified by
231 the word *sipi* (sheep). The Tongans have now forgotten
192 the *kau*, and speak only of the *bulu*, adding the words
tagata or *fefine* to denote the sex. Thus with them a cow

is a female bull (*koe bula fefine*). D'Entrecasteaux, who 231
visited Tonga fourteen years after Cook, found that the 192
existence of the cattle left by that navigator was so far 231
forgotten that the natives did not know which island they 177
were on, if indeed they were alive at all. They were then
spoken of as *puaka tute* (Cook's pigs). Cook himself
records the fact that the new animals excited but little
interest. This indifference still survives in the unwilling- 231
ness of the people to keep cattle, in spite of the excellent
pasture in the island and the large profits to be made from
the sale of milk. Almost every Tongan owns a horse;
scarcely half a dozen keep cows. A cow cannot be ridden, [181]
and it must be watered and milked with absolute regularity
or it will run dry; and of all the products of civilisation,
regular routine is the most hateful to the Polynesian.

I have spoken elsewhere of horses. The ancestors of [177]
the present breed were brought from New Zealand some [232]
forty years ago, but through promiscuous breeding they
have dwindled to the size of the American mustang,—
hard wiry ponies, without either mouth or paces, full of
tricks and ill-temper, but capable of covering immense
distances without fatigue. They vary in price from a [435]
few shillings to £7 or £8. The Government might easily
have improved the breed by making gelding compulsory,
or by enforcing the horse-tax; as it is, the country is
overrun with wretched beasts, covered with sores, whose
only use is to keep the grass short. I remember one [351]
of the police magistrates applying to the Government
for an impounded horse,—"not that I may ride it, but
because I am old, and there is no one to weed my
enclosure."

173 Havea-tui-tonga (Makaue tui-tonga i buibui).
643 Tata-fuu-eiki-mei-mua (Lomi ae tubu Havea).
175 Takalaua (murdered, *circa* 1535).
20 Kau-ulu-fonua Fekai.
Vaka Fuhu.
Buibui Fata.
Kau-ulu-fonua.
Tabuoji (flourished 1643, and entertained Tasman).
25 Uluaki Matatelea.
Fatafehi.
Uluaki Matata.
Tui Bulotulua.
Bau (who entertained Cook, 1777).
30 Maulubekotofa.
Fatafehi Fuanu Nuiava.
Laufilitonga.

175
177
[113]

II.—TRANSLATION OF EXTRACTS FROM THE 'JOURNAL OF THE WONDERFUL VOYAGE MADE BY W. CORNELIS SCHOUTEN OF HOORN, 1615-17, IN THE SHIP EENDRACHT (UNITY)': 1648, Hoorn (with Plates), relating to the discovery of Niua-tobutabu and Futuna.

May.—On the 9th we were in latitude 15° 20′, and by reckoning 1510 miles from the coast of Peru and Chili. At noon, just after dinner, we saw a sail, which seemed to be coming towards us from the southward. As she came near to us we shot at her with one of our pieces right over her to make them strike, but they would not; so then we lowered our boat with ten small-arms men in her to catch them, which, calling to them, we shot another piece, yet without any intent to reach or hurt them, but they would not strike.

When at about half a musket-shot's distance from them our 175
men fired four times at them. Some jumped into the water, 177
one of them with a small child. We hauled one out of the water, and another was hurt, and had three holes in his back, but not very deep, for it was hail-shot. In our vessel we secured two men who had overstayed on board the canoe, they not once resisting, for in truth they had no arms. One was an old and grey man, the other was a youth.

Presently the shallop rowed to fetch those that leapt overboard to save their lives; but they got only two of them that drove upon one of their oars, and pointed to our men with their hands to the ground, as much as to say that the rest were drowned.

In the canoe were eight women with three young sucking [501]
children, and some were about ten years old, so that altogether there may have been about twenty-five people in the canoe.

Towards evening we put the men aboard again, and they were much welcomed by their women. We gave them some beads, which they hung about their necks, and some knives. And to us they presented two fine mats and two cocoa-nuts, which were all they had to eat and drink. In fact they had drunk all the water of the nuts, so that there remained nothing more to them to drink. We saw them drink salt water out of the sea, and give it also to their young children to drink, which we thought
to be against nature. They were reddish people, and had [142]
certain clothes of a yellowish colour which they wore before [291]
their persons. They were smeared with oil, and the women had [302]
all short hair, like the men in Holland. The men's hair was long and frizzed, and very black.

Their vessel was fashioned as shown in the drawing—very 175
remarkable to see—and consisted of two long canoes covered 501
by a good broad table. Along each canoe were laid two wide planks, about the midship portion, to keep out the water; and at either end timbers were laid crosswise from the one hull to the other, securely lashed, and the ends were also decked over
in a watertight fashion. [Further description of mast and steer- 175 177

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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[1616]

175 177 ing-gear.] As they departed from us they set their course towards the south-east, in the hopes of picking up some of the others, who were good swimmers.

On the 10*th* the wind was S.S.-easterly, veering from S.E. to S. The course was W. and S.W.; and in the morning, after breakfast, we saw [on the horizon?] some very high and blue-looking land lying between S.E. and S., about eight miles from us. We sailed all day towards it with a light air, but were unable to get within reach, so stood off and on for the night; and towards evening we saw a sail a good way out off the land, and shortly after another one, which we took to be fishing craft, because they put to sea at night time and used torches.

133 *On the* 11*th* we arrived by mid-day at an island which was very high; and about two miles beyond it we saw another island, long and low. During the day we sailed over a bank with fourteen fathoms water on it, rocky bottom, lying about two miles off the land. As soon as we had passed over it we were unable again to get soundings. We anchored in twenty-five fathoms, sandy bottom, a long shot from the shore of the farther island.

[137] The island is a high mountain, shaped nearly like one of the Moluccas, and is covered with timber, mostly cocoa-nut palms, wherefore we called it Cocos Island.

The other island is much longer, but narrower, and lies east and west. . . .

175 177 [Intercourse with the people followed readily, and great numbers swarmed on board the ship. They traded freely, and sold 180 cocoa-nuts by evening, at the rate of 5 nuts for a few beads.]

[411] Canoes from the other island came off to the ship. The natives had hardwood staves in their hands like assegais. They boarded our shallop, and thought to have taken it from us; but our men being thereby constrained to defend themselves, let fly three muskets among them. At first they thought this was child's play; but the third shot struck one of them in the

[1616]

breast, and they fled to one of the canoes with sails and tried 175
to persuade them to attack, but they would not, having been 177
well used by us. They were very thievish and exceedingly desirous [181
of iron, trying to draw the bolts out of the ship. They 141
were of fine stature, well-proportioned, naked but for an apron. 291
Their hair was dressed and frizzed, and some had long hair tied 302
up in a knot. They were notable swimmers. Cocos Island 481
lies in lat. 16° 10′. 131]

On the 12*th*, in the morning, trading was reopened. We
bought 1200 nuts that day; also bananas, *obas* [yams], and some
water. The ship had eighty-five people all told on board, and
every one had a dozen nuts. The king of the other island sent [136]
a canoe with a black wild pig as a present to us. In the afternoon 175
the chief himself came with a great sailing canoe, fashioned 177
as has been described heretofore, like an ice-sled, and was accompanied 622
by quite thirty-five small canoes. This chief was
called by his people *Latou*.[1] We received him with drums [534]
and trumpets, no little to his astonishment, as he had not seen
or heard these instruments before. Many of the people who [609]
accompanied this chief kissed our feet, bowing and clapping
their fists together over their heads, and other strange ceremonies,
and showed great wonderment at our ship. The chief
seemed to have good authority over his people. The chief
himself could not be induced to come on board our ship, but
his son did.

13*th*.—In the morning fully forty-five small canoes and an
armada of twenty-three sailing ones came off towards us to
trade. The latter had about twenty-five men in each, and the [501]
former four and five apiece. They wanted us to sail over to
the other island, and we weighed anchor and proceeded—the
chief sailing in his canoe abreast of us.

Presently the chief made a signal, and boarded us with great 175
force, breaking the prow of his canoe, and thereat the rest began 177
622

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[1] *Latu* is still the title of the chief of Niua-tobutabu. Cf. Fijian title *Ratu*. 609

175 to sling stones at us; but we shot at them with muskets and
177 three great pieces loaded with nails, whereat they leaped over-
622 board, not knowing whither to go. But we continued our course,
609 sailing W. and W. by S. This king must have assembled all
[142] his forces, for we were surrounded by quite 1000 people afloat,
of whom one we noticed was wholly white.

The first island—the high one—we called Cocos bergh, and to the other, about a mile from it, we gave the name of Verraders Eylandt, because the people from it sought to betray us.

[Discovery of Niuafoou.]

175 *14th.*—This morning we saw another island right ahead of us,
177 about seven miles distant, appearing as if round in form, and by our reckoning about fifty miles from the islands we had left. We named this one "Hope," and hurried towards it, in the hope that we might find better facilities for watering there than we had hitherto.

. . . The soundings were irregular, forty, twenty, thirty fathoms, and no bottom. . . . Twelve canoes came off: were friendly. They gave us four flying-fish, and we gave them beads. Sent the boat along shore for water: some jumped overboard from canoes to capture the boat, which seeing, we fired six musket-shots at them, and two were killed, one shot dead, while the other sat in the canoe wiping the blood from his chest with his hand. They could not understand the shooting, for they saw no missile. The people on shore cried out *Bou! bou! bou!* So did people in the canoes. Finding no anchorage, we got our boat in and went on our course, in the hope of soon finding other land, to the S.W.

[133] The island was full of black cliffs, green on the top, and
[137] black, and was full of cocos-trees and black earth. There
[361] was a large village and several other houses on the sea-shore:
the land was undulating, but not very high. We called it Good Hope, because we had had good hope of refreshing there.

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15*th.*—At noon we were in 86° 12′ [misprint for 16° 12′]: 175
the wind being S.E., course W. and W. by S., fine weather. 177

17*th.*—Wind N.E., course W. by S., but the two last quarters we set our course W.N.W. Short of provisions.

18*th.*—In 16° 5′ we had variable westerly winds.

[On this day Schouten reviewed his position and prospects, 000
and spoke to his crew, pointing out the shortness of food, and the impossibility of returning eastwards. The Terra Australis, of which they were in search, had not appeared, though they were 1600 miles to the westward of the coast of Peru. It remained only to steer more northerly and make for the Moluccas, braving the dangers of the New Guinea navigation, and making the best of their ill luck. The course was therefore altered to N.N.W.]

[DISCOVERY OF FUTUNA.]

19*th.*—Southerly wind. Course N. In the afternoon saw 175
three islands to the N.E. by E., eight miles distant, and appar- 177
ently a cannon-shot from each other. Made for them, sailing N.E., with fine weather, but fresh.

20*th.*—Wind N.N.E.

21*st.*—Wind easterly. When one mile from the land twenty
canoes came out to us. We proffered friendliness, but one [411]
with a very sharp wooden spear in his hand threatened one of our men, and the people from the next island were shouting, as we took it, to urge them against us. Fired two cannon-shots. Sent boat out to sound, but got no bottom, eight small-arms men in her. A fight ensued, and six were killed. Stood off and on all night.

22*d.*—Sent the boat in to sound again, and got anchorage in thirty-five fathoms, a gun-shot from shore. The Captain went in the boat and got a convenient place for the ship to moor in, close
to a fresh-water creek inside the reef. Canoes came and brought [262]
cocoa-nuts, and *obas*, and two roast pigs. We paid them in

175 knives, beads, and nails. We sent four of our men to be hostages
177 on shore, and kept some of the people in the ship. These
[181] people were very active, swam and dived with great skill, like
[343] those we met with at the other islands. There were round huts
along the beach, thatched, about 25 feet in circumference, and
12 feet in height, with a doorway. . . .

[The Journal contains the earliest published description of
[276] the drinking of kava, which coincides with the present ceremony.
Peace was established, visits of ceremony paid, and
[131] cordial relations maintained. These islands lie in 14° 56′, and
were named Hoorense Eylanden = Hoorn Island or Futuna.]

Summary as to the Plates Reproduced in the Text.

[501] Plate on p. 312 shows the meeting with a native canoe at sea,
off the islands they called Cocos (Niua-tobutabu), which lay just
out of sight to their S.W.

Plate on p. 310 shows the islands in question, which they
[501] sighted the morning after meeting with the canoe, but failed to
[131] reach until the following day—*i.e.*, Cocos and Verraders Islands:
lat. 16° 10′. Here the ship's company had a collision with the
natives. The chief's name was *Latou*.

175 Plate on p. 311. This is a plate which represents several subjects
177 described in the text all in one picture. The two chiefs
291 are shown twice over, and the large figures on the left are introduced
301 302 to illustrate the descriptions of various forms of headdress.
342 The trumpeters from the ship are blowing and the
344 drummer beating, the four or five standing figures on the outside
622 of the shed, to the left of the two chiefs sitting under it, are
276 making kava, and the chiefs themselves conversing, all at once.
609 The round or conical huts to the right are introduced merely as
516 types of dwellings.
142
137

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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Explanation of Plate on p. 311.

609
175
177
[622]
[516]
[344]

A. Meeting of the two chiefs, welcoming one another with remarkable ceremony.

B. The same two chiefs sitting in state together on two mats under a thatched shed.

C. Our trumpeters and drummer playing before the chiefs, from which they derived great satisfaction (or took as a great compliment).

D. Commoners chewing a green root called by them kava. When it is chewed up water is added to it, and thus a drink is made from it, which is greatly esteemed by them. [276]

E. Shows the fashion of the houses. They are round and pointed, and covered with thatch. [342]

[291]
[301]
[302]
[623]
[142]

F. Shows the costume of a chief, and coiffure.

G G. Shows the plaits of hair worn by chiefs.

H. Shows an instance of frizzed hair.

I. Another, whose hair stands up stiff like the bristles of a pig, more than a quarter of an ell long. [302]

K. Shows how the women wear their hair cut short. [302]

L. Are cocoa-nut palms. [137]

[APPENDIX III.

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

648 been worn on great occasions by chiefs anointed
643 with that precious essence. It is now, I believe,
431 among the curiosities in the royal collection at
175 Windsor Castle. He then told me some native
177 traditions of Cook's visit. When the vessels
829 were seen approaching Hihifo in 1773 there was
a heated discussion among the Tongans as to
whence they came. The king mimicked the
querulous intonation of the old Tongans very
funnily. "Whence come they?" said one.
"Seuke!" exclaimed the old chief, Eikinaba, a
noted wit in his day, "why, from the land of
riches—from Babalangi!" (or, as we might say,
from Brobdignag), and the nickname Babalangi
has stuck to Europeans ever since. *Ba-ki-langi*
("shooting up to heaven") is the derivation which
Fatafehi favours, meaning that the ships' masts
reached to the sky. When the Tongans boarded
the *Resolution*, the same chief, Eikinaba, noticed
a strange yam on the deck and picked it up.
"I *give* you that," said Tute (Cook), and from
that day this kind of yam was called the *Kivi*.
[241] Favoured perhaps by the cooler climate and the
new soil, this yam has grown to colossal dimensions.
Cook had probably brought it from
Rarotonga, or from Tahiti.

563 Of the number of curious petitions to which I

648 people came on board to take leave of us. From the king came a note enclosing his letter to the Queen and thanking me for all that had been [431] done. Of the numerous native presents the most interesting was that from my fellow-plenipotentiary, Fatafehi, who sent a curious stone celt.*

000 As the sun set Tonga was a mere cloud upon the horizon, and the *Porpoise* was plunging in 642 a heavy westerly swell. I had seen the little kingdom in three phases—under the dictatorship of Mr. Baker in 1886, under old King George in 1891, when I was one of his ministers, and as 648 a British Protectorate. May the Protectorate remain purely nominal for many years to come! That rests with the Tongans. If they will abstain from squabbling among themselves, keep free from debt, and govern themselves decently,

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[177] * This celt measures 9½ inches long by 3⅝ inches wide in the broadest part, made of an olive-green stone with grey longitudinal veins, and beautifully polished. It was clear that it had come from another part of the Pacific, for the Tongan celts are wedge-shaped, angular, and roughly made. Sir William Macgregor, who saw it on my return to England, at once pronounced it to be from New Guinea, and identified the stone as belonging to the quarry that he had discovered in Woodlark Island. All that Fatafehi could say was that it had been for generations in his family, and if this was true, the celt might be used as evidence of a Tongan migration from the west, for there were no whalers or sandalwooders before 1790; but there have been Tongan teachers working in New Guinea, and he may have been mistaken about its age.

APPENDIX

TONGAN MUSIC

533 535 THE music of the Tongans was inseparable from the dance (by which I mean the rhythmic movements of any part of the body), and it therefore esteemed rhythm before melody or harmony. There were two principal forms, the *Mé‘e-tu‘u-baki* (dance standing up with paddles) and the *Otuhaka* (song, with [177] gestures). Since the inculcation of English hymn-singing a third form, known as the *Lakalaka*, which is music composed by Tongans on the European model, has been introduced, and of this the Tongans are inordinately fond. Fortunately the taste of the older chiefs and the influence of the French missionaries have been strong enough to preserve the old forms intact, and both the *Mé‘e-tu‘u-baki* and the *Otuhaka* are given on ceremonial occasions, though their ultimate decay is certain.

533 The specimens of Polynesian music that have found their way into the text-books are, from Mariner downward, nearly all inaccurate. Written down by untrained musicians, they have afterwards been "faked" to bring them into line with our notation, and (infamy of infamies) harmonised! The visit of a composer

533 [576] The explanation offered to me by a native lady was that opening the mouth wide while singing swelled a disfiguring vein in the throat, but I suspect the real reason to be that which prompts them to conceal a yawn behind the hand—namely, that it is indelicate to expose the inside of the mouth to public gaze.

3. THE "LAKALAKA."

[177] The only interesting feature in the *Lakalaka* lies in the fact that it is music composed by natives under the influence of European music. It shows little talent or invention, and its more ambitious melodies and crude harmonies, however spirited the performance, pall quite as quickly as the *Otuhaka,* which has at least a weird and striking character of its own. The composer of the *Lakalaka* is at once poet and dancing-master as well as composer. When the afflatus is upon him he retires to the bush, and returns with words, music, and appropriate gestures complete in his head, and an hour's practice suffices to make all the boys and girls in his village perfect in their parts. Finease Fuji was one of these, and his reputation ensured a public performance to all his compositions. Those that become popular may endure for many years. *Langa fale kakala* (build a house of flowers), for example, which is given below, is as popular a favourite now as it was when I was in Mua in 1886. The themes are boating songs, odes to Nature and to flowers, or laments, but never love-songs. I remember one very pathetic lamentation of a poet named Tubou, whose theme was a term of six months' hard labour awarded him for flirting; it attained immense popularity on account of its pathos; indeed, I think that the pathetic *Lakalaka* are the most enduring. Love-songs are called *sipi,* and they are never sung in

public, being rather in the nature of sonnets to my 533
lady's eyebrow.

Like the *Otuhaka*, the *Lakalaka* is in two parts,
though the voices may divide into four parts in the
final chord. They are contrapuntal in form as well as 533
harmonic, and they are accompanied with the same 535
kind of gesture dance as the *Otuhaka*. The singers
may either sit or stand in one or two rows; if they
stand, the men go through a sort of dance, while the
women move their heads and arms without changing
their position. The difference between the two forms 533
lies in the scale, for the *Lakalaka* makes use of our
scale both major and minor, with the exception of the
leading note, which is generally omitted; the melody is
more sustained, and, no drum being used in accompaniment,
the rhythm is less marked.

The European music which have been the foundation 533
of the *Lakalaka* are Wesleyan hymns, military band 177
marches, and Mozart's Twelfth Mass, which is very
well done by the students of the Wesleyan College.
Most of the educated natives can read very well in the
tonic sol-fa notation, and they have now begun to
compose a kind of choral anthem for themselves, which
is very much like the *Lakalaka* without the gestures.
They show a great aptitude for keeping their parts,
even in complicated counterpoint. That they have a
strong natural turn for music is certain; it is the exception
to find a native without a voice and a correct
ear, and if they lack originality themselves, they have
at least a very quick appreciation. I have described
elsewhere* how the Grand March from Tännhauser
took them by storm when it was first performed, albeit
imperfectly, by the king's band.

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* *The Diversions of a Prime Minister.*

mark as she grew, and of the wonderful beauty which made her the 773
wife of one Tui Tonga and the mother of another, does not concern
our present purpose. It seems, too, that women became pregnant by
bathing in a pond sacred to the god Tui Haafakafonua.

Tattooing has largely fallen into disuse amongst modern Tongans. 304
Indeed some seem to be uncertain whether it be a thing of home [178]
growth, or an exotic introduced from Samoa, where it is still
extensively practised. It is undoubtedly certain, however, that [177]
tattooing was common in Tonga at least a century ago. So far I have
been able to find only one instance where the markings had a clear 304
totem or religious significance, namely in the tattooing of the bird 771
called the *kalae* (a rail) on the throat of the priest connected with his 825
worship. Something more will be said later about the individual
gods, but the people who held the *kalae* sacred were in the habit of
tying together a bunch of these birds, and taking it about with them.
Such a bunch of sacred birds was tattooed on the throat of the priest.
In general the artists who performed the operation of tattooing chose 304
their designs in accordance with their individual notions of beauty, 531
and gained reputation by the artistry of their work. Although most
of the gods had their sacred animal, or other object, it is not certain 555
whether this was quite universal, there apparently being deities 776
whose manifestation was merely through their priests; but a negative
is ever hard to prove, and after hearing in one quarter that a 778
particular god had no sacred animal one may later stumble on an 825
informant able to supplement his previous information. There are [793]
also cases where it is remembered that a particular animal was
sacred, but nobody seems to know to what god. However, from time
to time there may come opportunities to rectify some at least of the
gaps in the tradition.

The best illustration of what I have been so far able to gather 124
about the old Tongan deities can be given by setting forth what my
informants have told me. These notes make no claim to completeness,
and fuller information may supplement, or correct, much of what
follows. It is, however, probably a fair sample, giving generally
correct outlines of the native's outlook on his religion, however
inadequate it may be in details. Unfortunately the time when
reliable information can be gathered about many matters interesting
to the student of primitive practices is fast slipping away. There are
living to-day very few Tongans able to give a trustworthy and full
account of any part of the older faith, and of those who, from motives
of patriotism or intelligent curiosity, have been interested in hearing
and remember what they could of their people's past, hardly one has
himself witnessed anything of the ancient practices. Where possible
both the names of the gods and of their sacred objects have been
given, but there are instances in which one or the other has been
forgotten by the Tongans with whom I have discussed these matters.

buried in the rather imposing terraced native vaults in Uiha. There 764
was some question as to whether the king himself should not be buried
there, as doubtless he would have been if old native custom had been 766
observed, but one of the outward symbols of recent Europeanisation is [177]
a royal burial ground in Nukualofa, in which cement takes the place of [349]
the great coral slabs cut from the reef with which the tomb of an
ancient chief was built up. Before his conversion to Christianity 776
Tubou I. worshipped Toke-i-Moana, whose sacred animal is, as the
name implies, the sea-eel. A temple was built for him in Uiha. The [643]
sick were taken to Toke-i-Moana and sometimes cured, and sometimes [825]
not, after the customary tribute of finger had been collected from an [778]
unfortunate relative. There is the usual *tabu* against eating the flesh
of the god or approaching a place where it is being prepared as food. [755]

Jinilau is the son of a woman who used, in going out to fish on the [782]
reef, always to turn her back to the rising sun, and at length [784]
conceived by that luminary, the fruit of this extraordinary marriage [262]
being Jinilau, who is spoken of as the god of beauty. Exceptionally
handsome persons were called Jinilau, their attractive appearance [826]
being regarded as the gift of the god.

Jinilau married Hina, but before the marriage took place the 773
poverty of the god and his mother made the procuring of appropriate
adornment to grace the occasion a matter of no small difficulty. The 821
mother, however, solved the question by telling Jinilau to go to his
father the Sun and secure his assistance, adding that he must go to
him very early in the morning. Jinilau slept too long, and the sun
was already above the horizon before the dilatory groom reached him
and preferred his request. After a few grumbling remarks about his
son's coming to him when he was right up where all the world could
be witnesses of their conversation the old gentleman drew a cloud
across between them and the eyes of prying mortals, and they had a
cosy secluded chat, with no doubt results satisfactory to Jinilau.
Hence arise the light clouds which frequently fleck the horizon at
sunrise.

There is also an old myth in which Jinilau figures as lord of Akana 773
in Samoa (Folk-Lore," Vol. I., page 94). The Mangaian and Maori
Tinirau is lord of fishes, and this Samoan Jinilau has also special 771
connection with the fish, the Tongan story agreeing with the Maori
in representing him as lending a whale to Kae, which Kae treacherously
killed, and was afterwards slain himself to expiate the crime.
In the Tongan story there are two whales, called Tonga and Tunungа, 773
relatives of Jinilau, which are lent to Kae to take him to his home in
Tonga. By the treachery of Kae, Tununga is killed but Tonga, sadly
scarred, returns to Jinilau, and relates the fate of his companion.
The attendants of Jinilau thereupon go to Tonga and bear Kae back
to Samoa whilst he is asleep, and there he is slain. Tununga had

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

174 of later date. The Maui stories may indicate a later wave of
immigration. If the Vavau of myth could be identified, at least as far
as the Tongan islands are concerned, with the present Vavau in the
north of the group, it may be the stopping-place of a wave of
Polynesian settlers who found the southern parts of the group already
occupied by earlier Polynesian immigrants, or by non-Polynesian
174 people. It is evident that free communication with Fiji is of old date.
Various relationships with Fiji are manifest. The language shows
177 layers or words which have come by way of Fiji, of which some have
174 undergone the orthodox morphological modification, and some have
[197] not. Possibly the whole question will never be capable of other than
conjectural solution. In concluding this very important note on
Tongan religion I desire to express my obligations to Tangi, the Tui
115 Haa-takalaua and Consort of Queen of Tonga, to Tuivakano, the
Premier, to the chiefs Ata, Ahomee, and Tamale, to the Revs. J.
Havea, J. Taufa, H. Talia, and E. Tubou, all of the Methodist Mission,
to Buleti, Havili, Fatai and many others who have gladly given
such information as they were able about matters of which the
127 recollection is fast fading. I have constantly used also the valuable,
but all too small, collection of material in the late Dr. Moulton's
Magazine, of which a large part was written by the late David Tonga.
128 I desire also to express my obligations to the Rev. R. O. G. Pape,
Chairman of the Methodist Mission, and to Mr. E. W. Gifford, of the
University of California, who visited Tonga under the auspices of the
Bishop Museum, Honolulu, from August 1920, to May, 1921.

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

MARRIAGE IN TONGA.

By E. E. V. Collocott.

A buggy, gay with floating mat and festooned with flower-decked 585 girdles, drives along the road, and stops before one of the Missions. A girl is assisted to alight; she needs assistance; free [292] action is made impossible by the voluminous folds of native cloth with which she is enveloped from bosom to feet. The bride, for bride she is, is joined by her lover, and together they present themselves before the minister; friends and relatives crowd in after them. They [582] hand over the permit to marry issued by the Government, without which Tongan citizens may not wed. The short Church marriage service is soon finished, certificates are signed, a small fee is collected, and the officiating clergyman, under threat of dire pains of a monetary sort, must attend to registration with due promptitude. Usually no ring is given, but all the civil and religious procedure is essentially the same as marks the espousals of an English country youth and maid. All is in fact conducted under an English legal [177] instrument which owes its being to the Western Pacific Commission. The civil and religious ceremonies have the same validity as in England, to confer legitimacy on offspring, and ensure rights of succession.

In all this there has been nothing Tongan, excepting the great [177] cumbrous dress of native cloth worn by the bride, and the fact that [292] she perhaps drove to and away from the Mission house seated on the knee of one of her relatives. But when the requirements of modern law have been satisfied, bride and bridegroom and relatives hie away home, and in the wedding feast perform in essence the ancient marriage ceremony, which is an exchange of food and other gifts between the relatives of the bride and the relatives of the bridegroom. The ceremony takes place at a house selected by the groom's people, either his own house or one belonging to some other member of his family. Along the front of the house a pretty and cool shelter [343] of green coconut leaves has been erected, a sort of temporary verandah, in which is arranged a heap of mats and native cloth to serve as a dais or throne. The bride awaits her husband in the home of her parents—nowadays she returns thither after the religious marriage service, or if this has taken place too late for the Tongan ceremony to be held on the same day, she will return from her husband's home to her parents on the following day. Both bride

[P. 221]

585 for their ostensible purpose, and indeed the chances are that they will not be so used, but will be donated to friends with the other gifts. The bride's relatives, moreover, bring mats nominally to serve as a couch for the children that shall be born of the union. These mats, however, are not retained by the happy couple, but are shared out in the general distribution.

Mention has been made of the *veifua*, the special basket of food. As this is borne to the site of the ceremony the most important person on the groom's side approaches and takes the liver and eats it, or gives it to whomsoever he will, or else marks his consequence by [593] striking the basket or its pig with his hand. This basket falls to the [604] lot of the *fahu* of the bridegroom, probably to his sister.

When the ceremony is finished, the bride and bridegroom, who [264] have probably nothing of the food provided for the wedding, have a quiet meal together *en famille*, and their domestic life has fairly begun.

One other ceremony remains, that connected with the bride's virginity. The man who has married a maiden awaits a suitable opportunity, and prepares a large basket of food which he presents to her parents. He also gives them the mat bearing the sign of her virginity. With increasing refinement of manners the practice is gaining ground of substituting for this a simple present of a fine mat. Elderly female relatives sometimes sleep with the newly married, and if an old woman interested in the maiden suspects that her credentials are not as sound as they should be she may preserve her reputation by a little pious fraud.

585 The high chief Tukuaho who died towards the close of the 622 nineteenth century, left a diary in which is an interesting account of the older procedure followed at the marriage of a great chief. In essence the ceremony is identical with the foregoing description of a modern wedding; but the bridegroom is represented as going by night with a large following of his people, and bringing his bride 585 home with loud shouts and exclamations. Amongst the exclamations 622 said to be proper to the occasion is gibberish, untranslatable as either 177 Tongan or Samoan, but which seems to be misrendered Samoan, and to contain references to rites of Samoan marriage which found no place in Tongan ceremony. William Mariner, who spent four years in Tonga in the early part of the nineteenth century, saw a high chief married with Samoan rites, though a portion of the Samoan ceremonial was omitted, and it may well be that Samoan marriage customs came to have a certain vogue in fashionable circles. The diarist speaks of these high society functions being extended over several days, and being graced with various dances.

582 Although marriages, especially of chiefs, are frequently arranged 622 by the elders, yet the youths and girls have considerable freedom in

Examination of genealogies shows that Fotofili, the Tui 643
Haa-Takalaua and half-brother of Ngata, married a
daughter of the Tui Tonga, Fatafehi, who was probably an 173
old man at the time of Tasman's visit in 1643, and that Fatafehi also married Fotofili's sister. About the middle of the seventeenth century, or a little earlier, would, therefore, seem to be the date of the commencement of the Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship.

TUI TONGA MARRIAGES.

It has been already remarked that a daughter of the Tui 581
Haa-Takalaua used to be chosen to bear a successor to the 643
Tui Tonga. A few generations after the inauguration of
the Tui Kanokupolu a very significant change occurs. The 175
third Tui Kano-kupolu, Mataele Tua-piko, Mataele Crook- [644]
back, contracted a marriage with the Tamaha, Tuimala, the highest lady in the land. This marriage was probably both an effect as well as a cause of greatness. It may be dated about 1700, and henceforth the decline of the Tui Haa-Takalaua is manifest, and the mothers of the Tui Tongas are the daughters of the Tui Kano-kupolu. Gradually the decline of the Tui Tonga himself becomes more apparent. Cook was a witness of the great real power exercised by other chiefs, but he saw, too, the homage paid to the Tui Tonga.

DECLINE OF TUI TONGA.

William Mariner, who was in Tonga from 1806 to 1810, 643
relates an instance, not only of disregard of the Tui Tonga's temporal dignity, but of his sacred prestige also.[21]

It is evident that by the close of the eighteenth century there was working the leaven of a rationalism, which recognised, however sporadically, the weakness of a king who did not govern, and of a god who did not influence the harvest.
The final catastrophe was hastened and determined by the [177]
coming of the European and Christianity, but it is interest- [797]
ing to note that purely native forces were at work, which
would probably have led, sooner or later, to revolution.

Finau, whom Cook met, and with whom Mariner lived, 634
belongs to the junior branch of the Ngata tribe. He made good his claim to the sovereignty of Vavau, and bade fair

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[21] An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, by John Martin, Edinburgh, 1827. Vol. II., chapter II.

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634 to become the paramount influence in Tongan politics. Ruthless, energetic and ambitious, a notable warrior and leader of men, he failed to established himself in Tongatabu, in spite of successful raids and campaigns.

669 With the close of the eighteenth century we reach a period whose history has found European chroniclers, and of which the main events and tendencies are well known.

643 Before going further it will be well to insert a list of the Tui Kano-kupolu:—

173
1. Ngata c. 1650.
2. Ata-mata-ila.
3. Mataele Tua-piko.
4. Mataele Haamea.
5. Vuna.
6. Maafu-o-tuitonga.
7. Tupou-lahi.
8. Maea-liuaki (1777).
9. Tui-hala-fatai.
10. Tupou-lahi-jii.
11. Mumui (d. 1797).
12. Tukuaho (1797-1800).
13. Muli-ki-haamea (killed in battle 1800).
14. Tupou Moheofo (woman).
15. Maafu-o-limu-loa (not properly of the line, but held the office temporarily).
16. Tupou-malohi.
17. Tupou-toa.
18. Alea-motua (d. 1845).
19. Taufa-ahau (1845-1893). Unga. Fuji-pala (female).
20. George Taufa-ahau II. (1893-1918).
21. Salote Vei-ongo (1918).

[illegible]

It is plain that the descent is not strictly from father to son. The succession was kept within the one family, but the heads of the clan had the power to prevent the title 669 falling into the hands of the young or incapable. At the end of the eighteenth century began a long period of unrest, which effectually prevented dignity remaining with the weak. During this period the tenure of life and office was 643 precarious, and frequently brief. Intermarriages of this line with the Tui Tonga line are common, so that although 581 the title of Tui Tonga is no longer bestowed, yet the blood of the ancient kings flows in full stream in the veins of those who have succeeded them in rule.

121 It is not my purpose to attempt here any detailed account of the last hundred years. Material dealing with the nineteenth century is fairly abundant and easily accessible. It remains but to indicate briefly the final passing of the kingship to the Tui Kano-kupolu. The consummation of this 669 revolution, of which the germs have been already noted, is 177 intimately connected with the coming of the European and Christianity, and with the life work of a very remarkable 797 man, Taufaahau, baptized George. The nineteenth century

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643 that in any case the decay of the Tui Tonga kingship would
have proceeded till a forceful personality established a new
797 dynasty. Had there not been the controlling contact with the great outside nations, and had the life of the man, to whom it fell to make the change, not been sufficiently long to consolidate firmly his power, the struggle would doubtless have been longer and bloodier. Had Christianity not put into Taufaahau's hands a powerful new weapon, he would still, perhaps, have tried to seize for himself some sovereignty independent of the Tui Tonga. A significant incident is related of him. Before his conversion to Christianity he carried off for himself the chief bride of the Tui Tonga, her, who should be the mother of the next Tui Tonga. This seems an emphatic declaration that he, Taufaahau, was to be the father of kings and source of sovereignty.

In the event the consolidation of the kingdom under
642 Taufaahau has been of inestimable service to Tonga. In
177 the momentous period when the island folk were falling to
the lot of this or the other great nation, Tonga, saved from
178 the internecine strife of chiefs of equal power and claims, has moulded a constitution able to withstand the disintegrating shock of the outside world, and, alone of the Pacific groups, lives to-day happy and contended with its native kingship, in a partnership with Great Britain, which is equally honourable to the adaptability and sagacity of the little island kingdom as to the good faith of the great protector.

Although I have left many obligations unrecorded, I
128 wish to express my indebtedness to Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga, and Mr. E. W. Gifford, to whose joint kindness I owe a copy of the Royal Genealogy.

EURO-AMERICAN ACCULTURATION IN TONGA.

BY EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD.
University of California.

THE Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga, a British protectorate, lies about a thousand miles north of New Zealand, four hundred south of Samoa, and two hundred east of Fiji. The population of Tonga in April, 1921, was 24,935, of which 23,759 were Tongans, 235 were other Pacific Islanders, 706 were other foreigners (chiefly Europeans), and 235 were half castes. The Tongan population of to-day is probably nearly as numerous as it was in Captain Cook's day. 131 161

There is no European colonization in progress. for foreigners are prohibited from acquiring land except by lease. The Tongans are Christians. The most important church is the Free Church of Tonga, an offshoot of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church.* Two-thirds of the population belong to it. Next in numerical importance are the Wesleyan-Methodists and the Roman Catholics, each holding about a sixth of the population. Then follow the Mormons, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Episcopalians. Religious rivalry is keen. 167 423 795

With unimpaired population, with no Caucasian conqueror in the land, and with its instiutions functioning almost entirely through Tongans (except for friendly British financial direction), the kingdom of Tonga offers something of a parallel in Euro-American acculturation to the empire of Japan. 177 171

It is the aim of the writer to present a number of examples, to make clear the manner in which acculturation is proceeding. 121

Tonga is now a constitutional monarchy with a legislative assembly composed of ministers, nobles, and elected representatives of the people. The present monarch is Queen 643 [642]

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* A majority of the Free Church and the Wesleyan-Methodists have this year, 1924, re-united.—Ed.

[p. 281]

to indicate the attitude of mind of the church members. 795
Needless to say the case has its heathen parallels.

Although the worship of the ancient deities is dead, 795
nevertheless there was living in Tongatapu Island in 1921, 178
one Kautai, who had only a few months before been installed
as priest of the shark-god Taufa. Though the worship of 793
Taufa has perished and his sanctuary is no more, still the [554]
title of his priest lives, each patrilinear successor having the
title conferred on him by the reigning monarch. The present
Kautai is a good Roman Catohlic. This perpetuation 178
of ancient titles is common in Tonga. Ancient powerful 554
chiefs are represented to-day by individuals bearing the
same titles, but utterly shorn of power.

Three ancient deities still manifest themselves. One is 776
Fehuluni, a disembodied human spirit, who sometimes appears 787
as a male, sometimes as a female, and usually in a
siren role. A native fired at a feminine manifestation of
this deity with a shot gun, only to find a dead lizard at the
spot where the apparition was seen.

Another deity much feared is the lizard god Tui Haa 776
Fakafanua. His headquarters in Tongatabu are within 784
Catholic precincts, where was formerly his sacred pool. Convent
girls shun the spot, for the evil reputation of the god
for causing feminine ills still lives.

Seketoa, a fish god of Niuatoputapu Island, has been 776
much in evidence in recent years. His incarnation is a great
fish which follows boats near Niuatoputapu. His presence
in those waters is unimpeachably attested by both Tongan
and European observers.

The royal tombs of Tonga are truncated, terraced 764
pyramids, anciently of enormous blocks of coral sandstone.
In recent decades the material utilized has been concrete. [178]
Tongans will not walk over a royal tomb, no matter how [769]
ancient.

Graves of commoners are marked by little terraced 764
mounds decorated with a mosaic of small stones of different 531
colours. To-day the designs are more intricate than
anciently, the coloured linoleum and title advertisements of [177]
magazines having furnished ideas for new geometric designs.

Ghosts now and then manifest themselves as of old. 775
In 1921, a Catholic girl, gathering shellfish with women on

a reef at low tide, suddenly fell down with some sort of 775
seizure. She was removed to the hospital. She declared
that the ghost of her mother's brother had struck her violently across the face.

Exorcism for the driving out of spirits from possessed 789
persons is still sometimes practised.

In the central province, Haapai, a man severed his 775
connection with the Free Church and became a Mormon. [795]
His friends and relatives who were Free Church members,
declared there would be no rest for his soul. In a few months he died. His widow and a relative were haunted by his ghost, which would rudely awaken them from sleep by shaking them. The nuisance was abated only when they resorted to his grave and broke up his skeleton. His visitations were thought to be a divine punishment for his disloyalty to the Free Church.

On the night following the excavation of some ancient burials on Kao Island the natives who were encamped a hundred yards from the tomb, said they heard wailing at the tomb. It was the " blood " of the deceased ancients bemoaning the removal of their bones.

Anciently the apparition of an illuminated native sail- 763
ing vessel—a ghost ship—forboded the death of a chief. To- [178]
day European type vessels and even steamers appear as
ghost-ships portending death.

In one of the more remote Haapai Islands is at least 784
one Christian minister who places effective tabus on grow- 241
ing crops to prevent the inroads of pigs and rats. The
writer has himself seen plantations guarded by both barbed
wire and tabu badges. The latter were observed in two 784
forms. One was a small package of pulverized herbs to [754]
cause illness in the trespasser. The other was a cocoanut
leaf bound on the trunk of a tree as the emblem of Taufa [789]
the shark god. This bore with it the prayer that the trespasser might be bitten by a shark when next he bathed in the sea.

Christianity with its Sabbath and various " shalt nots " 177
has found a ready ally in ancient heathen tabu. The tabu 784
idea has simply been transferred to another set of concepts.
For the same reason quarantines (tabus) against various 744
islands or groups of islands are readily enforced by the
medical authorities to-day. The game laws, too, are heeded 671

as are the ordinances against allowing domestic animals to 671
stray into public thoroughfares. Blue laws prohibiting work [688]
and play on the Sabbath are observed scrupulously by the
Tongans and diligently enforced among Europeans by the
Tongan police.

So thoroughly saturated is the Tongan with what might 798
be called "tabuism" that his attitude at times becomes
intolerant and even persecuting. A well-educated Tongan [186]
one day remarked to me concerning Sunday picnics of European
residents, "Well. what can you expect from ignorant
foreigners ?" On another occasion I observed a helmsman
on a church-owned passenger vessel severely rebuked for
not joining in a hymn. When the schism occurred in the
Methodist ranks in Tonga and resulted in the establishment
of the Free Church, there was much downright physical
suffering administered to Tongans who preferred the old
faith. A number of these displayed the true martyr spirit.
Others became Roman Catholics rather than join the new
church and still others yielded reluctantly to the call of the
new church.

It should be noted that many Tongans have entered 797
the ranks of missionary workers and taken an important
part in Christianizing Melanesia and New Guinea.

Some Catholic churches in Tonga still use the booming 794
of the huge wooden native drums (lali) to summon their 795
congregations. The Protestant churches seem largely to
have adopted the less inspiring bell. I have noted, too, [202]
Catholic congregations seated cross-legged on the floor.
Protestant congregations seem more generally to use
benches.

A feast for the minister after his Sunday sermon seems 795
to be the established Methodist practice in Tonga. Apparently 796
we have here a good old Methodist custom which fits
"hand-in-glove" with the feasting of the priest at the time
of inspiration in pagan days.

Christianity has been a powerful democratizing factor 771
in Tonga. Through it the arbitrary powers of the chiefs 177
have been curbed and conversely the status of the commoner 565
has been bettered. Anciently commoners were supposed to [774]
have perishable souls. To-day their souls are imperishable
like a chief's. In addition to bringing about more of a 177
balance between these two extremes of Tongan society, the 793
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565

177

new religion has resulted in the development of a numerous 571
native clergy who vie with the chiefs in the amount of 565
influence they wield. It seems unlikely that the ancient [793]
heathen priesthood was anywhere near so powerful a social
factor as the modern clergy. The police, too, constitute a [625]
new factor in Tongan society.

Although the power of the chiefs is much diminished, 565
nevertheless Tongan written law recognises their superior 554
status. A commoner may not appear before a chief of 178
rank without wearing a ragged mat about his waist. The 565
situation has been somewhat ameliorated in recent years 576
by making a belt a legal substitute for the ragged mat. In 292
travelling with the Governor of Haapai, I noted that all [634]
individuals, even chiefs of rank, wore ragged mats in his
presence, for he was the viceroy of the Queen and as such
entitled to the respect of all, no matter how exalted their
station.

Umbrellas must be lowered and neither turbans nor 565
lime worn on the head in the presence of chiefs. I knew 576
of one chief who horse-whipped two young men for smoking [689]
cigarettes as they passed his house. This is obviously a [276]
new form of disrespect resulting from the introduction of [177]
tobacco. Commoners on horseback dismount in passing a
chief on foot. Anciently commoners are said to have
crouched by the roadside while a chief was passing. No
one rides in front of the queen's palace; he leads his horse.
As automobiles become commoner among the Tongans it
will be of interest to see what scheme is adopted for showing
proper reverence for chiefly blood. The freedom which 565
chiefs formerly showed with regard to the young women 178
among their dependents seems to have waned very appre-
ciably. Lastly, I have heard it whispered that chiefs are [696]
never brought to book in the modern courts of law.

Formerly, under the old feudal tenure of Tonga, people 423
furnished produce to their chiefs or landlords, more espe- 427
cially first fruits and the first catch of certain fishes. To-day, 178
although these may be voluntarily furnished, the chief 651
obligation of the tenant is to pay his annual rental (one
dollar a year for eight and one-quarter acres) to his land-
lord. In many cases the landlord is now the government, [643]
the lands formerly held by the Tui Kanokupolu having been
turned over to the government and a salary accepted by the
Tui Kanokupolu, as monarch, in lieu of rentals.

Tongan landed chiefs are land hungry. The old practice 423
was to claim as much as possible of the neighbouring lord's 178
territory upon his death. Careful surveys now being made 425
by the government are fixing permanently the boundaries
of hereditary lands, so that expansion of one's holdings at [428]
the expense of some minor heir who is unfamiliar with his [656]
inheritance will soon be no longer possible. It is of interest
to note that the chief who would be Tui Tonga, if that office
had not been abolished, has by legal procedure in recent
years secured the return of lands improperly claimed by
others.

Euro-American culture has had a hand in transforming 361
the Tongan population from a rural one to a village-dwelling 177
one. The transformation had its beginning at the end of 178
the eighteenth century when civil war forced the people to [166]
leave their farms and seek refuge in fortresses. Thus village
life seems to have begun. Then came the missionary and a
great wave of religious enthusiasm which served to reinforce
the new village ties rather than to dissipate them. The [245]
copra trade and the scant attention required for the coconut
trees doubtless, in a negative way, has helped to perpetuate
the village life. The result is that modern Tonga is a country
of villages. The farms surround the villages at varying 241
distances and the villager makes periodic excursions to his 311
eight-acres of farm land. All of this has not been beneficial 178
to agriculture. Much land once cultivated intensively has
become bush. There are signs, however, of revival. A prominent
chief is inducing his people to give up village life
and dwell on their farms. Recently introduced agricultural
fairs seem also to offer a much-needed stimulus. It seems
likely that the next few decades will see a return to the
intensive cultivation of heathen days. The series of food 241
plants has been much enlarged by introductions. 178

Tracts of farm land are sometimes given the names of 103
foreign lands with which the Tongan has become acquainted
in school. More frequently, however, tracts within the villages
are given such names. The Tongan seems to have a 484
considerable interest in geography and he likes to travel. [181]
His geographic poems amply attest this. This love of travel [823]
and of topography is still rife. The monthly steamers and
the sailing passenger boats carry many Tongans from one
part of the archipelago to another or to more distant Samoa
and Fiji. Modern vessels continue to cater to the Tongans' [178]

wanderlust as did the ancient double-boat. The old sea 484
chants of the Tongan seafarers are now largely replaced by 178
Christian hymns, but the essential idea of song in connection
with sea travel still remains.

Although the ancient sailing vessels of the Tongans 501
have all yielded before the European-type vessels, the small 177
dugout canoe with outrigger still remains in considerable 178
force.

The composition of poetry and its chanting or singing 538
by a chorus of singers is still a very popular pastime. The 533
composers turn out their product on quite short notice. On
one occasion the writer attended a picnic after the examination
of a great stone vault tomb. The bard in charge of the
singers had composed and taught them a song that fitted
the occasion and referred to the visit to the tomb on the top
of a neighbouring island.

To a slight extent woman is appearing as the theme in 177
modern Tongan poems, thus in small measure usurping the 538
place held by the scenery. This seems to be the result of
English example. The brass band is in some degree crowding 177
out the native bard. Friday night band concerts by 533
native musicians are a regular thing in Nukualofa, the [545]
capital of Tonga.

The Tongan government doctors, all Caucasians, have 304
adopted a practice which conforms with the traditional 177
ideas of the natives. This practice is supercision, an operation
related to circumcision. When performed by a European [743]
doctor, instead of a native, the operation usually takes
place at one of the government hospitals to which the
patient returns periodically for treatment. The operation
in Hebrew style (fakahebelu) is at times requested by the
boys of to-day.

Telephones have recently been installed in Nukualofa, 206
and, though primarily for the use of European residents, 177
will doubtless in time become adjuncts of the homes of
upper class Tongans. For some years past the Tongans
in the capital have been reading daily wireless dispatches
type-written in Tongan and posted at the post office.

Motion pictures have entered Tonga and become permanently 546
established in Nukualofa, where there are two [177]
theatres. The outward attitude of the Tongan audience [571]
seems about the same as that of an audience in a small

546
American town. The police, perhaps, have a busier time 571
restraining playful young Tonga in the front rows.

Typewriters are coming into use. The writer encountered 212
one enterprising Tongan who took dictation in 177
Tongan direct on his typewriter. The same man was a good
photographer.

Writing, introduced by the missionaries, has done much 212
to preserve Tongan mythology and genealogy. As early as 814
1844 the Tamaha, the highest and most sacred Tongan [177]
dignitary, the sororal niece of the Tui Tonga, set down in
writing some of the ancient lore. Many others have followed
her example. If writing and reading have been the means 177
of preserving much old Tongan material, so too, have they 212
been the introducers of many foreign ideas. To-day one
can collect Tongan versions of Cinderella and Dick Whittington's
cat. Moreover, many a Tongan's clear conception
of the affairs of his nation in the first decade and a half of
the 19th century is due to his reading Mariner's " Tongan
Islands " translated into Tongan.

Although no accurate data are at hand, it is nevertheless 212
the writer's impression that the great majority of Tongans
are literate. Tongan orthography has offered a peg 212
upon which to hang a controversy with a religious back 194
ground. The Catholics use the symbol " p " to represent
the sound in Tongan which is really intermediate between 795
" b " and " p." It is a sound quite similar to French " p."
Inasmuch as the early Catholic missionaries were French,
they naturally represented the intermediate Tongan sound
with " p." The Protestants, however, used both " b " and
" p." or again "b" alone. The latter course is preferable,
because after all but a single sound is being dealt with.
Being intermediate this sound sometimes strikes an English
ear as "b," sometimes as " p." As a result of this rivalry 194
of " b " and " p," an actual phonetic difference has arisen 197
through the teaching of the mission schools. A single sound 795
has now evolved into two sounds. Which is used depends
upon the church affiliations of the speaker. A somewhat
similar case is to be found in " s " and " j," the former now
having almost completely replaced the latter in everyday
conversation. Although " s " is sponsored by the Catholics
it has come into general use and the " j " of the Protestants
is fast sinking into oblivion.

Native grown tobacco is smoked in Tonga rolled in 276
pieces of dried banana leaf. These cigarettes seem to be
relished more than imported ready-made cigarettes. 276
Tongan school children are thoroughly grounded in the fact 829
that smoking is an American-Indian invention. Its transmission
to Tonga and the rest of the world they associate
with the name of Christopher Columbus.

Not every foreign trait in modern Tongan culture has 177
been absorbed with as little harm as tobacco. Cricket is 177
one in point. With such fervor was cricket playing under- 526
taken that it became necessary some decades ago to pass
laws restricting the playing of the game to certain days of
the week.

Horse racing, too, is a favourite pastime and even some 541
remote islands now have race courses.

The dynamiting of fish became so prevalent some years 226
ago that it was necessary to prohibit the use of the explosive 178
for this purpose. Fishing has fallen somewhat into abeyance
in certain localities and it is not uncommon for Tongans to [439]
buy fish from enterprising Japanese and Caucasian fishermen. 177

The introduction of cloth has given rise to two new 296
feminine occupations; sewing, often with a machine; and [462]
washing. Tapa, the native substitute for cloth, is unwashable.
Clothes washing was given a further impulse by the 291
enactment of a law compelling all individuals to wear shirts [656]
in public. The lower garment is still the vala or rectangular
cloth worn as a skirt. To-day it is of textile material. Shoes
are not worn except by the well-to-do.

The police costume is of interest; barefeet, white vala, 625
blue or white coat, and broad-brimmed felt hat. 292

Speaking of the vala or rectangular cloth wound about 291
the waist as a skirt, it should be noted that the proper
length for a gentleman is half-way between the knee and
ankle. Shorter valas are worn by cooks. In Samoa valas
are worn short. I once heard a Tongan chief remark de- 186
risively of the Samoans that "they wear their valas like
cooks." I have also heard the Samoans spoken of as bar- [514]
barians because they have no water closets, which in Tonga [656]
are required by law.

Tongans eat with their fingers seated cross-legged on 264
mats with the food before them on other mats. Europeans

at Tongan feasts do the same. The combination of European 264
dress and fingers for knives, forks and spoons seems
strikingly incongruous to one new to the custom. At the
end of the meal a basin of water is passed around, so that
each one may wash his hands.

Perfumes are much appreciated by the Tongans and 302
traders say that they discriminate between the cheaper and
the better grades. This is clearly but a transferal of their [178]
old interest in perfumed coconut oil, with which they still
freely anoint themselves.

European alcoholic drinks are called kava papalangi 273
(foreign kava). They are permitted only to the landholding [656]
chiefs, in a limited quantity, and to foreigners. Commoners [565]
must go without.

Stone, bone, and shell implements have been supplanted 177
long since by metal implements. Contact with EuroAmerican [41]
culture has resulted, however, in the rise of a new
stone implement. This is the slab of stone and the stone [415]
pounder for preparing kava root. Formerly this was chewed [276]
to prepare the brew; now, owing to Caucasian influence, it
is pounded.

The former narrow roads that traversed the various 491
Tongan islands have now all been replaced by roads of 178
standard width for wheeled vehicles. The commonest vehicle 493
is a two-wheeled cart imported from New Zealand. The [439]
Tongan usually dispenses with the board seat and sits crosslegged
on the bed of the cart. In the two large islands of
Tongatabu and Vavau automobiles have made their appearance.
They are the more numerous in the former island
where the levelness of the country makes for ease in driving.
The majority of cars are driven by Caucasians, but the Tongans [177]
are fast learning. Many Tongans have been familiar 501
for years with gasoline launches.

Vehicles keep to the left in Tonga. 494

Many Tongan houses show a hybridism in construction. 342
Often the roof will be of corrugated iron instead of the regular 177
thatch. Or again, the sides and rounded ends will be
of boards instead of cane. These innovations usually do not
affect the shape of the house. Many churches are in native 346
architecture, which employs sinnet cord instead of nails. 178

Appreciation of money is naturally developing in Tonga 177
and is undoubtedly an important factor in the process of 436
acculturation. National feeling, though probably existent
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in Tonga in pre-Caucasian days, is strong to-day. The 186
limited outlook of heathen days has been replaced with an 178
appreciation of the position of Tonga as a recognized nation
of the world, one with which the great powers have entered
into treaty.

That Tonga will adopt Euro-American culture to the 000
total exclusion of her own is not to be expected. On the
contrary it is to be anticipated that the hybrid culture of
to-day will maintain its distinctiveness. Certainly, it will
never become absolutely identical with any other culture.

Euro-American acculturation appears to have made 177
greatest headway in religion. Material culture has also been 178
considerably modified, though the underlying economic basis
of life remains the same as in heathen days. Society has 177
been altered least. Some of the extreme developments, such
as the arbitrary power of chiefs, polygyny, and the office of 178
Tamaha (held by the sororal niece of the Tui Tonga) have 571
been discontinued. but the fundamental organisation of
society remains the same. It is in this department of culture
that the greatest incongruity with Euro-American culture
appears. We see the speech tabu between brother and sister [602]
and the *vasu* or right of the nephew to seize his mother's-brother's possessions flourishing side by side with Christianity and daily wireless news.

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[For information on the spread of the Christain Gospel by native converts from one island to another of the Tongan group, see Category 797.]

609 round his neck, from which he proceeded very care-
502 fully to unfold a well-worn paper, purporting to be a certificate from a commander in the French imperial navy, declaring that Jekobi Moana was a fit and trustworthy pilot for any vessel requiring his services. A rosary and cross suspended on his
[797] breast showed him to be one of the few Romish
converts residing on the eastern end of the island. Meanwhile, his tiny canoe being in imminent danger of swamping in the surge of the vessel's wake, it was hoisted up alongside, and friend Jacob, having been duly attired, much to his gratification, in a pair of sailors' trousers, mounted aloft to the fore-top-sail yard, to assume the duties of pilot. These were performed to the utmost satisfaction of all on board, considering both the real difficulties of the navigation, and the fact that Jacob knew not a word of English, and the chief mate, who was with him aloft, knew about as little of Tonguese. The whole affair was managed by telegraphic signs between the two; and it happened, more than once, that we were running full speed toward danger, and close upon it, before the result of the dumb show aloft could be shouted in nautical phrase to those on deck.

137 Approaching nearer to the main land, we gazed upon groves of innumerable cocoa nut palm trees; whose long and ponderous leaves glanced brightly in the sunlight, and waved gracefully to and fro with every undulation of the breeze. The land was clad in all directions with the richest vegetation, from the highest eminences down to within a few feet of the sea; while in some spots even the sea itself was encroached upon by clusters of mangrove
177 bushes. Here and there native villages, among the

gorgeous foliage skirting the shore, sent out some 177 of their swarthy inhabitants to wonder and shout at the approach of the *vaka babalagi*, or "ship of the sky," as all foreign ships are called by the Tonguese. The wild enthusiasm of the simple-minded Polynesians at the approach of a foreign ship may well be excused, when we remember that such visits are the only links of connexion between those isolated and remote regions and the great continents of our babbling world.

In due time we anchored safely within a short 133 distance of the shore, and exactly in front of 504 Nukualofa, the principal town of the island. There is no harbour, but the anchorage in the roadstead is considered exceedingly safe. The Mission brig "John Wesley" has, on two occasions, safely ridden out heavy gales amounting almost to a hurricane. In addition to the good "holding 133 ground," the roadstead is well protected from the heavy roll of the sea by numerous reefs, extending in large and small patches, for many miles from the shore. Beyond these again there exists a great barrier reef enclosing the main portion of the group, but through which there are several wide and navigable openings to the ocean beyond.

An interesting panoramic view of nearly the entire length of Tongatabu is obtained from the deck of a vessel anchored off Nukualofa. No high hills or mountain ranges break the even line of sight. Indeed, the highest land visible is a small natural mound immediately in a line with the usual anchorage. Upon this mound there once stood a strongly fortified native kolo, or town, against [712) which cannon were employed, for the first time, in one of the native wars, as detailed by Mr. Maricontinually made war upon him. In 1812, probably, he was succeeded by his younger brother, Tuboutoa, who reigned only eight years. From 1820 to 1826 there was no king; but each chief ruled in his own district or fort. 643 [669]

King Josiah Tubou of Tonga, whom King George succeeded, was his father's uncle. He became a Christian professor in the year 1826, under the instructions of one of his own men, named Lagi, who, about that time, returned from Tahiti with two Teachers from the London Society's Mission there, appointed to go as Christian pioneers to Fiji. After a somewhat dubious course of religious profession and experience, Tubou became truly awakened to a concern for his soul in the year 1828, and was then exposed to a severe persecution from his heathen friends. In a variety of ways they harassed and perplexed him in his government, until at length affairs assumed a very serious aspect. The king apprehended a rebellion, and was actually prepared to secure his own life, and the lives of the Missionary families, by a flight to some other part of his dominions. It was not, however, until the year 1830, that the king was received into the Church of Christ by baptism. As a governor, he was mild and unassuming in his manner. Indeed, his extreme anxiety, to please all parties, led him to adopt a supine and uncertain policy, which laid him open to the severe criticism of friend and foe. The Missionaries, however, had no just ground for regretting that he never adopted strong and coercive measures toward his heathen relatives and countrymen. He acted upon the principle of toleration, and left the adoption or rejection of the Christian faith, to the free and voluntary choice 643 177 797 [669] [157] 643 797

royal line had to be retrieved; and the permanent 643
peace of the country could only be secured by the 669
bold suppression of upstart claimants to power. To accomplish these purposes, the youthful chief addressed himself with impetuous valour and daring. Possessed of great prudence and undaunted courage, accompanied by a physical strength before which all his antagonists quailed, he speedily multiplied his partisans, and gained immense influence. His name, or presence, was a host in itself in every battle, and none of his opponents could long withstand him. There are but few of the old chiefs, now living, who have not measured their strength with his in war, and been made to bite the dust; but all his conquests were accompanied by a liberal and magnanimous policy toward his enemies; so that he laid the foundation of his government not only in the fear but in the affection of his Chiefs and people.

Such were some of the antecedents of the Chris- 643
tian king, whose return in state from Vavau we had the pleasure of witnessing, as already described, and whose personal congratulations and good wishes, upon our safe and timely arrival, went far to knit our hearts, more firmly, to the sacred Missionary work, for which we had come to these "uttermost parts" of the earth.

The day after our interview was the holy Sab- 643
bath. Never before had we spent such a blessed 797
Sabbath. Nukualofa chapel was densely crowded. 794
The king and queen, and a large number of the principal chiefs of the land, were there. We felt considerable disappointment, in one respect, at
the sight before us. With the exception of their [177]
majesties and about ten other persons, no articles [291]

643 of European clothing were worn by any of the
797 people. It was evident that very little advance
794 had been made, in these matters, upon the former
[177] habits of the country. We were almost over-
[291] powered, also, by the sickly odours of scented oils,
with which most of the worshippers were plenti-
[302] fully anointed. It sparkled on the hair, and trickled
down the bare shoulders of old and young, to our
great disgust. But notwithstanding this drawback
to our pleasure, we certainly felt it "good to be
there." The responses during prayer were united
[796] and hearty; the singing was by no means wanting
in good harmony,—a great advance upon that of the
New Zealanders,—and the sermon was listened to
with profound attention. At the close of the dis-
course, Mr. Thomas, the officiating Missionary,
called upon the king to pray. This he did with
[782] much pathos and power, until his feelings quite
[781] overcame him, and a general outburst of weeping,
and warm "Amens," relieved the emotions of the
large congregation. We understood very little of
the language; yet we felt that there was here no
hypocritical or fictitious show, but the genuine and
unsophisticated evidences of a simple and earnest
religion.

797 The lamented death of the Rev. Francis Wilson,
at Vavau, rendered it advisable that his loss should
be supplied as soon as possible; and we therefore
prepared to advance another stage on our long
voyage. A few days happily spent in Nukualofa
and the neighbourhood, in observing the native
habits, and in acquiring a knowledge of the more
simple elements of the language, prepared us to face
once more, with cheerfulness, the troubles of sea
life. Our final destination was now only about

249 inducement to cultivate the *To* to any great extent.
When they have attained this knowledge, they will
readily find an open market in the Australasian
Colonies for all that they can produce; and thus
another source of national prosperity will be
opened up which at present lies undeveloped.

245 The coffee plant was introduced only a few years
[137] since, (1852,) and has succeeded well. The plant
grows rapidly, and bears profusely. The beans are
[643] large, and of good quality. King George himself
has devoted considerable attention to its cultivation,
and, in due time, it also will become a valuable
addition to the exports of the land.

245 The natives, we may here remark, do not fail to
magnify, in an extraordinary manner, the value of
435 anything new that may be recommended for culti-
177 vation, either by Missionaries or other foreigners.
They seem to fancy that whatever the white man
likes, and pays attention to, must be "*koloa lahi*,"
great riches. Even coffee beans have awakened
mysterious notions of value, in some native minds,
as the following incident will show. A woman
245 belonging to the island of Haano, in Haabai, came
435 from thence to Lifuka, a distance by sea of about
439 twenty miles, in a small canoe, for the sole pur-
pose of bartering at our Mission station, what she
[505] thought was a very valuable thing. Presenting
herself before us, she took from her bosom a small
piece of white native cloth carefully tied up and
tightly knotted. Thinking, from the appearance
of the package, and the manner of the woman,
that she had brought some pearls for sale, we
desired her to show them. With due deliberation,
the package was unfolded, when, behold, it dis-
played just half-a-dozen coffee-beans! It would

and manual labour. They will, most cheerfully, 181
barter and sell, to foreigners, the produce of their 461
own labour; but they have a great aversion to work 464
for wages or hire. This aversion does not arise,
solely, from a fear that the results of their industry
might become, at any moment, the property of their
superiors. To a great extent all such fears are now [565]
needless, the feudal vassalage of the lower orders [671]
having been recently abolished by law. But there is,
in the mind of the Tonguese, a deep-rooted pride, and
a love of freedom from all restraint upon individual
time or actions, in consequence of which the very
commoners cannot bear to be thought, or to be called,
any man's servant. Like the lower orders of trueborn
Americans, they are willing to be "helpers,"
on their own conditions, and according to their own
fancies, but never servants. Even those who become
domesticated in the families of Missionaries,
however much they may be remunerated, call
themselves "helps;" (*kau tokoni;*) and the service
rendered is from love, and not on account of obligation
on the ground of payment. The natives always
look with suspicion upon any schemes involving
the large employment of labour, from an idea that
their individual effort, devoted to the production
of what is wanted, on their own personal account,
will yield a better return than the mere wages
they might receive from an employer. They
look upon him as one trying to enrich himself at
their expense. These contracted views can only 177
become modified, or be destroyed altogether, by a 181
longer, and more perfect acquaintance, with the 461
usages of civilized life, in regard to the honourable
nature of voluntary, and properly remunerated, 464
labour. This change will also be accelerated

177 by the pressure of newly felt, and increasing neces-
181 sities, arising from an extended intercourse with
461 foreigners. But in the mean time these native
464 prejudices must stand in the way of any scheme, of commercial enterprise, involving the employment of many hands.

In concluding our brief enumeration of the prin-
313 cipal natural products of Tonga, it may be sufficient to say, that all the best islands contain trees which yield good timber for building purposes; but, both in variety and quantity, the supply is
[185] limited. The natives take no pains whatever to
increase the stock of timber-yielding trees, in those localities that are adapted to their habits. There are, it is true, certain stringent regulations respecting the felling of timber; but there is at the same time an unnecessary and reckless waste of what
313 nature herself affords. The best and largest trees
824 are used in the construction of canoes. *Bobaos*,
396 the smallest class of paddling canoes, are always
cut out of single trees. *Tafaagas*, the beautiful and swift canoes that are employed in fishing for the bonito and albicore, and also the *hamatefuas*, or sailing canoes having only a single hull and large outrigger, are all built of planking, in the same style as the large *kalias*. These two classes of canoes, being required in considerable numbers, involve a great waste of valuable wood, inasmuch as only two, or, at most, three planks can be obtained, from a single tree, by the native method of cutting.

313 The *tamanu;* (*Calophyllum Burmanni;*) the
137 *milo;* (*Thespesia populnea;*) the *futu;* (*Barringtonia speciosa;*) the *mohemohe;* the *fetau;* and the *tavahi*, are the trees from which good and durable

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000 would be made, in the case of the Friendly Islands, with a people possessing an established and constitutional government. Small as is the dominion [648] of King George, the Tonguese nationality has been recognised by England, France, and America. There would, therefore, be every guarantee obtained, that any stipulations entered into would be faithfully carried into effect.

177 These are some of the advantages which Vavau holds out; and it is somewhat remarkable that the very first steam-ship that ever made the voyage from Panama to Sydney, did call at Tongatabu, where provisions and firewood were abundantly supplied. To the Americans the honour is due of having actually accomplished that, about which the English have, as yet, only talked. As might have been expected, however, the speculation proved a failure, and the unfortunate steamer, "Monumental City," was subsequently wrecked on the Australian coast. The visit of this steamer to Tongatabu created a great sensation. It was the first time that the natives had seen what they call, very poetically, the fiery-sail ship (*koe vaka la-afi*). Their amazement was extreme upon first seeing the smoke of the steamer, and then its rapid and graceful motion unaided by any sails. It was visited by great numbers during its stay; and when getting under weigh to depart, the Captain kindly admitted a few of the leading chiefs on board, who, upon seeing the machinery in motion, could not repress their exclamations of astonishment and gratification; although the Tonguese, like the people of many other uncivilized lands, are very slow to betray, by look or word, the emotions of their minds.

128 So much then as to the natural advantages, and

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797 several French priests, to obtain a footing on the
islands.

671 In November, 1839, an important step was taken
634 by the king, in the adoption and promulgation of
692 a code of laws, and by the appointment of four
judges or magistrates, by whom alone all cases of crime, or civil complaint, were to be legally tried and disposed of. The code was very brief and primitive, but it was valuable as an establishment of the principles of law and justice, in a land where "might" had hitherto been "right," and where the despotic club had usually been the supreme arbitrator in all serious quarrels. Neither chiefs nor people were hereafter to take the law into their own hands. The rights of all parties, in criminal or disputed matters, were to be decided and maintained by the appointed and responsible courts of law, after a fair and open trial.

797 Thus, in 1846, we found Haafuluhao com-
177 pletely purged from its former heathenism. Only
fifteen years had elapsed since the people had
[798] submitted to the sceptre of Christ. Yet now the
Sabbath was rigidly and reverently honoured. Sanctuaries had been erected, and were well attended, in every village. Considerable progress had been made in Scripture knowledge. Schools were in active operation. Upwards of two thousand Church members claimed unceasing pastoral attention; while the entire population was under daily religious instruction in some form or other. Numbers of lay-preachers, and Day-school Teachers, were under training, by the Missionaries, for various important duties and posts of usefulness. Property and life were guarded by the sanctions and power of law duly administered. Domestic relationships

were observed and honoured; while the general 797
morality of the people was such as commanded the 177
admiration of all right-minded visitors, although it had, more than once, elicited the bitter sneers of lascivious and unprincipled men, who in former times, when visiting these shores, rioted in unbridled and unchecked lust.

In this year also, another season of spiritual 797
power had come. The awakening began in the 781
same village of Utui, where that of 1834 commenced: and like the former, this also broke out under the preaching of a native. Several events had recently contributed to deepen religious feeling, where it already existed, and to produce anxiety in
the minds of the careless and ungodly. Out of 797
four Missionaries one only remained. One had died under peculiarly distressing and sudden circumstances; another had been compelled, through failure of health, to vacate his post; and lastly, in March, 1846, the people had witnessed the holy and happy end of the Rev. Francis A. Wilson, a Missionary who had been greatly esteemed and beloved, both by his colleagues, and by all
the people. About the same time, the terrific 133
eruption took place at Fonua Lei, of which an account has already been given. For more than two weeks the islands of Haafuluhao were rocked, night and day, by the most alarming earthquakes. During part of that time, the shocks recurred
at intervals of only ten or fifteen minutes. The 133
inhabitants knew not what might happen at any 781
moment, and the stoutest-hearted quailed in the presence of phenomena so grand and awe-inspiring. All these various occurrences were overruled and accompanied by the power of the Holy Spirit,

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CHAPTER VIII.

The town of Neiafu—Study of the language—First Tonguese sermon—Sketch of Joue Fifita—Faubula, the son of the King of Lakemba—Vavau in 1846—A Sabbath day's labour—Calls for help—Variety of Missionary occupations—Administration of Medicine—Tonguese doctors—Instances of their skill—Visit and letter of Professor Harvey—"Protestant Missions Medical Aid Society"—Boat-building—Missionary Journal—Chapel-opening at Toula—A visit to Hologa—Tonguese Palanquin—Inauguration of oil contributions—Mode of burying foreigners at Toula—The God of Makave—Missionary tour to out-stations—Various services—Huga, and its cavern and Bay—Niuababu—Singular cavern—Native tradition—Lord Byron's poem of the "Island"—Cave at Falevai—Return to Neiafu—Sacramental service. 000

Standing upon ground reputed sacred in heathen 361
times, the town of Neiafu was of considerable note,
and it was resorted to as a sort of neutral territory,
in the wars of Haafuluhao. Its chief importance,
however, in modern days, has resulted, like that of [797]
Nukualofa in Tongatabu, from its facilities for inter- [648]
course with Europeans, and from the concentration [177]
thither of Mission families and their influence.

The town is situated in a valley, stretching between the hill of Talau, and that which overhangs Neiafu Tahi. The immediate site of the town lies behind a small cove facing Neiafu Bay, in which [343] stand several large *hala folaus*, or canoe sheds, into which the sea-going Kalias are drawn for shelter from the sun. These sheds resemble in form, but only on a much smaller scale, those that cover ships while in course of construction in our English naval yards. Ascending the rising ground behind these sheds, the path passes between the *abis* of the king, and those of several of the principal chiefs.

take. They had to superintend the building of chapels and houses, and in great part to make, and fix, with their own hands, doors, windows, and all internal arrangements and fittings. Where a printing-office was established, as in Vavau, the labour of that department had to be done by themselves, until natives were instructed.

What was still more serious, they had to be their own family doctors under all contingencies, and, in addition to that, they dispensed medicine largely among the sick natives. To this very important branch of Missionary work, two hours were devoted each day, at every Mission residence throughout the Friendly Islands. The Missionaries considered the art of healing the body, or alleviating the sufferings of the dying, as second only to that of saving the soul. Medicinal science, therefore, and the elementary principles of surgery, were studied by them, next to the Bible itself. Some may think that it is undesirable to unite the two professions of doctor and minister in one person. It has been said that if we attempt to engraft the medical profession upon the higher and nobler one of divinity, we shall, "at the same time, spoil a divine and make a quack." * In Tonga, facts disprove this. Incalculable benefit has accrued from the course adopted in devoting attention daily at the Mission residences to the medical wants of the natives. And, although the Missionaries would lay no titular claim to the "profession" of medicine, they would very stoutly and properly maintain the untold value of their extensive and successful "practice." Thousands of natives, every year, have been glad to avail them-

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* See Dr. M'Gowan, in "Conference on Missions," p. 275.

797 selves of medical Missionary skill: while, at the
177 same time, they have confessed to the general
efficacy of the treatment received, by the entire
abandonment of many of the quackeries of their
own professional doctors.

756 These Tonguese doctors, or *kau faitoo*, were a
759 distinct class who confined the knowledge of their
art to their own families, and thus made the
employment, which was lucrative, hereditary. The
[755] practice they followed was a combination of sorcery,
[757] and superstitious ceremony, with the administration
of herbal medicines, or the external application
of medicated oils, or pounded leaves. Unquestionably,
[824] their knowledge of the medicinal properties
of herbs was considerable; but, not unfrequently,
fatal results ensued from their prescriptions. Sometimes,
in heathen days, these occurred by design,
and at all times their administration might be
757 accompanied by serious accident. For the sake of
securing greater secrecy, the herbs are often
gathered during the darkness of night. Hence
cases have been known, in which a deadly poison
has thus become mixed with the intended medicine,
and the patient has been destroyed. For the relief
of local pain, the natives are great believers in the
soothing and curative powers of proper external
manipulation and friction, as well as in a liberal
depletion, by small gashes, made over the afflicted
part, after the style of "cupping." In rheumatic
[171] affections, and pains of a kindred nature, the
natives employ medicated embrocations, which, I
believe, are similar to those mentioned by Dr.
Seemann as in use among the Fijians.*

752 In setting limbs, a few of the Tonguese doctors

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* "Viti," by Dr. Seemann, p. 340.

797 Wednesday, 17th.—Have been ill since last Sunday, but my mind is kept peaceful.

Sunday, 21st.—Still rather unwell, but went in the boat and fulfilled my appointments at Bagaimotu. Preached twice, and met the members of Society. I spoke to each member individually, and hope good was done. Returned home after dark. [533) The boatmen sang several hymns as we glided along over the rippling sea, lighted on our way by the glorious beams of the full moon. There are no moonlight nights like this under the murky skies of our native land. The scene was gorgeous, and the singing sounded exceedingly fine, as it echoed and re-echoed from the shores of the harbour on either hand.

797 766 609 Thursday, 25th.—Walked to Toula. The road was bad, and it rained nearly all the way. After preaching, I visited a small cave facing Neiafu Bay, where all foreigners, whether Europeans or others, who died in these islands, were formerly buried. The native guide informed me, that strangers to the land were never buried in the ordinary places of interment. They were considered as outcasts, and their bodies were, therefore, brought to this cave to be buried in the sand. Upon any sudden rising of the sea, such as occurs during hurricanes, the cave was liable to inundation, in which case the relics of the dead were generally carried off by the receding tide. There were still, however, (when we saw it,) several human bones strewing the cave, clearly indicating the purpose to which it had been devoted in heathen times. Now, [177) through the Gospel, a better and more generous spirit actuates these people, and strangers receive all the necessary respect when they die, by being interred in the ordinary manner, and in the usual burying-grounds.

643 669 last few months. As on the former occasion, so now, all the accused parties have denied the truth of the reports, and have publicly signified their continued allegiance to the king's person and government. The population at large rejoice, beyond doubt, under the wise, kind, politic, and Christian rule of King George. This is also true of the great majority of the chiefs; but there are a few designing men who, to serve their own ambitious purposes, would gladly advance the claims of the children of the late Ulukalala. This they dare not do openly. They well know that the nomination by Zephaniah Ulukalala of King George, as his successor, even to the exclusion of his own son; and the subsequent ratification of this nomination by the chiefs of the land, were legitimate acts; and in perfect accordance with Tonguese law and custom. Nor must it be forgotten, that these events only restored the kingdom to the lawful representative of those from whose hands it had been wrested, by rebellion, in former years. It is now hoped, that the active measures adopted by the king, and the wisdom which marks all his movements, will put a final stop to these fruitless machinations of his enemies.

797 177 671 643 In the face of all these disturbing and evil influences the cause of religion and civilization continued steadily to advance in Vavau; and the very occurrences we have named, only tended to elicit, and to display more clearly, the real power which Christianity was attaining in the restraint and guidance of the native population. With the rapid advance of education, the king felt the need of a more comprehensive and complete code of laws for

the government of his people. On this subject, he 797
frequently and earnestly conversed with the Mis- 177
sionaries, and finally applied for their official help 671
in framing it. The subject was carefully con- 643
sidered, in the annual assembly of the Missionaries,
presided over by the Rev. Walter Lawry, in 1847;
and, after an interesting and important discussion
of the whole matter, we recommended the king to
obtain the opinion and advice of the highest Eng-
lish legal authority in New Zealand. The king,
therefore, drew up a communication upon the sub-
ject, which Mr. Lawry conveyed to the proper
quarter. A reply came, in due course, to the
effect, that King George could not do better than
adopt a code of laws, similar to that drawn up for
the natives of the Society Islands, with such modi-
fications or alterations as might be considered neces-
sary, for its adaptation to any special peculiarity in
the Tonguese government, or the customs of the
people.* A translation of these laws was prepared
by the Missionaries, and placed in the hands of the
king and chiefs, for their united consideration. Many
consultations were held with the chiefs, and various
alterations, amendments, and additions were made.
After these were completed, the king waited upon
the Missionaries, to obtain their further opinion and
advice, upon the rough draft thus submitted. Upon 797
carefully and unitedly examining and discussing the 177
whole, we suggested several important alterations, 671
which he and his native advisers were to consider
for themselves, and to either adopt or reject as
they might deem proper. We were very careful to
impress them with the conviction, that these laws
must be adopted and promulgated as their own,

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* See Ellis's "Polynesian Researches," vol. iii., pp. 177-191.

and not as the laws of the Missionaries. This 797
was accordingly done; and, when the code was 177
finally completed, and made law, by public and 671
regal authority, the Missionaries found in it much that was contrary to their own views. It was, however, a great advance upon the brief and imperfect code already in operation, and would, no doubt, prepare the way for something better still.*

Schools, and the press, were doing a great and 797
lasting work, in conjunction with the regular and 177
direct ministrations of the Missionaries. The press, especially, had already conferred incalculable blessings upon the population of the whole islands.
It had poured out innumerable elementary pages, [212]
in which the once unwritten language of the people was embodied in such characters, as even the aged, and most ignorant, might soon master and remember. Various portions of the Holy Scriptures, in the native tongue, had, from time to time, been issued, and were eagerly caught up by all classes. Elementary works in general and religious knowledge, had been supplied to all the schools; while, for the purposes of Divine worship, the people were supplied with native hymn books, and Wesley's abridgment of the services of the Church of England. An excellent "Tonga and English Vocabulary," compiled by the Rev. Stephen Rabone; a small quarterly periodical entitled the "Friendly Visitor," (*Aahi Fakakaiga,*) and an Almanac, completed the limited list of books and pages issued from the printing department of the Mission. These were, however, powerful agents in advancing the civilization of the people. Heathen

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* For a copy of these laws, see Young's "Southern World," p. 235. London: Mason. 1858. [113]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

games, dances, and endless modes of passing away time, having become obsolete, the study of letters —in a literal sense—became the pastime of the people. Young and old were eager after learning. It was soon felt here, as elsewhere, that knowledge is power; and that it imparted an influence and status to its possessor, which mere rank, or position in the social scale, could not bestow.

But much as had been accomplished, in translation and printing work, the Missionaries felt that the time had fully come when the entire New Testament, at least, should be placed in the hands of the people. It was, therefore, resolved that the Rev. Stephen Rabone should remove from Haabai to Vavau, to undertake this important task, in conjunction with the writer and the Rev. Walter J. Davis, who were subsequently joined, toward the conclusion of the work, by the Rev. Thomas Adams, who arrived in the islands for the first time, and whose acquaintance with the language was then necessarily imperfect. The translations of the various books had been prepared by different Missionaries, and they had undergone careful examination from native linguists. After this, they were again submitted, by the several translators, to the mutual and candid criticism of each other. Thus the utmost pains had been taken to secure a correct and idiomatic version. The revision and printing of the entire New Testament was completed, at the Vavau press, in the year 1848. The printed copy then underwent a final ordeal of revision, and was forwarded to the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with an application for a large edition of the work, such as could not be produced through the

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local press. The request was met by an immediate grant of ten thousand copies. The work was printed under the supervision of the Rev. T. W. Mellor, M.A., Superintendent of the editorial department of the Society, with the additional assistance rendered by the Rev. George Kevern, whose acquaintance with the Tonguese language, after a former residence in Vavau, extending over five years, enabled him to do this important service for the people of his former ministerial charge.

The arrival of this large number of New Testaments was a joyous event in the history of the Mission; and it elicited, in a variety of ways, the high esteem in which the natives held the Word of God. The four thousand already printed at Vavau, and distributed among the people, had awakened no ordinary desire for the arrival of a further and more adequate supply. Many who had failed to secure one of the four thousand, became greatly concerned lest they should also lose the opportunity of obtaining this. These persons, therefore, visited the various Mission residences, many months before the book arrived, to deposit the price of their copies. "But," said the Missionaries, "we are not sure that the ship will bring them." The answer invariably was, "Never mind: whenever they do come we shall be sure." The day after the books had been landed at Vavau, a poor man waited upon the Missionary there, bringing the price of a copy, in cocoa-nut oil. The day was exceeding wet and stormy; and the poor fellow looked cold and half-drowned after his walk of several miles. He was therefore remonstrated with for coming out in such weather, and endangering his health; but his simple and ready answer showed how deeply anxious he was to secure the Word of life. "The reason is," said he, "I am going away to another island, as soon as it becomes fine, and I am afraid lest, when I come back, all the books should be gone." About the same time also, a teacher, whose house had been accidentally burnt down, came to the Missionary with his tale of trouble, when, holding up his New Testament, he exclaimed, "All my worldly goods are gone, but, thank God, I have saved my Bible."

Another incident may here be stated, as affording an illustration of the general faithfulness which the native teachers manifest, in the oversight of the work of God committed to their care, in those places which lie remote from the Missionary, and as showing the strength of that love which many of the people had for the precious Book of God. A young woman, belonging to the island of Uiha, in Haabai, who had long been in the habit of reading her New Testament with great care and profit, when on her dying-bed, gave strict injunctions to her friends that they should lay her head upon her loved Bible, when she was departed hence, and bury it with her. It was, no doubt, in her case, the simple expression of an undying love for the word which had been the means of her salvation, and of support and comfort in the hours of sickness, and in prospect of approaching dissolution. Her friends, therefore, readily complied with her last request; but the teacher thought that the act might possibly savour of superstition, and he thought, moreover, that the precious volume might, more fitly, have been retained for the use of the living. Accordingly, he named the occurrence, when reporting the state of the people under his charge. With the remembrance we had of former

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superstitious practices, at native burials, we could 797
not be of a different opinion from the teacher himself; 177
but, at the same time, we could not do otherwise than admire, in this particular example, the high value placed by the dying woman upon her greatest earthly treasure.

We must conclude these brief records of the 797
principal events, which transpired during our 128
residence in Vavau, by describing the incidents attendant upon a Missionary voyage, undertaken, from thence, to the islands of Niua Tobutabu, Niua Foöu, and Uvea, or Wallis's Island. But we must first prepare the way by sketching rapidly the rise and progress of Christianity in those places, up to the time of our visit.

In the details about to be given, we crave the reader's special attention to the interesting and most important fact, that, as was the case in the spread of the Gospel from group to group of the Friendly Islands proper, so also in these more remote and solitary islands, it was spread from one to the other through the immediate efforts of natives themselves. Under their instructions, 797
also, the cause of God was so prospered, in the two Niuas, that in a very brief period heathenism was exterminated, and flourishing churches of simple and devoted Christians filled the land. With the exception of a very few months, during which the Rev. Peter Turner resided on Niua Tobutabu, waiting for a vessel to convey him to Samoa, to commence the Mission there in 1835, no European Missionary has ever resided on any of these islands.

Niua Tobutabu.—So early as the year 1829, the

bidden sugar-cane; upon which the Fijians told 754
him that he was a doomed man, and should not 763
long survive his offence. He laughed at their fears, and had never thought of it again, until he was reminded of it by a Fijian woman, one of the attendants who had accompanied him from Fiji, and who firmly believed that his sickness and death were solely attributable to that cause. Netani himself had no such opinion, and died a very peaceful and happy death, trusting in his Saviour; but it was evident that many around him thought otherwise; thought, in fact, that he had been prayed to death by the heathen.

It cannot be cause of surprise that the dread of 754
sorcery, and especially the fear of the power of the 771
priesthood to pray people secretly to death, should have obtained such complete dominion over the native mind, when we remember, how by Papal fulminations, and paper interdicts and excommunications, the Church of Rome exerted her authority, in olden times, even in enlightened Europe. By the bugbear of a Papal anathema, whole kingdoms were thrown into a state of distress and panic, scarcely conceivable in modern times.

We have seen, however, by what took place in 771
Vavau on the introduction of Christianity, how 777
much the priestly craft, and the whole system of
lies which it propagated and sustained, depended 797
upon the countenance of the civil powers. No sooner was their protection withdrawn, than the whole fabric of heathenism collapsed and crumbled into ruin. It had no deep-seated and inherent vitality of its own, which could enable it to maintain its authority as a purely religious system. When left by the political power to its own re-

771 sources, it fell at once, like Dagon before the ark of
177 God. Hence the cause, in a secondary sense, of
797 the rapid spread of the Gospel throughout the whole of these islands. And, although, as we shall shortly have reason to show, heathenism made a stand for years in Tongatabu, yet that was owing to political conditions, and not because of any inherent strength in heathenism itself.

565 The political constitution of the country was
[642] that of a monarchical despotism, supported by an hereditary aristocracy. The ranks of society, besides the priestly orders, were well defined, and fixed as unalterably as the castes of India. The grades were these:—the *Hau*, or families of the blood royal; the *Houeiki*, or chieftain orders; the *Muas*, or gentry; the *Matabules*, or official attendants and companions of the higher classes; and the *Tuas*, or common people. Certain subdivisions
[463] were also recognised under each of these orders,
[428] and professional employments were strictly hereditary; such as those of carpenters, fishermen, undertakers, doctors, &c., &c.

565 Rank was hereditary, and descended chiefly
562 through the females; who sometimes, although
[428] rarely, held the reins of government in their own
[611] right. Hence the women of Tonga were never oppressed and burdened, as in many heathen lands. On the contrary, the females of these islands were kindly and considerately treated, and we might almost say they were idolized by the sterner sex.

562 It must, however, be observed, that the succes-
611 sion of rank through the mother originated, pro-
174 bably, in the great licence existing between the
831 sexes. If it were difficult to designate the father of a child with certainty, no doubt could exist with re-

565 place himself in a more elevated position, condign
554 punishment would be the result; in some instances,
784 death itself was the penalty. When journeying, the commoner was required to sit down by the roadside while his superior passed; and, if he were carrying a burden, he must make a *détour* from the road, while, at the same time lowering the burden from his shoulder, he carried it along with every mark of humility.

565 One of these numerous enactments of barbarous
554 etiquette, led to a ludicrous scene in the early years
177 of the Mission in Lifuka. When the first chapel
797 was built and opened, a pulpit was of course indispensable for the occasion. Little did the officiating Missionary think how gravely he was trenching upon sovereign rights, when he ascended the place prepared. Taufa-ahau saw the elevation of the minister with dismay. It would never do for a foreigner, even though he were a Missionary, to violate thus publicly the rules of Tonguese propriety; and so, to meet the difficulty, the king ordered his carpenters to prepare him a pulpit of still loftier elevation, to be placed opposite that of the Missionary, in which he might sit and hear the word of God without any disparagement of his dignity, in the presence of his people. Great, therefore, was the Missionary's astonishment when, on the following Sabbath day, he was confronted by the pulpit of the king, and saw his majesty looking down upon him with a mingled look of drollery and haughty superiority. This he continued to do, until convinced that no intention existed of lowering his authority, and that the pulpit was a necessary and usual part of buildings devoted to the public worship of God.

411 for an expected contest. The old weapons of the
country have, however, been greatly supplanted, by
411 the introduction of European arms and ammunition;
177 and there has been a consequent change from
[725] many of the former tactics and practices of heathen
[726] warfare. "Musket balls do not know chiefs," was
the lament of a grey-headed old chief, as he marched past the writer to battle, with swaggering gait, and kindling eye, swinging his great club round his head as if it had been a cane, and evidently longing for a hand-to-hand encounter with some like-minded opponent. There was no little amount of truth, too, in what he repeated a few minutes afterwards, "Musket balls may do for boys, but clubs are the weapons of men." In the
702 organization of their armies, and in the tactics they
[701] pursued, the Tonguese exhibited considerable skill.
[725] In any war of magnitude, a universal conscription
was enforced, in which none were excused from following their leaders to the field, but those incapacitated by age or bodily infirmity. All were drilled in the use of arms, and were accustomed to the practice of warlike exercises. When preparing
541 for war, a general review of troops was usually
703 held before the king, or leader, in which the
intending combatants swore fealty to their commander, and pledged themselves to deeds of prowess on his behalf. This was done by each of the party rushing, with frantic energy and fierce gesticulations, in front of the chief, flourishing and then grounding his weapon: while uttering at the same time the most ridiculous and empty boasts of what the individual would do in the coming conflict.
712 The Tonguese were in the habit of constructing very
complete, strong, and well-arranged fortifications,

797 to our own door. This sad calamity showed that
798 the heathen were determined not to follow the
669 ordinary usages of Tonguese warfare, by respecting
the life of unarmed females, but rather to imitate
[177] the horrid practices of Fiji; and therefore the king
issued an order prohibiting all intercourse between
the different parts of the island, excepting through
the medium of armed escorts.

Sunday, March 28th.—Just as I left the Mission
798 gate for the purpose of preaching at the Nukualofa
669 chapel, a wounded chief, the queen's near rela-
721 tion, and formerly Governor of Nukualofa, Junia
682 Haumono, was carried past. He was shot through
the head. He had been out on patrol duty, and having ventured with his party too near the fort of Bea, the enemy fired, and mortally wounded him. Hearing, when Divine service was over, that he was still living, I went to see him; he was, however, totally unconscious from the first, and was now evidently dying. I could only comfort and pray with his weeping and wailing family. Junia was a good man, and we had no doubt of his safety. But, oh! how sad and distressing such a termination must be to a good man's earthly career.

797 April 2nd.—I went to Teekiu, intending to meet
798 the king, and to propose that I should visit the
heathen rebels of Houma, with his sanction, and
669 with such terms of peace as he might judge expedient, so that, if possible, a peace may be brought about even now. This is the first day in which the troops have marched upon the place in a body, and I therefore thought one more effort toward peace might be attempted. Before, however, I had
[726] reached Teekiu, the king and his warriors had left;
and while I was still there, heavy firing was heard

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[Eua]

Of the two former, nothing need be said here, as they were small and unimportant; but a passing notice of Eua may complete our view of the Tonga group. 797

Several visits to this island, at different periods, enabled us to form a good opinion of its physical character and capabilities. Having been styled the "granary of Tonga," we expected to see it in a very high state of cultivation, but we found nothing peculiar in it in this respect. At present it has but a very small number of people upon it; and these, being cut off from foreign intercourse through the want of a harbour, have no inducement to cultivate the soil beyond the necessities arising for their own support. The beauties of the island are great, and its richness of soil for agricultural purposes unquestionable, but these lie undeveloped. In former days, when the population of the country was greater, large supplies of produce may have been carried to the adjoining main island of Tongatabu, especially in seasons of famine caused by drought or hurricanes. From the effects of the one the snug and lovely valleys and ravines of Eua would be sheltered; while its flowing rivulets and streams would counteract the evil consequences of the other, at times when Tongatabu itself might be lying in temporary desolation. Hence the dependence of the Tongans upon Eua, at such times, for food; and hence, probably, the reason why it was styled, magniloquently, their "granary." 241 [177] [504] [134] [311] 174 438 731 [133]

One of the pleasantest Missionary trips I ever had was to this island, in company with the Rev. George Daniel, in the year 1851. We each took our own boat and boat's crew. The wind being 797

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Taufa-ahau for a life of no ordinary incident and 797 usefulness. [643]

The very rapidity and completeness with which the Gospel spread through the Haabai islands deprives its history of those striking incidents always attendant upon success achieved under difficulty, or upon religious progress accomplished in the face of persecution. But, on the other hand, what Christian mind can consider the scene presented here, without emotions of wonder and holy joy. Through the weakest instrumentality results the most extraordinary were brought about.

With the exception of three out of eighteen 797 inhabited islands in the Haabai group, all had 794 made a renunciation of heathenism before Mr. Thomas landed at Lifuka, in January, 1830; and when he left the group, on his return to Tonga, in December, 1831, a short period of less than two years, there were then five hundred and fifty church members. Being succeeded by the Rev. Peter Turner, that number was nearly doubled, within a few months. In addition to the residence 797 of the Missionaries at Lifuka, native teachers occupied five of the principal islands: Haano, Foa, Nomuka, Oua, and Mougaone, were all under the care and instruction of these men, even at that early period. Idolatry, except in part of one 797 island, was entirely abandoned. Houses of prayer 177 to the true God had superseded the temples of demons previously worshipped. The Lord's day was observed with scrupulous attention, while crowds assembled, on every occasion of worship, to hear words whereby many of them were savingly converted. The establishment of schools also kept 797 pace with the spread of religious fervour. At the 871

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797 close of 1832, there were fourteen in operation, in
871 which the inhabitants were taught to read and
177 write. In these schools, there were more than two
thousand persons under instruction, of every age
and from all classes of the community, from the
child of three years to the man of grey hairs, and
from the king himself to the meanest of his serfs.

The island of Uiha was the only place where any
797 serious opposition was met. Containing, as it did,
798 the burial grounds of the kings and chiefs of the
[764] group, this place was the stronghold of heathen
worship, and, for a time, the fear and respect which
[643] its chiefs had for Taufa-ahau, did not deter them
from clinging to it. They even thought that he
[669] had betrayed his country by leaving heathenism
for Christ, and they, therefore, took up arms to
resist his authority. Some of these opponents
[602] were the king's near kinsmen, and had been, up to
that time, his closest friends. By prudent but firm
and necessary measures, Uiha was at last brought
back to its allegiance to the king; and, shortly
afterwards, the whole range of the Haabai archipelago
lay, a peaceful and glorious trophy, at the
Saviour's feet.

Passing over all the intervening years, during
797 which the advancement of religion in Haabai was
simultaneous with that of the Friendly Islands at
large, there were in that particular group, when
we arrived in 1853,—22 chapels, 1,850 church
members, 55 day schools, 2,075 scholars. These
results had not been attained without immense and
untiring labour on the part of my predecessors.
The names of Messrs. John Thomas, Peter Turner,
William Cross, John Watkin, Richard B. Lyth,
Stephen Rabone, Charles Tucker, William Webb,

28: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1941 OU9 Tonga OU9

assistant who completed the row with the same weft- 114
elements while the first woman commenced another row. By the time the new weft-row reached the middle, the assistant had completed the preceding row and was ready to take over. Thus two women could weave on the one garment, but the second woman worked away from the first and not toward her. An author who could not describe accurately what he saw can be little relied upon to record accurately what he did not see.

Andersen (1) mentions that J. Macmillan Brown wrote 534
that the pan-pipes were reported "once or twice from New 171
Zealand" but Brown did not give his authorities for this
statement. Evidently, according to Andersen, Macmillan 114
Brown referred to Marshall and Edge-Partington. Elsdon [177]
Best rightly considered that the instrument was essentially
Melanesian and had reached Tonga through Fiji. George 534
Graham, who made special inquiries for S. Percy Smith many
years ago, found that none of the old Maoris he interviewed 171
had ever seen or heard of such an instrument.

Coming to the instrument in the British Museum, it is [127]
curious that it should be the only specimen attributed to New
Zealand, whereas large numbers of the various Maori musical

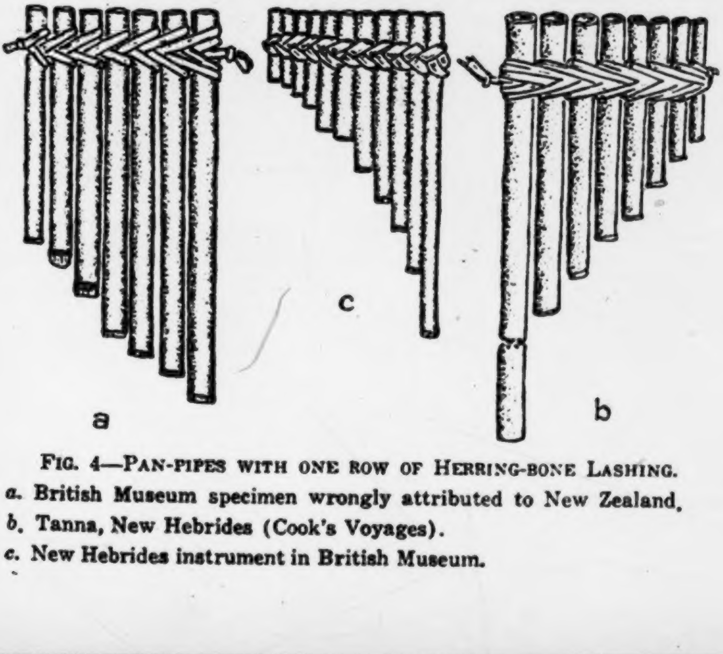

FIG. 4—PAN-PIPES WITH ONE ROW OF HERRING-BONE LASHING.
a. British Museum specimen wrongly attributed to New Zealand.
b. Tanna, New Hebrides (Cook's Voyages).
c. New Hebrides instrument in British Museum.

more reed and the longest reed has extra length below the closing node (fig. 4, *b*). The two drawings were made from opposite sides which may confuse the reader at first glance.

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Another pan-pipe in the British Museum figured by Edge-Partington (2) and attributed to the New Hebrides is shown in fig. 4, *c*. Two other New Hebrides pan-pipes in the Peabody Museum, Salem, with nine and eleven reeds respectively, show the same regular grading of reeds and a similar lashing in one row with the herring-bone pattern.

Edge-Partington, in a note to his drawing of fig. 4, *c*, states that the reeds are "fastened together with strips of leaf." In some modern pan-pipes in the Bishop Museum from the New Hebrides with three rows of lashing similar to the Tongan technique, the lashing-material consists of strips of the separated upper surface of pandanus leaves. It is probable that pandanus leaf is the leaf referred to by Edge-Partington for though techniques may alter somewhat, people are likely to adhere to the local raw material used by their elders. If another test were required to disprove the New Zealand locality of the pan-pipe attributed to it, the absence of New Zealand flax fibre as the lashing material would be significant, but the presence of pandanus leaf would be conclusive evidence as the pandanus is not present in the New Zealand flora. However, the use of bamboo reeds is conclusive enough. From the evidence, it is clear that pan-pipes were not used in New Zealand and the specimen in the British Museum attributed to New Zealand belongs to the New Hebrides.

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CONCLUSION

Pan-pipes are widely spread throughout New Guinea and Melanesia, but in Polynesia they occurred only in Tonga and Samoa, two groups in closest proximity to Fiji, the eastern outpost of Melanesia. Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji form a triangle within which frequent inter-island communication and trade took place. Tonga traded with Fiji for red feathers, sandal wood, and logs for building double-canoes. Even Fijian craftsmen were imported into Tonga to build the Fijian type of double-canoe. This form under the name of *kalia* displaced the older Tongan type termed *tongiaki*. Samoa also traded with Fiji for red feathers and like the Tongans adopted the later double-canoe with its dialectical name of *'alia* in place

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28: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1941 OU9 Tonga OU9
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439 of their older *vaka tele* that corresponded to the Tongan
171 *tongiaki.*

177 In addition to trade which spread material objects, inter-
T marriages took place between the three groups, and certain
S social customs such as brother-and-sister avoidance and the
171 power exercised by the sister's son over his maternal uncle's
177 family, crept into both Tonga and Samoa from Fiji. Of the
[534] material objects that spread from Fiji to western Polynesia,
the pan-pipes form a good example. The fact that a number of elements of Melanesian culture reached Tonga and Samoa, but penetrated no further eastward into the rest of Polynesia, would indicate that the diffusion was local and probably fairly recent in pre-European times. The restricted character of the diffusion forms an argument against the theory that the route of the Polynesians from Indonesia passed through Melanesia and hence supports the view of the alternate route through Micronesia.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

000 Figure 1—Pan-pipes from Tonga.
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c Pan-pipe from New Hebrides (British Museum).

nately been described by early travellers with a considerable amount 764
of detail concerning ceremonies unfamiliar to the present generation
of Tongans. The European custom of wearing black clothing and 765
black arm bands as a sign of mourning is now universal and carried [177]
through much more completely than is usual amongst Europeans,
especially in these hot tropical latitudes. In addition the old Tongan [292]
practice of wearing a ragged mat is still adhered to. A mat, other [576]
than the cloth loincloth, is a mark of respect to superior rank. In [602]
the item of the mat as a sign of mourning close relatives of the deceased will wear a ragged mat, but those not nearly akin to the
deceased will wear a good one. As a mark of respect to a chief if 292
a mat be not obtainable any sort of belt seems to answer the purpose. 576
A few years ago I was working with some boys a few hundred yards 554
from the beach. The king was on a visit to our island and happened
to be standing at the time near the beach. None of the boys would [643]
even remotely approach the place where His Majesty was without first girding himself with a piece of mat or some substitute. Some of the boys wound a length of a creeping vine about themselves. Old travellers have noted that, in the presence of a chief, people who happened to be clad about the shoulders turned their clothing back to the waist. It was tabu to have the native cloth (ngatu) about the body, but the mat (fala) around the waist, even if it extended higher up the body than was permissible for the cloth, was not only allowed but enjoined as a mark of respect. The leaves of the ifi (Tahitian chestnut) around the neck were a sign of the utmost respect, and regularly worn by those who had a great boon to ask.

Anciently the disposal of the body of a man of insufficient social 764
elevation to be possessed of a soul seems to have differed considerably 565
from the elaborate ceremonial which marked the interment of a high 775
chief. This is only to be expected, as the chief's body has been the temple of a spirit which lives on in Bulotu, although apparently capable of revisiting his earthly shrine, or in some other way exerting influence in its vicinity. The commoner's body was not the seat of a soul and its neighborhood was less likely to be made uncomfortable by ghostly disturbances. This apparently straightforward division into chiefs and commoners is not so simple as it looks. It would

538 **In addition, Tongan art included oral traditions, for a vital part of the early Tongan educational** system was the careful memorization and oral transmission of legends and lineages. In fact, just as important as the techniques and skills that each master craftsman passed on to his successor were the prayers, myths and geneologies which had to be imparted as well.

537 [726] As oratory has long been an art, it is significant to note that Tongans have always been eloquent people. Skilled orators were necessary for inspiring people to perform community projects and, in time of war, for exciting the zeal of warriors[4]—such as the way that the dauntless leader, Finau 'Ulukalala II, roused his soldiers' enthusiasm when he said forcefully in a speech at Vava'u: "Be brave in battle; fear not death. It is better to die fighting in the field than to live to be assassinated at home, or to perish by a lingering illness."[5]

304 [177] [237] Tattooing became popular for a time in Tonga, most probably as a result of frequent contacts with Samoa (where the highly-perfected art of tattooing is still practiced today). According to Mariner in the early 1800's, Tongan men were elaborately tattooed from waist to knees by use of a small-tooth comb made from the wild duck's wing-bone, which was dipped in a mixture of soot and water and then tapped with a green branch to puncture the skin. The esteem with which tattooing was held was no doubt because of the intense pain which had to be borne in order for the intricate designs to be permanently imprinted on the skin. Mariner remarked: "It is considered very unmanly not to be tattowed, so that there is nobody but what submits to it as soon as he is grown up."[6] Women also, as Captain Cook had observed some years earlier, were tattooed in smaller, less extensive patterns on the [797] [178] arms, hands and fingers. Largely due to the missionaries' strong opposition to it as an evil and unhealthy practice, tattooing died out in Tonga sometime later in the 1800's.

532 177 The coming of the westerners generally had a detrimental effect upon art in Tonga. Many valuable artifacts were destroyed because they were seen as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16A]

532 evidence of idolatry and heathenism. Whereas wood
177 carving had been done previously with adzes or tools
made of shell or tooth, local artisans became
attracted to the more highly perfected metal
instruments of the foreigners. Strongly influenced
by materialism and other characteristics of western
civilization, the Tongans abandoned the majority of
their former artistic activities, and consequently, the
[462] entire realm of Tongan art has suffered. For the
[287] most part, only the arts of women (e.g. tapa making,
[285] basket and mat weaving) have survived up to the
present day in Tonga.[7]

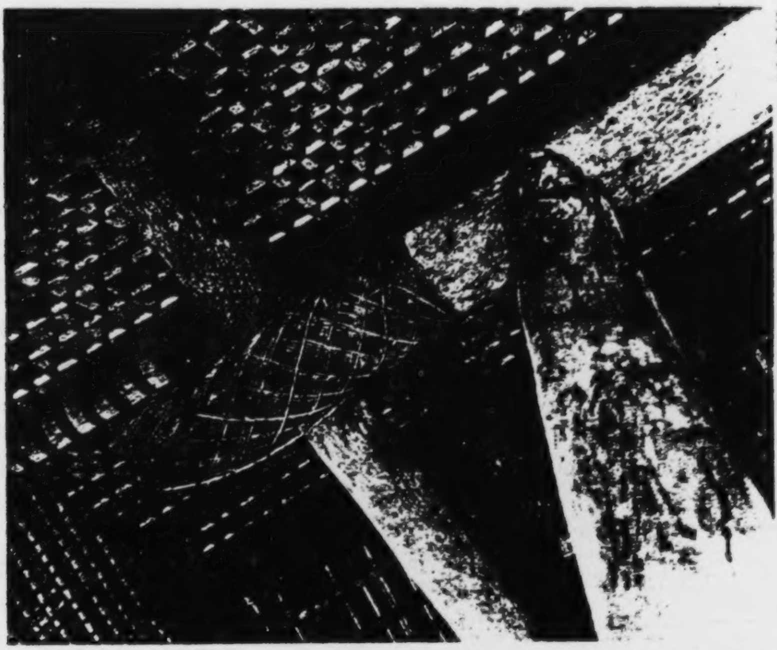
341 Tongan architecture has obviously been
influenced by contact with the west; rafter lashing
342 with hand-braided sennit is rarely to be seen any
177 more, and it is not uncommon to find Tongan
283 houses today with corrugated iron roofs.
284 Hand-carved war clubs and other weapons, as well as
411 the skillfully-designed double canoes, have been
501 [p. 16-A]
177

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

411 replaced by more modern means of warfare and
501 transportation.

177 Of course, the coming of the westerners should not be seen only in a negative light, for with western
177 civilization came the written word, the establishment of an educational system, and the opportunities (and challenges) for Tonga to keep up with trends in world affairs in order to maintain her independence and honor as a nation. Hopefully, in time, Tonga will experience a revival of the elements of creativity and aesthetic activity which have been gravely stifled by the encroaching technological world for the past two centuries. Such an artistic renaissance, in stimulating creative instincts and in bringing to life latent talent and artistic energy, would serve to reaffirm Tonga's cultural pride and self-respect in our rapidly changing and synthesizing world. [p.16-B]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9



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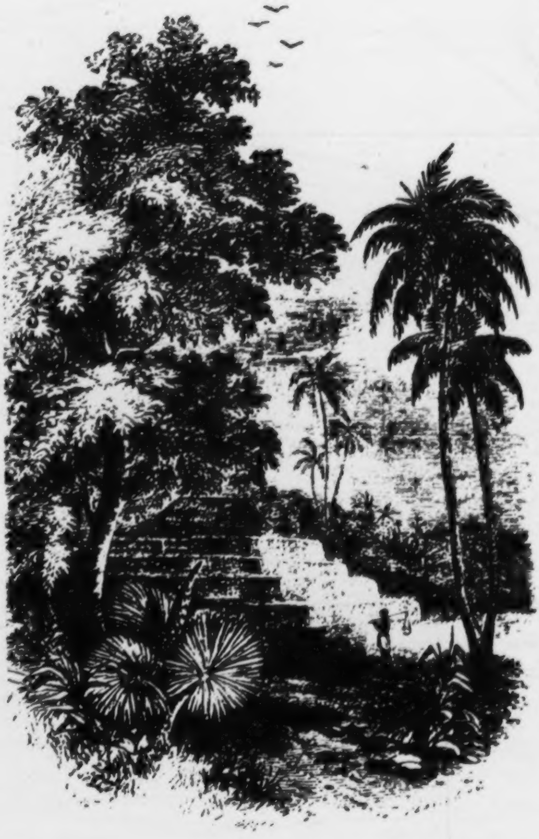
Intricate roof latticework and beams lashed with coconut-fiber sennit add richness to this old Wesleyan church (left) in 'Ohonua, 'Eua. The superb lashing (close-up above) is a traditional art form which is slowly being forfeited to modern architectural practices in Tonga. [17]

Na'e lahi 'aupito hono ngaue'aki e kafa 'i he langa fale he taimi ko e, 'o hange ko ia 'oku ha faka'ofo'ofa mo masani 'i he ongo ta koeni 'o ha falelotu Uesiliana 'i 'Ohonua, 'Eua.



Early engraving of a *langi*. The house on 764
top was for the major *matapule* to dwell
in while presiding over the extensive 766
burial and mourning ceremonies of the 349
Tu'i Tonga. Such remarkable stone
structures represented the epitome of
Tongan architectural skill and 764
socio-political organization; however, in
general, structures were more 766
complicated in style and function in 349
central Polynesia (e.g. Society Islands, 324
where altars for worship and human
sacrifice, god houses, temples, and other [171]
sacred enclosures or *marae* were more
elaborate). The art of stone masonry [177]
probably came to Tonga from Fiji, as did
the design for the Tongan *kalia* or double [501]
canoe; however, the Tongans were characteristically quick to adopt and expand upon new ideas, so they soon became more highly developed than the Fijians in stone work.

Ko e ta fakatata eni 'o ha langi 'i ono'aho. Ko e fale e 'o e kau ha'a tufunga 'i he funga langi lolotonga 'enau ngaahi ngaue 'i hono telio 'o e Tu'i Tonga. Neongo na'e faka'ofo'ofa 'a hono langa e ngaahi langi 'i Tonga, na'e toe fu'u mavahe atu 'a hono fai e langa 'aki e maka 'i he ngaahi feitu'u kehekehe 'i Polinisia. 'Oku pehe na'e ma'u 'e Tonga mei Fisi 'a e fa'ahinga ngaue ni, ka na'e 'ikai fuoloa kuo fakaloka 'a Tonga ia 'i Fisi 'i he fa'ahinga langa ni.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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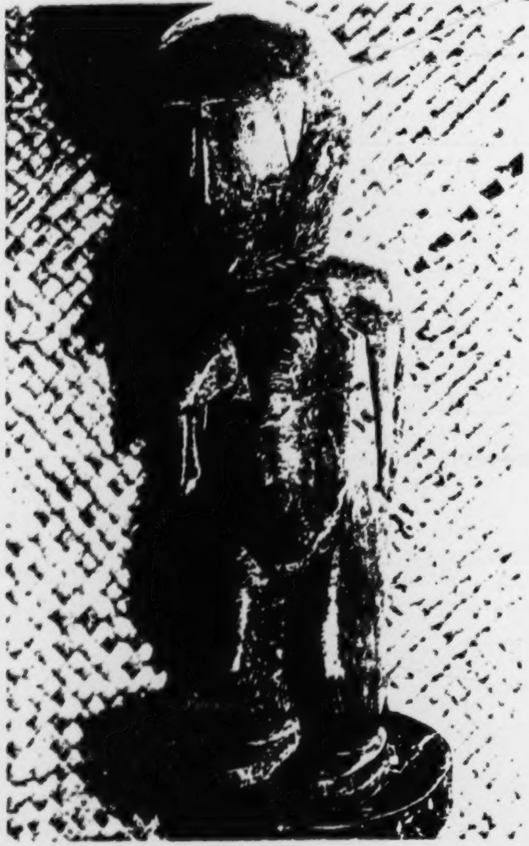

The traditional gods were renounced in Tonga as Christianity spread. Carved recently by a chief in Ha'ano, this wooden image of a goddess was modeled after a statue sketch in the journal of the missionary Williams who, in 1830, witnessed a desecrating hanging scene of five such images.

'I he mafola 'a e Lotu Kalisitiane 'i Tonga, na'e tafoki leva e kakai tokolahi mei honau ngaahi 'otua motu'a. Ko e ta eni 'o ha 'otua fefine 'aia ko e 'imisi 'o ha ta fakatata na'e ha 'i he tohi 'a e tangata faifekau ko Williams. Na'e mamata 'a e tangata ni 'i hano tautau 'o ha ngaahi 'imisi pehe ni 'e nima 'i he 1830.

[P.49-A]

177 With the progressive infusion of western thoughts, values and attitudes into Tonga beginning about 200 years ago, the prevailing religious, social, cultural and political organization did gradually change, and [181] significantly so. It has been noted that the Polynesians have always been, in general, an open-minded, forward-looking people, eager to adopt new ideas[26]—and it was this way of thinking (Tongans being no exception to the rule) which encouraged many changes within the Tongan society.

177 797 [784] [671] One very apparent change came in the realm of religion. With the spread of Christianity and its doctrine of monotheism, Tonga's basis of social control had to be totally revamped, for she found herself devoid of the supernatural sanctions (fear of the gods) and system of taboos which had formerly maintained the balance between good and evil in the polytheistic society of early Tonga.

643 798 [797] In 1830, the recently-converted chief Taufa'ahau (later to become King George Taufa'ahau Tupou I), a crusader for the cause of Christianity, went about desecrating the gods and gods' houses. John Williams of the London Missionary Society witnessed young Taufa'ahau contemptuously hang some wooden god-images (see accompanying photo) in Ha'apai out

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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798 many condemned criminals . . . On observing five goddesses hanging by the neck, I requested this intrepid chief to give me one of them, which he immediately cut down and presented to me."[27]

● 177 Before too long, although not without struggling, Tonga had resolved the majority of her internal problems which came, among other ways, with the

[p. 51-A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

177 influx of western civilization. And by 1875, all of
[642] Tonga was united as a constitutional monarchy and
a Christian nation under the authority of King
[797] George Taufa'ahau Tupou I, whose brilliance and
[643] astuteness contributed greatly to the establishment
of modern Tonga, and whose successors still reign in
Tonga today.

[p. 51-B]

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

permanent settlement. The same is true for some of the smaller Ha'apai 162 islands: they have been farmed from nearby islands, but have never 361 supported permanent populations. In Vava'u, the uninhabited islands are often small, steep and rocky, while the small islands off Tongatapu which were once inhabited are today the preserves of sojourning fishermen. Of more interest is the large island of 'Eua (34 square miles), the reason for the small population of which has long been an enigma. The difficult passage to Tongatapu is said by Tongans to be the main reason for its low population. While this could deter intensive settlement 162 a more likely factor, as Maude surmises, is the scarcity of seafoods. 361 Maude, in seeking a rationale for adjacent areas of high and low 261 density within the group, has suggested that densities are generally determined by a *balance* of both land and sea resources. Where sea resources are limited or access to them difficult, as in parts of eastern Ha'apai and Tongatapu, in the higher parts of 'Uta Vava'u, and in 'Eua, population densities are low; conversely, where the shores and reefs are highly productive, as in the smaller western islands of Ha'apai and the western tip of Tongatapu, densities are high. This, broadly, can be assumed to have influenced traditional settlement patterns, which only today are being modified as population increases and new influences, such as urbanism, take their effect.

Estimations of the size and distribution of population within the 161 group prior to the first census (1921), of which there are no extant 162 records, rely on what at best can be termed informed guesses, sometimes 127 supported by mission returns and head counts. None of the censuses until 1956 can really be considered reliable. Of these earlier censuses McArthur states that fluctuations of the populations of individual islands "are such as to arouse considerable doubts of the accuracy of either the recording or summarising of the data."[11] Table 1 is presented with this warning heeded, but in the belief that several broad conclusions can be drawn from it.

This table shows an overall pattern of population decline and recovery 161 common in the Pacific following contact with Europeans. [177] Tupouniua has suggested three contact phases:[12]

1. *1643–1799*: A phase in which there is no record of—"large scale destruction through diseases, and wars were totally unknown. Presumably, therefore, there was a balanced and vigorous population with steady population growth."

2. *1799–1852:* "A phase of bewilderment and social disintegration marked by a sense of insecurity. There was much rivalry for power [669] between chiefs that . . . ended in armed conflicts . . . (while) . . . several [165] epidemics are reported to have occurred with heavy loss of life." [731]

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[11] McArthur (1967): 81.
[12] Tupouniua (1958): 17-18.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

PREFACE

The research on which this dissertation is based was 101 conducted on the Polynesian island of Tongatapu, the main island of the Kingdom of Tonga. My interest in Tonga was 121 first stimulated in 1967 when I came across repeated references to the effect that in Tonga adaptations to social and cultural change have been particularly harmonious. The following is a typical statement:

> The Kingdom of Tonga is a democracy adapted to meet Tongan present-day needs and old-established customs. The shoe is well-cut and, if new in parts, it does not pinch painfully (MacQuarrie 1955: 191).

At the same time, I found that there was little solid 114 information available on Tonga, and even less in the way of sociological reporting. To this day, the only book on village life in 20th-century Tonga is a short monograph by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole (1941), based on a two-month field study conducted a few months before the outbreak of World War II. In the preface to the monograph, they make the following statement:

> Despite years of contact with an invading western European culture, village culture has adapted itself with very considerable success to the strains and tensions thus engendered. There has been adaptation but not extinction, a new and distinctive cultural blend but not destruction, not disintegration of either personal or social life (1941: 4).

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existence in 1882, but it is rooted in the system of
political authority, whose history goes back over one 423
thousand years. Knowledge of Tonga's history before the 173
eighteenth century is based primarily on oral tradition,
consisting mainly of a listing of the sacred rulers, the
Tu'i Tonga, and tales about them and their followers
(Wood 1932, Gifford 1929, Collocott 1924). This history,
scanty though it is, depicts the steady accretion of power
and territorial expansion from a center on the main island
of Tongatapu. In the course of events, two positions were
created to accomodate the expansion of the ruler's power.
First, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title was created, around
1450, and the person occupying that title took over many
of the secular responsibilities of the Tu'i Tonga. Later,
with the increase in dominion, the Tu'i Kanokupolu title
was created, early in the seventeenth century.

It was at about this time that Europeans first visited 175
the Tonga Islands, beginning with the Dutch navigators 177
Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, but in the following century
and a half there were only two further visits. Next, in
1773, Captain James Cook visited Tonga in the course of his
second voyage around the world, and from then on Europe and
Tonga were in fairly continual contact. The first Christian [797]
missionaries came to Tonga in 1797, although it was not
until 1826 that a permanent mission was established.

Shortly before the end of the eighteenth century, 175
669

342 Main houses are of various styles, with three basic types that range from traditional to modern according to the material used in construction. First, there is the oval or rectangular single-roomed house that is walled and thatched with mats of plaited coconut-leaf, ranging in size from about 10 x 15 feet to more than five times that large. Next, there are houses made of wood, raised up to three feet off the ground on wooden or concrete stilts, and none smaller than about 20 x 20 feet. And finally there are houses made of concrete blocks, the largest and most modern of all. All concrete houses and most wooden houses are roofed with sheets of corrugated iron. Many have a roof gutter leading to a large drum in which rainwater is stored.
312 514 555 177 648 Only three houses in Motulahi have an indoor toilet and bathroom with running water. Two of these belong to two of the richest men in the village; the third is the otherwise traditional-style house of the U.S. Peace-Corps worker who teaches at one of the local schools. Besides these houses, there are a few that have water from an outside tap on the _'api_. People who do not have piped water make use of their neighbors' taps or the few public taps in the village. There are also shallow wells on a number of _'api_. (Well water is used for laundry and other cleaning purposes but is recognized as being not safe to drink.)
373 A number of houses have electricity, used mainly for lighting, but most people make do with a kerosene lantern or a Coleman lamp.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

121 feature characteristic of these societies is the optative and changeable nature of the composition of household groups.

Fluctuating patterns of household composition have received less attention than other features that are characteristic of Oceanic societies. Usually they are discussed within the context of studies of land-holding groups, and they have generally been treated either as a secondary aspect of ecological adaptation or as a by-product of the flexibility of social organization in these societies. Studies that focus on actual settlement patterns, however, are more actor-oriented than are studies of land-holding groups. This different focus directs attention to what I take to be a lack of conceptual clarity in the use of such terms as "option" and "choice" in discussing the diverse behavior of different people in a society. This problem emerges in the final section of the paper, where I consider the meaning of the data that are presented here.

VARIATIONS IN HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

101 Tonga, a country of about 150 islands, lies east of Fiji and south of [131] Samoa. (It is also known as the "Friendly Islands"—a name given by [175] Captain Cook, who visited Tonga in the course of his voyages of 1773-74 [162] and 1777.[1]) About 40 of the islands are inhabited, with a total [161] population in 1970 of more than 80,000; three-fifths of the people live [131] on the main island of Tongatapu. The total land area of the country is about 256 square miles, two-fifths of which is Tongatapu.

361 Although there are only four centers of administration and com- 162 merce in which social differentiation is such that they can properly be called "towns," about one-third of the total population is clustered in these areas (two are on Tongatapu). The remaining population lives in villages that are dotted throughout the islands in a nuclear pattern of village settlement; this settlement pattern is largely the result of practices established during a period of civil war that lasted from 1797 [433] until the mid-1800's. Most of the people who live in the rural areas and many of those who live in the towns are wholly or partially dependent for their livelihoods on peasant agriculture.

592 There is no consensus among Tongans on what composition [829] constitutes the ideal household, but all adults would agree that the ideal household is one in which I, the speaker, am the head. Most Tongans would probably say that a household ordinarily comprises a single family unit consisting of a married couple and their unmarried children. Not all households conform to this pattern, however. In fact,

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[1] [177] Tonga was first visited by Europeans in 1616, but sustained contact with Europeans did not begin until almost the end of the 18th century. Despite considerable European intervention [777] since then, including the Christianization of the entire population before the end of the 19th [648] century, Tonga has remained formally independent. In 1970, the Kingdom of Tonga joined the British Commonwealth of Nations.

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

noseflute was a trait common to the proto-Oceanic people. The panpipe, 534
on the other hand, was one of the least widely distributed of Polynesian 171
traits. The only satisfactory pre-European evidence is from Tonga. Hiroa 175
appeals to Wilkes (1844) and Stair (1897) for Samoan evidence, but 534
their writings are too late to prove pre-European distribution.[1] I agree 171
with Hiroa that this limited Polynesian distribution indicates late pre- 114
European introduction from Fiji, but for different reasons. It would 175
appear that panpipes are part of the Melanesian culture complex that
came into the Melanesian area in post-Lapita contexts and extended
as a complex as far as Fiji. For centuries before the coming of the 177
Europeans there was considerable contact between Fiji and Tonga in
trade, warfare, and intermarriage. Diffusion of material culture was
inevitable.

A number of parallels in material culture, including panpipes and 175 534
bamboo stamping tubes, are shared between Tonga and Melanesia,[2] 535
which suggests late introduction from Fiji. Bamboo stamping tubes 177
(tuki kofe) accompanied Tongan dances of the type called *me'elaufola.* [171]
At the time of European contact the *me'elaufola* was a living dance [533
type, with the poetry sung in everyday language (rather than the older 192]
poetic Tongan used in the texts for other dance types), and could
easily incorporate new musical instruments and ideas. The use of bamboo stamping tubes in Tonga is described mainly in the journals of Cook and Labillardière. Tongans today are not familiar with the instruments except as used in the Fijian *meke.* The demise of bamboo stamping tubes soon after European contact suggests that they were not fundamental to Tongan music and may have been introduced relatively
recently in prehistoric times from Fiji. The panpipe *(mimika)*, likewise, 534
seems to have had no fundamental musical purpose or meaning in 175
Tongan music, but rather appears to have been simply a pleasurable
pastime object. I suggest that it, too, was introduced from Fiji relatively [177]
late in the prehistoric sequence, that it enjoyed a temporary flowering,
then changed, and eventually disappeared after European contact.

In his 1941 article, Hiroa attributed two Tongan panpipes to Cook's 534
voyages. One of these, in the Cook collection in Berne, Switzerland, 113
was collected by Webber, artist on Cook's third voyage (although it is not listed in Henking 1957, and cannot be located). The other, in the British Museum, is noted "Cook coll.", although this attribution was

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534 seem more likely to have come from the second voyage while none are
175 more likely to have come from the third voyage. One is tempted to
conclude that panpipes in Tonga were more in vogue at the time of the
second than at the time of the third voyage. (There seems to be no
reason that collectors on the second voyage would have been more
eager to collect them than collectors on the third voyage.) But in any
case, they were certainly more in vogue during Cook's voyages than
[177] later. If we are right in assuming that panpipes had been a relatively
recent importation from Fiji and played no essential part in Tongan
music, it would follow logically enough that they would have been
534 readily traded to Europeans and perhaps not replaced. In fact, there
113 are no Tongan panpipes of the nine- or ten-pipe variety in museum
collections which have documentation that would trace them to voyages
other than those of the 18th century. The four unnumbered nine- and
ten-pipe panpipes in the British Museum collection, which have no
accession information (e.g. fig. 1 a and 1 b), could well be some of
the missing Cook voyage specimens, such as some of the five "lost" since
the sale of the Leverian Museum.

534 Labillardière, who visited Tonga in 1792 on d'Entrecasteaux's voyage
175 in search of La Pérouse, states, "These people have invented a sort of
177 Pan's flute, which differs not from the European one, except in the
proportion of its sounds; all the tubes give full and not very extensive
notes, and the highest forms a fourth with the lowest. We purchased
several of these flutes" (1802: 168). None of these can be located.
Neither the other 18th-century European visitors to Tonga, notably
Wallis, Malaspina, Maurelle, and Wilson, nor the 17th-century visitors,
Lemaire or Tasman, describe panpipes. Even Mariner (Martin 1818),
who was in Tonga between 1806 and 1810, does not describe the panpipe
in his 13 page section on music.

534 D'Urville, who visited Tonga in 1827 and 1838, depicts a panpipe (in
177 Plate 84) in the *Atlas* to his first voyage; however, he does not seem to
refer to it in the text (1830—1833). The panpipe depicted is unlike any
known Tongan ones in almost all respects--it has seven pipes in a
graduated arrangement with straight tops and broken bottoms which are
lashed differently than any known Tongan panpipes. I think it can
reasonably be assumed that D'Urville did not see one on the voyage.
[113] Because much of D'Urville's information comes from accounts of earlier

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voyagers, and especially as there was no panpipe in Caen[12] or La Rochelle--two collections known to contain objects from his voyage - this depiction is best disregarded. 534 177 113

A number of panpipes, presumably also from Tonga, with only five (or six) pipes is also found in museum collections. Two are in the British Museum, one from H. M. S. *Herald* (fig. 1 d)A and one which came into the collection in 1876. Another is in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford (fig. 5 a),B in the original collection formed by General Pitt Rivers. There are two in the Peabody Museum, Salem, both from the 1908 Weld accession. One of these was purchased from Oldman (fig. 14)C and one (with six pipes) comes from the Hill collection (fig. 15).C The only collection data we have on any of these smaller panpipes state that one was collected on H. M. S. *Herald*, a ship that was engaged in survey work in the Fiji Islands and the Pacific in 1852—1859.[13] There is no evidence that this panpipe, or any of the five- or six-pipe variety, was actually collected in Tonga, and they may have been identified as Tongan by museum curators because of their double-beveled blowing end. The longest pipes of these five- or six-pipe panpipes range in size from 5 1/2 inches to 12 3/4 inches. The longest pipes in the nine- or ten-pipe panpipes range from 7 1/4 inches to 14 inches. Only nine- and ten-pipe specimens are found in the 18th century Tongan collections, and it would appear that the five- or six-pipe variety simply represents a smaller, more easily manufactured post-European style (if, indeed, they are Tongan). 534 113

Early writers on the subject of Tongan panpipes were of the opinion that the pipes were "placed promiscuously" (Forster 1777, Book II: 456) or without regular progression (Beaglehole 1967, Part 2: 940). Hiroa felt that the pipes were "not placed haphazard, but according to a definite scale that Anderson or some other musician could work if the instruments were available for testing" (1941: 176). Söderström, however, seemed unhappy about the experiments by a musician on the Stockholm panpipe (Söderström 1939: 44). Testing these today is rather unsatisfactory because many of the pipes are broken or cracked and the pitches are barely distinguishable. Fortunately, Joshua Steele, who was asked by the Royal Society to examine the Furneaux and Banks panpipes in 1774—1775, was a musician. He notated the sounds he obtained by blowing them in the same way "as people use to whistle in the pipe 534 533

A /see p. 121--Analyst/
B /see p. 123--Analyst/
C /see p. 127--Analyst/

6

Cook's voyages are many—44 either have definite non-Cook provenances 534
or no collection information[21] and this is dramatically different
from the situation with panpipes. The placement of the holes in the
19th and 20th century noseflutes is also different—there are often five
holes nearly equally spaced on the upper surface and one at the middle
of the lower surface—and usually there is little or no decoration (fig.
17). This relative abundance and lack of decoration suggests that noseflutes 534
became more widely available in the post-European era. The political 178
intrigues and the changing status of lineages in the 19th century [797]
went hand in hand with the introduction of Christianity, and items of [565]
material culture which had traditionally been used mainly by high chiefs [554]
were taken over by lines of lesser chiefs in an attempt to legitimize
themselves and demonstrate their status. One is tempted to speculate
that the panpipe is an example of this process and reflects the changing
social system of Tonga. The hypothesized introduction of panpipes in 534
late prehistoric times from Fiji and use as a lower status replacement of 178
the chiefly noseflute may reflect dissatisfaction with a social order that 554
was beginning to be oppressive and a spreading desire for goods which 565
had been mainly restricted to chiefs. A subsequent substitution of the
real noseflute for a lesser status variant may indicate a wider availability
of previously socially restricted scarce goods to a broader stratum
of society.

The substitution of European goods for their socially restricted 534
indigenous counterparts is well known, but Tongan panpipes suggest 177
that similar acculturative processes were operative in Tonga long before
the coming of Europeans. We conclude that studies of Tongan material [121]
culture (both prehistoric and historic) must take into consideration not
only the ramifications of social stratification, but also layers of acculturation
that recognize at least a post-Lapita Fijian acculturative
horizon, as well as European acculturation.

This paper is an attempt to interpret a certain amount of data which [121]
cannot be illuminated by ethnographic or ethnohistoric research. Tongan
panpipes have been objects of interest since they were first collected on
Cook's second voyage, but neither the musical system nor their origin or
use has been explained to anyone's satisfaction. The interpretations
suggested above should be recognized as tentative and based on conceptual
analogies derived from other facets of Tongan music and society.

121 It is hoped that this discussion will encourage dialogue on the potential usefulness of objects now found mainly in the storerooms of museums and all but unknown in their countries of origin.

NOTES

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122 express my appreciation. I also wish to thank Barbara B. Smith, Dieter Christensen, Mervyn McLean, and Richard Moyle for helpful comments on the manuscript and to acknowledge permission to publish the following photographs British Museum, figs. 1 and 2; Royal Scottish Museum, fig. 5; Pitt Rivers Museum, fig. 6; Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, fig. 7; Museo Nazionale de Antropologia e Etnologia, Florence, fig. 8; Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm, fig. 9; Bernisches Historisches Museum, fig. 10; Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, figs. 12 and 16; London School of Economics, fig. 13; Peabody Museum, Salem, figs. 14 and 15; and Bishop Museum, figs. 3, 4, 11 and 17.

534 171 114 1. The earliest panpipes from Samoa that I have been able to locate were accessioned by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, in 1886. These two panpipes have five and seven pipes in graduated series, are beveled on one side only, and are provenanced to Tutuila.

534 535 171 177 2. Bamboo stamping tubes have also been reported for Uvea and Futuna, but it is likely that they were used in conjunction with musical types that diffused from Fiji or Tonga. In view of this, stamping tubes in Hawaii are clearly a problem, but it could well be that they are post-European.

534 113 3. It would be illuminating to know who on the second voyage gave the panpipe to Banks. According to Rienits and Rienits (who used an illustration of this panpipe, 1968: 118), it "was given to Cook as a present and taken home by him". However, there is no evidence for this supposition — they were probably simply misled by the "Cook coll." label.

4. The attributions in the early manuscript catalogue in Berlin are not always reliable, however, and lacking independent documentation, these panpipes cannot be definitely ascribed to Forster (see Kaeppler 1974). The panpipes cannot be located and may have been destroyed during the war.

5. The manuscript list is in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, (Misc. Ms. 1169), while an explanation of the purpose of the list is in a letter from George Forster to Fabroni in the library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. 534 113
6. The origin of the Florence Cook collection is still a mystery, but I suggest that it came from the Forsters, the sale of the Leverian Museum (see Kaeppler, in preparation, a), and perhaps others such as James Burney.
7. I am indebted to Ruth Dawson for this reference.
8. Humphrey's manuscript catalogue was made available through the courtesy of Manfred Urban, Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, who is currently preparing the Göttingen Cook voyage collections for publication. The pipes in both of the Göttingen panpipes are not in the correct order and must have been taken apart and put back together in a more graduated arrangement. The Forster panpipe in the Göttingen collection was referred to by Fischer (1958: 58), who notes that there was something uncommon in the instrument.
9. Some of the pipes are missing from this panpipe, see note 17.
10. This sketchbook is in the Australian Museum, Sydney.
11. The attribution to New Zealand must be incorrect.
12. The collection in Caen was destroyed during World War II. However, a list of objects was published in 1880 (Anon. 562—564). [177] ●
13. N. E. Upham, National Maritime Museum, personal communication.
14. "Besides the above mentioned tones, if the velocity of the breath be increased a little, the five first pipes will give octaves to the fundamentals; and if farther increased, sharp thirds, or tierces, above these octaves. In the pipes 6, 7, 8, and 9, I could neither make the octaves to the fundamentals, nor the sharp tierces; but in their stead, the minor, or flat-third, above the octave came, when the breath was urged beyond the degree requisite to produce the fifth. This minor third is an accident out of the natural order of tones produced from simple tubes, which I do not pretend to account for." p. 69. 534 533
15. "The sounds which each pipe exhibits easily, are marked in minims" (p. 74), i.e.,
16. The pipe numbering in this section follows that in fig. 4.$\overset{A}{\wedge}$
17. This can be seen even in the incomplete Vienna panpipe (fig. 12). According to Moschner the pitches are as depicted from left to right, c, b, ab, b, c, eb. (Moschner 1955: 239). However, as the lengths of the two "c" pipes are different, it is apparent that the left "c" pipe is part of another 4-pipe group of slightly lower pitch. It is also apparent that the 7th pipe from the left on the Forster panpipe (fig. 6b)$\overset{B}{\wedge}$is broken and should be slightly longer than the 3rd pipe from the left, and that the first and sixth pipes of the Wörlitz instrument are "missing". (see Germer, 1971: 81). Given this information it is now possible to arrange the pipes of those instruments that are broken or have been taken apart in the past into their "correct" order. I have

$\overset{A}{\wedge}$ /see p. 122--Analyst/
$\overset{B}{\wedge}$ /see p. 123--Analyst/

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went ashore again with a party of Marines and such of the Cattle as 122
were weak, I remained there till sunset when every thing be[ing] settled
to my satisfaction I returned on board leaving the Command on
shore to M^r King. Tapa who was now become our fast friend and 648
seemed to be the only active man about us, had a house brought on
Mens shoulders a full quarter of a mile and placed by the one we 565
occupied, in order to be near us as well in the night as day.[1] 482

SATURDAY 3*rd*. Began to Water, cut wood, and make hay for the 122
catle. We at first began to cut wood abreast of the Ship it being there
in the greatest plenty and the most convenient to get on board, but [137]
it proved to be of the Mancheneel kind, yeilding a juice of a Milky
colour & of so corrosive a nature that it raised blisters on the Skin and
injured the eys of such of the workmen as it happened to fly upon;[2]
so that the wooding party were obliged to remove to the Cove where
wee took off Water and kept guard, where the natives furnished us
with other wood. M^r King and M^r Bailey began to observe equal [126]
altitudes of the sun in order to get the rate of the time keepers.[3] In the
evening before the natives retired from our post Tapah harangued 565
them for some time, we could only guess at the subject and judged he 537
was telling them how to behave to us, and encouraging them to
bring the produce of the island to market as a considerable quantity
was brought the next day.[4]

122

The Discoveries Small bower Cable parted, being cut in two by Sun. 4
the rocks, this occasioned us to look at ours which were found unhurt. Mon. 5

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[1] 'Omai is of great use to us, not only as an interpreter, but in keeping up a good understand^g between us & the Natives, for they pay him great attention & listen to the stories he tells them about Britannee, which doubtless tends to keep up our consequence, too apt to be lessen'd by the familiarity of our intercourse; & from which we find out that the Venereal disorder has been left among them; so it is, that wherever we go, we spread an incurable distemper which nothing we can do can ever recompence.'—King. [123] [177] [164]

[2] 'As our people were cutting wood they cut some Manganeel trees, the Sap of which flew into some of their Eyes which made them nearly blind for several days, their heads swelling very much but they all happily recovered their sight again as well as before.'—Bayly, 6 May. The machineel is a West Indian tree, with a caustic and poisonous milky [824] sap. Anderson got the name of the Tongan tree as 'faitanoo'—*feta'anu*. It was common to India, China and Malaysia as well as Polynesia, and Linnaeus had already named it *Excoecaria agallocha*—a tree growing up to about 36 feet, with smooth oval leaves, and the white, adhesive, irritating latex that damaged and alarmed the sailors.—'[A B]otanist might discover some differences, but to appearance any[on]e not so well skilled would certainly have no doubt of its being [manch]ineel.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 230.

[3] 'The 2^d Went on shore to look for a convenient place to observe in where I met Cap^t Cook who objected to my going on shore with my Inst^s on account of the insufficiency of the Guard. 3^d Received an invitation from Cap^t Cook to dine with him, when he proposed my going on Shore with my Astronom^l Quad^t only but not to carry my observatory, or at most to have only one between M^r King & me.—at last we settled it so as not to carry any observ^y on Shore but to pack up the Quad^{ts} every evening & deposit them in an Indian house that Cap^t Cook had hired for his people.'—Bayly T.

[4] 'another Chief of some consequence whose name is Kapee who frequently made long harangues to the People and kept them in good order, he was call'd by our People Lord North.'—Edgar, 2 May.

[1777]

648 177 In order to give them a better opinion of English amusements, I ordered a set of Fire works to be got ready and after it was dark played them off before the Chief and a great concourse of people;[1] some of the works were spoiled, but there were enough good to answer the end I intended, particular some sky and Water Rockets which astonished and pleased them beyond measure and intirely turned the scale in our favour.

648 541 533 535 [534] By such time as the fire works were over Fenough had got ready a nother entertainment, this consisted of musick, singing and dancing.[2] A number of men seated themselves in a circle before us and began a Song not one word of which we understood; the musick was in the middle of the circle and consisted simply of two large pieces of bamboo with which they struck the ground endways and produced a dead hollow sound, each was managed by one man, who held it nearly in a Virtical position, the upper end was open but the other was closed by one of the joints. In a short time a number of Women, dressed better than Common, came and encircled the men in a kind of dance and joined in the Song; thus they continued for a full half hour, when two elderly women (one on each side, and who seemed to have the management of the whole) brough[t] the others up, dancing, two by two and ranged them before the chief, which ended the dance and the assembly broke up. Both men and Women accompaned the Song with a variety of motions of the hands and snaping of the fingers, which seems to be an essential part of their singing; their voices are however extreemly musical and their actions gracefull and decent, if we except some few which in a English assemb[l]y would be thought otherwise. But these indecent actions few as they are, do not arrise from any wanton ideas, but merely to increase the variety, for it is as[t]onishing to see the number of actions they observe in their dances and songs.[3]

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[1] 'I know of no judgement that is more liable to err, than in giving the numbers in a croud; the most moderate computers suppos'd 2000 collect'd whilst others guest 3 times that number; I am inclin'd to the first estimation, as the open space space they stood in, could not hold 6000.'—King, 20 May.

[2] 'In return for Captⁿ Cook kindness they Entertained us with a Grand Heeva, or dance, which Surpassed any thing in order & reguraллity that can be conceived of Indians.'—Martin, 20 May. These dances by night are very much better described, and at length, by Anderson—and perhaps Cook was relying on him to give the details. See pp. 875–8 below. Mariner, in discriminating between the different sorts of Tongan dance, and after remarking that 'it would be difficult to give a more faithful account than has already been given in Cook's Voyages', notes that 'The night-dance which Captain Cook saw (the *mäë laoo fälla*) is perhaps the only one which can be considered of Tonga invention, and is the only one accompanied throughout with Tonga songs:' the others coming from Samoa and 'Nuha'.—Mariner, II, pp. 213, 215. The *ma'e-laufola* was not specifically a night-dance.

[177] [3] 'in the evening Captⁿ Cook ordered some fire works on shore which were play'd off at dark, to yᵉ great entertainment and astonishment of the natives, they, ever grateful for the civilities & Compliments shew'd them, endeavour'd to amuse us for the remainder of the

WEDNESDAY 21*st*. The next morning I took a walk into the island, 241
which I found to be finely laid out into Plantations that were extreemly well Cultivated and planted with such roots and fruits as [177]
are common to the island, and I made some addition by sowing the seeds of Indian Corn, Millons Pumpkins &c^{a}. All the Plantations [417]
were finced round and publick roads lay between them. When I went on board to dinner I found a large sailing Canoe fast to the Ships [491]
stern; in this Canoe was *Latouliboula* who, we understood, was King of Tongatabu when I visited the island last Voyage.[1] He sat in the 648
Canoe with all that gravity by which he was distinguished at that time, 644
nor could I by any means prevail upon [him] to come into the Ship. The people called him *Arekee* which signifies King,[2] a title I had [554]
never heard one of them give Feenough which made me suspect he was not the King. [634]
Latouliboula remained under the stern till the evening when he retired to one of the isles. Feenough was on board at the same time but neither took any notice of the other.

THURSDAY 22*nd*. Nothing material happened the next day, excepting 648
some of the Indians stealing a Tarpauling and some other things 685
from of the deck, they were soon missed and the thieves pursued, but a little too late, I applied to Feenough to have the things returned, 634
he refered me to Earoupa and he put me of from time to time and at last nothing was done.[3] In the morning of the 23rd as we were going to 23rd

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evening with a dance, by some of their dancing Women, who are early trained to it, for the entertainment of the great.—The principal Women who have at all times an Air of consequence & dignity in whatever they do, never perform among them; [648]
the dancers were upon this occasion particularly well dress'd after their manner, [541]
which consists of a large piece of their cloth of a brown colour, first doubled, & then with great exactness folded on the [533]
upper part into about thirty plaits, & tied with a kind of ribband made of the leaves of the plantin tree, dyed of different colours, round their waist, [535]
their hair is adorned wth a variety of flowers, & the upper part of the body rub'd over with a perfumed Oil: from the stiffness of the cloth, its being plaited, & the manner it is put on, they look like persons [177]
just springing out of a cask; in these dances the Women have a variety of figures, all which they perform well, but with great labour to themselves: [292]
the custom of going with the upper part of their bodies naked is thought no way indecent, as the frequent view of the persons so expos'd rather checks than incites every loose appetite, [301]
to us the appearance of those women who had bore many children was rather disgusting; but our ideas of disgust were soon changed into that of admiration when We beheld the most beautiful forms that imagination can conceive in the younger part of the Sex.'—Williamson. [302]

[1] Latunipulu, the male *Tamaha*, the man of 'sullen and stupid gravity' whom Cook met in October 1773 at Tongatapu.—II, pp. 256–8:—'a chief whose odd and wild manners attracted our attention', says King. He would not trust himself in the ship, but 'he was very eager for our curiosities, & if trust'd into his hands woud not return them, his attendants however settled the prices.'—King, 22 May.

[2] '*Eiki*, a chief, a lord; or head of a family. The Maori *ariki* (a first-born in a family of note) may have been in Cook's mind. Other journals render the word as 'agee' or 'egee'.

[3] Both sides suffered. 'Punish'd Chris^{r} Kervin with 12 lashes for losing his ramrod (which I believe the Indians stole) during the Time he was Centinel, purposely to prevent their committing any thefts.' Next day Thomas Stretcher got 6 'for suffering the Indians to steal his Boathook'.—Clerke, 21, 22 May. Next day again 'Punished one of the Indian chiefs with 15 Lashes for Theft. Had we made an Example of every one of these people that deserved it, Punishments wou^{d} have been Endless, for their Skill in Pilfering is almost past

[1777]

122 with beating about amongst the islands and shoals as they were and
determined to get to an anchor some where or a nother if possible.
[133] While the boat was absent, we attempted to turn the Ships through
the Channel, between the Sandy isle and the reef of Ogodoo, in expectation
of finding a moderate dept[h] of Water behind them to
anchor in, but meeting with a Tide or Current against us were
obliged to desist and anchor in 50 f^{m} water with the Sandy isle
[648] bearing EBN one mile distant. We lay here till the 4th during this
time we were several times visited by Fattafee the King, Tooboweitoa,
[643] and people from the neighbouring island[s] came off to trade
[439] notwithstanding it blew very fresh most of the time. The Master was
sent to sound the Channels between the islands to the Eastward and
I landed on Ogodoo to examine the island and take a View of the
134 Shoals or reefs about it. I walked all over it, the north part is low
land, the soil composed of Sand and Mould. The South end is elevated
[133] and the soil a red sandy clay without a stone, every part is
[311] cultivated and there are some pools of dirty Water on the low ground
[312] and all of them more or less brackish.

Wed. 4 On the 4th at 7 AM we wieghed with a fresh gale at ESE and stood
Thur. 5 away for Anamocka where we anchored the next Morning nearly in
122 the same place where we lay before. I landed soon after and found
the Inhabitants very busy in their plantations diging up yams to
439 bring to Market, they were now in the greatest perfection and we
procured a good quantity for pieces of iron. Before I returned on
241 board I visited the several places where Mellon seeds & plants
177 had been planted and had the Mortification to find that the most
of them were distroyed by a small ant,[1] but [the] Pine-aple plants
Frid. 6 I had planted were in a flourishing state. About noon the next day
164 Feenough arrived from Vaughwaugh he told us that several Canoes
122 laden with hogs &c^{a} that sailed with him from the island were
lost in the late blowing weather and every soul in them perished;
but as this melancholy tale seemed not to affect any one of the
Indians, I did not beleive it; yet it might be, for it had blown hard
for these parts, in so much that the King and others at Ogodoo durst
not venture to Sea when we did, but desired I would wait for them
at Anamocka which was the reason of my anchoring there the second
Sat. 7 time. The following Morning the King and all those who had been
643 wind bound with him arrived, I was at this time a shore with Feenough
648 and left him to visit the other; who I found seting with a few
634 people before him, but as several came to pay their court to him

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[136] [1] The ant in Tonga is called *lo*; but there are more than one species, so that it is impossible to identify the criminal.

out of a Canoe into the quarter gallery and stole from thence a pew- 648
ter bason, he was descovered, pursued and brought a long side the 685
Ship; on this occasion three old Women who were in the Canoe made 304
loud lamentations over the man and beat their breasts and faces in a
most violent manner, and all this was done without sheding a teer.
This is what occasions the Mark all of them bear on the face over the 304
Cheek bone, where on many occasions they actually cut themselves
with an instrument in the same manner as the people of Otaheite
cut their heads.

Made Mariwaggy some return for his present, exercized the 648
Marines before him,[1] and in the evening played off some fire-works,
before all the Chiefs and a great number of people of all denomina- 177
tions who were both astonished and highly entertained. The King 643
was present and sat behind every body, because no one is allowed to [576]
sit behind him, nor was any allowed to sit before him, a lane as it
were was made by the people from him quite down to where the fire
works there.

Lest amongst their thievery they should steal some of our Cattle 648
from a suppossission that I would leave none behind, I thought 231
proper to make a distribution and mark those I intended to leave. 177
With this View the next evening I assembled all the Chiefs before our Thu. 19
house where the Cattle was. To Fattafee the King I gave a young [643]
English Bull and Cow, to Mariwaggy a Cape Ram and two Ewes, to
Feenough a Horse and a Mare.[2] As the giving away these Cattle was [634]
made known the day before, most of the people in the neighbourhood
were present. Omai was desired to till them that there were no such animals within many Months sail of them, that they had been brought them at a vast trouble and expence, and therefore they were not to kill any till they became very numerous, and lastly, they and their Children were to remember that they had them from the Men of Britane; he also explaned to them their several uses and what else

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[1] '. . . in return for the perticular pains the natives has taken to divert us with their Heava's which are exceedingly entertaining Captain Cook has order'd the marines from boath ships, on shore with their Arms and dress'd in their Regimentals—on their landing they were marched up some distance from the beach with Drums beating french horns playing and coulours flying and where receivd by Captain Cook and the other Officers attended by a vast multitude of the natives who where vastly please[d] with their exercise and fireing—in the Evening the marines where sent onboard again after being well refresh'd by the natives.'—Portlock. Bligh is somewhat sour about the British performance: '[A m]ost ludicrous perfor[man]ce for the Marine Officer [was as] incapable of making [his] Men go through their [Exerci]se as C. Cook's Mus[ician]s or Musick was [ill] adapted.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 300.

[2] 'These Presents were not very pleasing to Omai, who remark'd at the time, that the Cattle were for him.'—Edgar, 28 June.—'. . . besides these Animals which are all new to them, they have made shift to steal 6 Cats since the affair of the Cats at Happi, and which can be but ill Spared from Ships so overrun with rats as ours.'—Burney, 5 July.

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[1777]

648 was necessary for them to know, or rather as far as he knew for Omai
231 was not very well versed in these things himself. As I intended they
● 177 should remain with the other cattle till we were ready to sail, I
desired each of the Chiefs to send a Man or two to look after them
along with my people, in order that they might be better acquainted
[643] with them. The King and Feenough did so,[1] but Mariwaggy nor no
person for him never took the least notice of the Sheep afterwards,
[634] nor did Old Toobough attend at this meeting tho desired and in the
neighbourhood: to him I designed the Goats which I afterwards
gave to the King viz. a Ram and two Ewes. It soon appeared that all
were not satisfied with what I had given them, for early in the Morning
Frid. 20 one of our Kids and the two Turkey-cocks were missing. It
685 required no fore sight to know what was become of them and I was
determined to have them again; with this View I seized on three
648 Canoes that were along side the Ships and then went a shore and
643 found the King, his Brother, Feenough and some other Chiefs in the
house we occupied, I immidiately put a guard over them, and gave
644 them to understand they were not to stir till not only the Kid and
634 Turkeys but every thing that had be[en] stolen from us were returned.
This information seemed not in the least to affect them, they
assured me every thing should be returned as I desired and sat down
and drank their Cava without any manner of restraint. It was not
long before an ax and an Iron wedge was brought me. In the mean
time some armed men began to gather together behind the house, but
on a part of the guard marching against them they despersed and I
told the chiefs to give orders that no more should appear which they
did and their orders were obeyed. I asked them to go aboard to
dinner they readily consented, but after some objected to the Kings
going at which he rose up and declared he would be the first man
and aboard we came. I kept them there till near 4 oClock then conducted
them ashore and soon after the Kid and one of the Turkey-cocks
was brought back, the other they said would come the next
Morning, I beleived them and released both them and their Canoes.
After they were gone Omai and I walked out to see how the people
485 about us fared, for this was the time of their meals. In general they
were at short commons, nor is this to be wondered at sence most of
the yams &c^a they brought with them were sold to us, and they never
thought of going away so long as they could subsist. Our station was

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[1] 'Poulohow & Feenow were highly pleas'd with their allotments, & sent people to take care of them; & I think there is little doubt of their succeeding particularly the Cows, for it always was a favourite conversation of the King's, the riches he should gain by these Animals, enquiring of us how much Iron & other things future Ships would give for a Bullock.'—King, 20 June.

[1777]

431 have imployed them as many days as it did these people hours: but
seamen like most other amphibious animals are always the most help-
648 less on land. But to proceed, after they had compleated these two
643 piles, they made several other heaps of yams & bread fruit on each
side the Area, to which were added a Turtle and a large quantity of
[417] excellent fish. All this was the Kings present to me and rather ex-
ceeded that which I had from Feenough at Happi. In the afternoon
648 we had two or three of the   [1] dances, after them a man
535 with a Club in his hand danced a harlequin dance with prodigious
agility. The evening as usual, was spent in dancing and singing in
which the King joined dressed in English manufactury. In order to
643 be present the whole time, I dined a shore, the King sat down with
644 us, but neither eat nor drank. This was on account of a Woman which
he desired might dine with us, who, as we afterwards understood, was
264 of superior rank to himself; as soon as she had dined she steped up
576 to the King who put his hands to her feet and then she retired. He
immidiately diped his fingers into a glass of wine and then received
the obeisance of all her followers. This was the only time and only
648 person we ever saw him reverence.[2] At the Kings desire I ordered
some fire works to be played off, they afforded little entertainment,
177 being some of those on board the Discovery and intirely spoiled. As
no more entertainments were to be expected on either side and the
Sun. 22 Curiosity of the populace pretty well satisfied, the next day the most
685 of them left us. We still however had thieves about us, incouraged by
the negligence of our own people, they were continualy commiting
648 some theft or a nother.

Some of the officers belonging to both Ships who had traveled into
648 the island unknown to me or indeed any body else and had been
685 absent two days returned this evening. They took with them their
Muskets with the necessary ammunition and several small articles
643 all of which the Natives found means to get from them in the Course
634 of their expedition. This affair was like to be attended with some il-
conveniency, for on their return they got Omai to complain to the

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[1] Cook has left a space here, evidently to supply with the name (presumably native) of the dance. We learn from Anderson that the first of three dances this afternoon was the paddle dance, *me'e-tu'upaki*, already seen, followed by one by women and another by two men, which was a *kailao* or dance with war-clubs.

[2] This woman, the female *Tamaha*, or 'sacred child', was the most sacred being in all Tonga. She was the eldest child of the marriage between the *Tu'i Tonga fefine*, the female Tu'i Tonga, herself extremely sacred, and one of the chiefs Tu'i Lakepa or Tu'i Ha'a Teiho, of the 'Fijian house' or *fale Fisi*. As Cook noticed, the sacred Tu'i Tonga paid the same ceremony of obeisance to her as all others did to him. Her position was such that she could have no recognized descendants. The name of this particular exalted personage was Moungalakepa; she was the daughter of the *Tu'i Tonga fefine* Sinaitakala III and Tu'i Lakepa Fehokomoelangi of Nukulau, Fiji. Latunipulu was her brother.

the rack work broke and the instrument useless till repaired which 122
there was not time to do before the day of the Eclipse. Got on board
all the Cattle Poultry &c[a] except such as were distined to remain. I
intended to have left a Turkey Cock and Hen, but having only two
of each left, one of the hens through the ignorance of one of my people
was strangled and died on the spot. I brought three Turkey hens to
these islands, one was killed as above mentioned and the other by a
useless dog belonging to one of the officers. These two accidents put
it out of my power to leave of these birds here and at the same time
carry a breed to Otaheite where they were first intended. I was sorry
afterwards that I did not leave those that remained, as they would
have been of more real Value here than at Otaheite and the people I
am perswaided would have taken more pains to have multiplied
them. The next day we took up our anchors and moved the Ships Thurs. 3
behind Pangimaudoo, in order to take the advantage of the first
favourable wind to get through the Narrows.[1]

At dinner to day the King who was one of the company tooke un- 648
common notice of the plates, this occasioned me to make him an offer 643
of one, either of pewter or stone,[2] he chused the first and then began to
tell us the several uses he would apply it to, two of them are so extra- 177
ordinary that I cannot pass them over. He said that whenever he
went to Visit any of the other islands, he would leave this plate behind 415
him for the people to reverence in the same manner as they do him-
self,[3] he was asked what was used for this purpose before he got this
plate, he answered a Wooden bowl in which he washed his hands.[4]
The other extraordinary use he meant to apply it to was to discover a 643
thief: he said when any thing was Stolen and the thief could not be
found, the people were all assembled together before him, when he 648
washed his hands in Water in this Vessel, after which it was cleaned 177
and then the people came one after a nother and touched it in the 415
same manner as they do his foot when they pay him Obeisance; if the 685
Guilty person did it, he died immidiately on the spot, not by violence 695

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[1] The entrance into the Piha passage, 'barely 1½ cables [i.e. 330 yards] wide'. The name has persisted.

[2] i.e. stoneware.

[3] It was to have another, closely related, use of 'reverence'. 'If any one is tabooed by touching the person or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other chief can relieve him from his *taboo*, because no chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing), belonging to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead of his feet. In Mr Mariner's time, Tooitonga always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by Captain Cook.'—Mariner, II, p. 188. The bowl used for this was known as the *kae fakafanonga* or *fafanonga*, the 'carrier of immunity'. [784] [783]

[4] According to some, this bowl was given to the thirty-first Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonua III, by Tasman on his visit in 1643.

643 but by the hand of Providence, and the consequence of a refusal was
648 a proof of his being guilty.[1]

SATURDAY 5*th*. In the Morning of the 5th the day of the Eclipse, the
177 Weather was dark and Cloudy with showers of rain so that we had
415 little hopes of an observation. About 9 oclock the Sun broke out at
685 intervals for about half an hour after which it was wholy obscured till
within a Minute or two of the begining of the Eclipse. Every one was
695 at their Telescopes viz. Mr Bailey, Mr King, Captain Clerke, Mr
122 Bligh and my self; I lost the observation by not having a dark glass
at hand sutable to the Clouds that were continually passing over the Sun[2] and Mr Bligh had not got the sun into the field of his Telescope, so that it was only observed by the other three gentlemen and by them with an uncertainty of severl secconds, and was as follows, viz.

by Mr Bailey at	11^{h}..46′..23½″	Apparent time
Mr King	11 ..46 ..28	
C. Clerke	11 ..47 ..05	

Mr Bailey and Mr King observed with the Acromatic Telescopes belonging to the Boa[r]d of Longitude of equal Magnifying powers, Captn Clerke obser[v]ed with one of the Reflectors. The Sun appeared at intervals till about the middle of the Eclipse, after which it was seen no more during the day, so that the end was not observed; it was of little consequence sence the Longitude was more than sufficiently determined independant of this Eclipse, by Lunar observations as will be mentioned hereafter. As soon as we knew the Eclipse to be over, pa[c]ked up the Instruments, took down the observatorys
231 and sent every thing aboard we had a shore. And as no one had taken
the least notice or care of the three sheep I gave to Mariwaggy I to[ok]
177 them aboard also lest after we were gone the Dogs should destroy
them; for altho' they had not a dog on the Island in 1773 when I first visited it, they have now got a good many, partly from the breed I left and partly from some they got from a neighbouring island c[a]lled *Fidgee*.[3] The dogs however at present had not extended

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[755] [1] The royal bowl, however, was versatile. Common people could be cured of sickness by having the stomach rubbed with it.

[2] '. . . the tents and observatories were continued ashore on account of the eclipse of the Sun, July 5th—and here we hoped to gain some credit by displaying our skill in prophecy, as Columbus had on a similar occasion, but these expectations were defeated by the cloudiness of the weather which rendered the eclipse visible only at times through a Telescope.'—Burney.

[3] Fiji, from Viti, the main island of the group.—'. . . there is little fear of the Goats, as they breed fast & require no care, & one of the she goats was with young; these things have also an advantage, that there are very few dogs; we imagin'd for a long time, that they had none, but what bred from a dog & a bitch left by C. Cook the last Voyage, but the great age of some we saw, made us against our inclinations give up the honour of supplying them with this domestic animal; & believe them that the first dogs they had

farther than this island, nor were they in the possession of any but 251
the Chiefs. 177

We were now ready to sail, but as the wind was easterly we had Sun. 6
not day light to turn through the narrows with neither the Morning 122
nor evening flood, the one falling out too early and the other too Mon. 7
late; so that without a leading wind we were under a necessity of
waiting two or three days. I took the oppertunity of this delay to 651
be present at a public ceremony, which was to be on the 8th and to
which the King had invited us. He and all the people of note left us 796
on the 7th and repaired to M[oa] where it was to be performed. A
party of us in two boats followed them the next morning and got to Tues. 8
the place about 8 oclock. We found the King with a large Circle
before him within a small dirty inclosure, such a one as I thought had
not been in the whole place. They were as usual making a large bowl [296]
of Cava, and as this was no liquer for us, we walked out to visit some
of our Friends and to see what was going forward without. About 10
oclock the people began to assemble in a large Area which is before
the great house we were conducted to the first time we visited this
Village.[1] At the end of a lane opening into this place were some Men
with Spears & Clubs in their hands, some of them stood up and con-

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were from an Island call'd Fidgee; they are yet great curiosities & only in the possession of the Chiefs.'—King, 20 June.

[1] The ceremony which Cook goes on to describe is one for which Anderson picked up 651
the name 'natche'—Mariner's 'inachi', modern *ʻinasi*. Writers after Cook, starting with
Mariner, are unanimous that what Cook witnessed was the great *ʻinasi* ceremony also 796
described by Mariner (II, pp. 168–73), a sort of harvest festival. The word, says Mariner,
meant literally 'a share or portion of any thing that is to be, or has been distributed out; 643
but, in the sense here mentioned, it means that portion of the fruits of the earth, and other
eatables, which is offered to the gods in the person of the divine chief Tooitonga, which 644
allotment is made once a year, just before the yams in general are arrived at a state of
maturity; those which are used in this ceremony being of a kind which admit of being
planted sooner than others, and, consequently, they are first fruits of the yam-season.'
They were planted late in June. The ceremony seems to have been held about October.
But Cook's ceremony was early in July, too early for 'first fruits', and as he goes on to
remark, a number of his ceremonial yams were 'emblematical'. Anderson, and perhaps
others, were linguistically learned enough after their stay in Tonga not to be misled too
much, and it seems therefore that he and Cook were right in thinking that the central
part of this particular *ʻinasi* was the 'share' of the Tu'i Tonga's son, the 'young Prince', a
sort of coming of age ceremony; possibly something to do with puberty. Or Cook's theory
of an 'Oath of Allegiancy' to the Prince may have something in it. According to H.M. the
late Queen Salote, his mother, Tupoumoheofo, was forceful enough to get the boy
appointed Tu'i Tonga while his father was still living, in spite of Paulaho's objections—the
only instance of such a thing in Tongan history. The ceremony might then have been one
of installation. (This interesting hypothesis I owe to Miss Dorothy Crozier.) Whatever the
truth of the matter, it is unfortunately impossible to interpret in detail the proceedings
recounted by Cook. The *ʻinasi* ritual seems to have broken down in the unsettled period in
Tongan politics at the end of the eighteenth century: Mariner writes (pp. 167–8), 'Although the ceremony of *inachi* was entirely abrogated by Finow just before Mr. Mariner
left Vavaoo, we place it first in rank, because it always used to be considered of the utmost
importance before it was done away with; besides which, it was a ceremony which affected
the property of every individual in Vavaoo, and all the Hapai Islands, and formerly in the
Island of Tonga also'. It must therefore have gone first in Tongatapu. The Hon. Ve'ehala,

was brought him that I had striped in conformity to their custom and 123 then told Omai he might go too, provide[d] he would comply with all the necessary forms, Omai had no objection as it was only com- 651 firming to the Custom of his own Country, he was furnished with a 796 proper dress and appeared at the ceremony as one of them. Probably one reason why we were excluded at first was the apprehinsions that we would not comply with all the necessary forms.

While I was at [Mooa] I ordered the Horses, Bull cow and goats 231 to be brought thither, thinking they would be safer under the eye of the cheifs, than left in a place that would be in a manner diserted 177 as soon as we were gone. Besides these Cattle we left with them a young Boar and three young sows of the English breed: they were exceedingly desirous of them, foreseeing no doubt that they would greatly improve their own breed which is rather small, Feenough also got from us two Rabbits a Buck and a Doe and before we left the island were told she had brought forth young ones. If the Cattle succeed, of which I have no doubt, it will be a vast acqu[i]sition to these islands, and as Tongatabu is a fine level country the horses will prove a usefull animal.

THURSDAY 10*th*. On the 10th at 8 oclock in the Morning, we 122 weighed anchor and with a steady gale at SE turned through the 133 Channel, between *Maccoha* and *Mansoaffee*[1] it being much wider than the one between the last mentioned island and *Pangemaudoo*.[2] The flood set strong in our favour till we were the length of the Channel leading up to the Lagoon,[3] where the flood from the Eastward meets that from the west, this together with the indraught of the Lagoon and shoals before it, causeth Strong riplings and whirlpools.[4] To ad[d] to these dangers the depth of Water in the channel exceeds the length of a Cable, so that there is no anchorage unless close to the rocks where you met with 40 and 45 fathom over a bottom of dark sand, but then here you would be exposed to the whirlpools. This frustrated the design I had formed of bringing the Ships to an anchor as soon as they were th[r]ough the Narrows, and going to see the funeral, I chose rather to lose that sight than leave the ships in a

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[1] Makaha'a and Monu afe.

[2] Cook has here made a slip: for 'last mentioned' read 'first mentioned'. The distance between the reefs on which Makaha'a and Monu afe lie, measured on the chart, is about 2½ cables—some 500 yards, though the channel ('the Narrows') now used is barely 1½ cables wide. The Monu afe reef runs eastward to form the northern side of Piha passage. The distance between the Makaha'a and Pangaimotu reefs is about ½ cable—100 yards or so.

[3] 'The Water is fortunately so clear, that we can see any danger before we are absolutely upon it. This is our principal dependance, for as I before observ'd, the rapidity of the Tide renderd sounding of very little Consequence.'—Clerke.

[4] 'Heavy tide-rips and overfalls', to quote the *Pacific Pilot*, II, p. 368.

Before I returned on board I set on foot a trade for Hogs and Yams, 439
of the first we got but few but of the latter plenty. I put a shore at
this island the Sheep I gave to Mariwaggy, viz a Ram and two Ewes 231
of the Cape breed; they were intrusted to the care of Ta-oo-fa who 177
seemed to be proud of his charge. As the Dogs had not yet got to this
island I looked upon it to be the properest place for sheep.

SUNDAY 13*th*. The 13th in the after noon a party of us traveled to the 123
top of the highest hill in order to have a View of the interior parts of
the island. About half way we crossed a deep Valley, whose bottom
and sides were clothed with timber, though composed of hardly any 133
thing but coral rock, which, as was observed on Tongatabu, was per- [137]
forated into all those holes and inequalities we find it on the Sea
Coast, though this could not be less than two or three hundred feet
above the livel of the Sea. Indeed we found the same Coral till we
began to approach the summits of the highest hills, these were chiefly
composed of yellowish soft sandy stone. The soil for the most part is 134
a redish Cley which in many places seemed to be very deep.[1] On the
very summit of the highest hill is raised a round platform or Mount 345
of earth, supported by a wall of Coral stone, which to bring so high
must have cost much labour. Our guides told us that this Mount was
raised by order of their Chief and that they sometimes met there to [276]
drink Cava[2]—there being a spring of very good Water not many [312]
paces from it, and about a mile lower down a runing stream which
we were told finds its way to the Sea when the rains are copious; we
also met with Water in many little holes so that by diging no doubt
but great plenty would be found. From this hill we had a full View 133
of the whole island except a part of the south point; the SE side from
which the hills are not far distant, rises with very great inequalities 137
directly from the Sea, so that the plains and Medows, of which here
are some of great extent, lay all on the NW side; and as they are

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[1] 'Eua geologically is an interesting combination of the coral and the volcanic island. [133]
Coralline limestone was deposited on an underwater volcanic base; then renewed volcanic
activity was followed by intermittent uplift, and later tilting which made the east and south
sides higher than the west and north ones. Hence the combination of coral rock, soft
volcanic tuff and volcanic soil which Cook describes in these last two sentences, and the
landscape he describes further on. Parts of the island were naturally very fertile. To the
tributes printed in II, p. 260, n. 4 may now be added one from Edgar. 'This little Island
may be stiled the Montpelier of the Friendly Isles—the Land is higher than any of the
others, and affords some of the most Romantick & beautiful Valleys in the World the
greatest part of this Island is not planted the Earth or Soil of which bears the Strongest
resemblance to red Ocre—tho' there is great abundance of every thing for it's inhabitants
the Walks are enchanting and the whole Island is a little Paradise.'

[2] It was an *esi*, or 'rest-mound', a mound built for a particular chief, in some advan- [823]
tageous spot, where he might take his ease, and recreate his spirit with the view, which
Cook goes on to describe. Sometimes the ownership would lie in the whole chiefly family. [565]
The Tongans were very conscious of natural beauty, as well as of the pleasure of cooling
breezes.

adorned with tufts of trees and here and there plantations, make a 133
very beautiful Landskip from whatever point they are viewed. Whilest
I was viewing these delightfull spots, I could not help flatering my 137
self with the idea that some future Navigator may from the very same
station behould these Medows stocked with Cattle, the English have
planted at these islands. Our guides informed us that all or most of 565
the land on this island belonged to the great Lords of Tongatabu and
that the Inhabitants were only tenants or rather Vassals to them; indeed 423
it seemed to be the same at all the other isles except Anamocka,
where there were some chiefs who seemed to act with some kind of
independency.[1] Omai who was a great favourate with Feenough and 123
these people in general, was offered to be made Chief of this island
if he would stay amongst them, and it is not clear to me but Omai
would have stayed if I had approved of it, but altho I disaproved of
it, it was not because I thought he would do better in his own Native
Mon. 14 isle. The next Morning I planted a pine apple and sowed the seeds 241
of Millons &c^{a} in the Cheifs Planatation, and had a dish of Turnips to 177
dinner, being the produce of the seeds I left last Voyage.

Tues. 15 The 15th I had fixed upon for Sailing, till Taoofa press'd me to 648
stay a day or two longer to receive his present of yams &c^{a} this
and the daily expectation of seeing some of our friends from Tongatabu 431
Wed. 16 made me comply. Accordingly the next day I received the
Cheifs present consisting of two small heaps of yams and some fruit.
On this occasion most of the people of the island had assembled at 648
the place, and as usual gave us not a little trouble to prevent them
from pelfering whatever they could lay their hands upon. We were 526
entertained with Cudgeling, Wristling and Boxing Matches, the
latter both by Men and Women. And in the evening we were to have
had singing and dancing, but an accident either put a total stop to it
or at least prevented any of us from staying a shore to see it. This was
a party of the Indians knocking down one of my people and striping
him of every thing he had on his back. On hearing of this I immediately
seized on two Canoes and a large hog and insisted on Taoofa
causing the things to be restored and the offenders to be delivered up
to me; he seemed much concerned at what had happened and forthwith
took the necessary steps to satisfy me. This affair, so alarmed the
people that most of them fled, however when they found I took no
other measures to revenge the insult they returned.[2] It was not long

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[1] This last clause is rather difficult to follow, unless Cook is referring to the pretensions of Finau—and the argument here seems to be political. The sentence generally seems to overdo the territorial power of the 'great Lords', although some of them had possessions in other islands than Tongatapu. 'Tenants' would certainly be more correct than 'vassals'.

[2] 'The natives here stript W^{m} Collett y^{e} Capt^{ns} steward naked except is shoes, as he was 126

101 Anamocka. I have no doubt but Prince Williams islands, descovered
by Captain Tasman are included in this number for while we lay at
Happi one of the Natives told me that three or four days sail from
thence to the NW lay a group of small islands consisting of upwards
of forty; this correspon[d]s very well with the Situation of Prince
124 Williams isles.[1] And we have very good authority to beleive that
Keppel and *Boscawen* islands seen by Captain Wallis[2] are well known to
177 these people, for on my enquireing of Fattafee the King how they
came by the Knowledge of iron and a small iron tool I saw here last
Voyage, he told me it came from *Onnuahtabutabu*,[3] and on asking him
how the people of that island came by it, he said one of them sold a
Club for five Nails to a Ship which came to the island, and that these
five Nails after wards came to Tongatabu and were the fi[r]st they
had seen, so that the Iron they got from Captain Tasman must have
been worn out and forgot long ago.[4] I was very particular in enquiring
into the situation, size and form of this island, how long
sence the Ship was there, how long she stayed and if there was any
more than one Ship. He said there was but one and she did not anchor
but left it after her boat had been a shore, and from several
circumstance[s] which he mentioned it could not be many years
101 sence. He said there were two island[s] near each other which he
himself had been at, the one was high and peaked like Oghao and
124 was called *Cootahe*[5] but the other the Ships people landed upon called
177 *Onuahtabutabu* was much lower: that they were the same sort of
people with themselves, built the same kind of Canoes, and had Hogs
and Fowls and in general every thing Tongatabu produceth. The
Ship here refered to could be no other than the Dolphin, being the
only single ship that had touched at any island in this neighbourhood
101 for many years. But the islands they speake of as being the most considerable
are *Hammoah*, *Vaughwaugh* and *Fidgee*,[6] each larger than *Tongatabu*.
None of these islands have been seen by any European that

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[1] Tasman's Prins Willems islands were the north-eastern islands of the Fiji group. It was on 5 February 1643 that, after leaving Tonga behind him, he encountered the chain of reefs and islets south of Nggele Levu, a low coral island, one of the Ringgold Isles, some 45 miles off the main island of Vanua Levu. Cook's informants certainly had no right to claim Fiji in general as part of Tonga; but it is not likely that they did so. The Tongans were probably referring to the Lau group, the nearest island of which, Ongea, was only 220 miles away.

[131] [2] Keppel was Niuatoputapu, lat. 15°57′ S, long. 173°46′ W; Boscawen was Tafahi, four miles to the north-west. Wallis sighted them in 1767; and his men landed on Niuatoputapu.

[3] [O]Niuatoputapu.

[4] This seems to dispose finally of the theory of a Tasman origin, nourished by Forster and not entirely parted from in II, p. 266, n. 1.

[5] This must be Tafahi, unlikely as the form seems. Cook probably heard it imperfectly, as Ko Ta[fa]hi: Tongans will glide over a middle syllable. It is 2000 feet high, just over half the height of Kao. Niuatoputapu rises to only 350 feet.

[6] Samoa, Vava'u, Fiji.

we know of, except by Tasman, who in his Chart lays down a small 101 island nearly in the situation I suppose Vaughwaugh to be, that is in about the Latitude of 19° but then this island marked on the chart is very small whereas Vaughwaugh is said to be larger than Tongatabu and with high Mountain[s].[1] I certainly should have gone to this 123 island with Feenough from Happi, had he not then told me it was an inconsiderable island and without a harbour, but Fattafee the King assured me afterwards that it was a large island and not only produced every thing in common with Tongatabu, but had several streams of fresh Water, and that there was as good a harbour as the one in Tongatabu and added if I would go there he would accompany me, and if I did not then find every thing true he had told me I might kill him, I had no doubt but that he told the truth and that Feenough from some Views or other had deceived me.

Hammoah which is also under the dominion of Tongatabu lies two 101 days sail to the North or NW of Vaughwaugh, it is described as being the largest of all the islands, with harbours and every other necessary.[2]

Fidgee lays three days sail from *Tongatabu* in the direction of NWBW, they describe it as a high but very fruitfull island abounding with Hogs, Dogs, Fowls and all the kinds of fruit and roots that are found on any of the others.[3] It is not subject to Tongatabu on the Contrary [721] they frequently make War on each other and it appeared from several circumstances that these people stand in much fear of those of Fidgee, and no wonder sence the one is [a] Humane and peacable Nation, whereas the other is said to be Canibals, brave, Savage and Cruel.[4] That they are Canibals, they themselves do not deny, there were 563 several of them at Tongatabu when we were there of whom we inquired, those I saw was a full shade darker than any of the other islanders,[5] one of them had a large hole in his left ear and so extended

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[1] Tasman's small island was Late, lat. 18°50′, long. 174°40′ W; it is small, but rises to [131] 1700 feet, much higher than any part of Vava'u, the highest 'mountain' on which is just over 600 feet. Vava'u, broken up by water, is not as large as Tongatapu, though it looks [133] about the same size on a general map: Tongatapu covers just over 100 square miles, the whole Vava'u 'district' (i.e. other small islands are added in), only 46.

[2] Samoa is north-east, not north-west, of Tonga, distant about 500 miles. The story that [175] it was under the dominion of Tongatapu was perhaps wishful thinking: it was invaded by the Tongans from the end of the twelfth century to about 1250, when they were driven out, [648] with appreciation of valour on both sides. But it seems to have paid some tribute.

[3] '. . . it is somewhat surprizing that Capt Cook did not go in search of it accoarding to His usual practice. His reasons for not doing it I can't account for; as we certainly had time while we were lying at Tongataboo.'—Gilbert.

[4] There is little record of war between Tonga and Fiji. But the prestige of Fiji was high, [177] and adventurous young Tongan chiefs would treat Fiji as a sort of war college, and go across to take part in the tribal fighting there. They also learnt a good deal about canoe-building from the Fijians. The Fijian characteristics noted are all valid enough.

[5] They were not Polynesians, though Fiji was just outside the 'Polynesian triangle'. The [144] 'full shade darker' indicates the Melanesian strain. Inter-traffic between Fiji and Tonga led to a certain mixture of blood, not confined to chiefly lines.

[1777]

782 they do not worship any thing that is the work of their own hands, nor any visible part of the creation. They do not make offerings of Hogs, Dogs and Fruit as at Otaheite, unless it be emblematical as their Morais are perfectly free from every thing of the kind; but that they offer real human sacrifices is with me not a doubt. Their Morias or
346 Afiatoucas, for they are called by both names, but mostly by the
764 latter, are as at Otaheite and many other parts of the world, a burying ground and a place of worship, though there are some that seemed to be only appropriated to the first, but these are small and in every other respect inferior to the others.

764 As we never saw a funeral, I can give no account of the ceremony used on that occasion. We only know that the dead are buried in these Morias, probably in something like vaults, or as Omai called them (who was with me when I made the enquiry) stone coffens.[1]

128 I shall conclude my observations on these islands and people with giving some account of the Astronomical and Nautical observations that were made during our stay among them. And first I must observe that the difference of Longitude between Anamocka and Tongatabu, is less by than in the Chart and Narrative of my last voyage; an error that might easily arrise, as the longitude of each was found without any conection with the other, but now the distance between them is determined to a degree of precision that will not admit of the least error; and which the following table will illustrate.

Latitude and Longitude

131 The Latitude of the observatory at Tongatabu by the mean of several observations } ° ′ ″

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[776] *'otua* (numerous ones—district gods, lineage gods and family gods) dwelt in a region in the
west called Pulotu, to which the souls of chiefs and *matapule* made their way; but com-
[171] moners came, as it were, to a dead end. 'They have a very Gentlemanlike notion of a
future State, they firmly believe that Woweatooa never troubles himself about any one but
[771] the Eggees or *Gentlemen* but when they are dead they rot & return to earth & there is an
end of them.'—Bayly, 17 May. King, 5 July, has something to add. 'My friend Fatta-
[773] fai' he did me the honour to appear much affect'd during the time I was packing up the
observatory, he with earnestness prest me to stay, & told me that he woud build a large
[775] house on the point w[h]ere our observatories stood, & that I shoud observe the heavens in
peace. It shoud be observ'd, that when these people gave any opinion as to the use of the
clocks & other instruments & the reason of our observing, they always supposed the Clock
[177] to be an Eatōōa (God) & that we were performing religious ceremonies to the Sun Moon
&[c]; many of these notions of theirs were rather countenanc'd, as it was surely better to
leave them with ideas of our having some religion than none at all & it is too true, that no other part of our conduct or way of spending our time, coud furnish them with the smallest reason to suppose we had any Religion, indeed many of them woud ask who & what was our God, which we endeavourd to answer by saying he was theirs as well as our God, & corresponded with an opinion of their own of one Omnipotent being: the little we were able to learn concerning their religious tenets shall be referred to another place.'

[1] The interpretation of 'stone coffins' as vaults is of course correct; but Cook might have omitted his 'something like'. They were indubitable vaults.

609 421 565 Most of the people had left their habitations to go where the ships lay, and our guide, to show perhaps that he deriv'd his authority from a person superior to any of them, often went into their huts, examind what was in them & made no scruple to take what he wanted or throw the things down without. He also often stopt people that were carrying things to barter & took dress'd yams or cocoa nuts to eat, nay at one time took some fish from a poor old woman who was going to dress them and was probably her subsistence for the day, but after carrying them a little way he gave them to a person that was following us.

133 The island is not above seven miles long and in some places not more than two or three broad. The east side, which is expos'd to the trade wind, has a reef running to a considerable breadth from it on which the sea breaks with great violence. It is a continuation of this reef that joins it to Foa, which is not above half a mile from it, and is partly dry at low water so that the natives can walk from one island to the other. The shore itself is either a coral rock six or seven feet high or a sandy beach, but higher than the west side, which in general is not more than three or four feet above the level of the sea. This side forms a bending or sort of bay with a fine sandy beach its whole length, defended by several shoals without, but as the entrance in is difficult from shoals perhaps the spot where the ships lay is more
609 convenient. We found very few people in this excursion as most of them were at the Ships.

132 TUESDAY 20th. The wind Easterly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. In the forenoon the Captain to gratify the curiosity of the inhabitants
609 orderd a party of marines on shore with some from the Discovery to
● [177] show them the method of using our fire arms. They seem'd well pleas'd with the firing and various motions which were made, though
[535] our soldiers were by no means examples of the best discipline. In their
[714] turn they exhibited a dance and excersizd their clubs, in which it was acknowledg'd by all they far outdid our people in exactness and dexterity.

177 In the evening we entertaind them with fire works, which luckily happen'd to be in excellent order, at which they express'd much satisfaction and a good deal of astonishment; especially at some water rockets which were admirable and gave us who had never seen any as much pleasure as the Indians could possibly receive. They compar'd the sparkles which fell from the sky rockets to falling stars, and were surpriz'd at the height of the smoke that remaind after they were spent for they suppos'd it absolutely remaind and became a cloud.

609 535 533 When we had finish'd they treated us in their turn with several

were oblig'd to repeat it. The dance did not differ much from that of 535
the first women except in one circumstance, where they raisd the body upon one leg by a sort of double motion and so with the other alternately, during which they kept snapping the fingers and at the end they repeated the wriggling motion of the first with great briskness.

In a little time a person enter'd unexpectedly and said something 177
in a ludicrous way about the fire works that had been exhibited, which extorted a burst of laughter from the multitude, after which we had a dance compos'd of the men who attended or had follow'd Feenou. They form'd a double circle (i e one within the other) of 535
twenty four each round the chorus, and began with a gentle soothing 533
song with corresponding motions of the hands and head (which lasted for a considerable time) and then chang'd to a much quicker measure with which they repeated sentences either in conjunction with or in answer to some spoke by the chorus. They then retreated to the back part of the circle as the women had done, and advancd on each side in a triple row till they formd a semicircle, which was done very slowly by inclining the body on one leg & advancing the other a little way as they put it down. They accompanied this with such a soft air as at the beginning, but soon chang'd it to repeat sentences in a harsher tone, at the same time quickening the dance very much till they finish'd with a general shout and clap of the hands. The same was repeated several times, but at last they form'd a double circle as at the beginning, danc'd and repeated very quickly and finish'd with several very dexterous transpositions of the two circles.

The last dance consisted of the same number of the principle people who were present and began nearly as the last, but their ending at each interval was different, for they increasd their motions to a prodigious quickness, shaking the head from shoulder to shoulder with such force that a person unnacustom'd to it would suppose they ran a risque of dislocating their neck. This was attended with a smart clapping of the hands and a kind of savage hollo or shriek not unlike what is sometimes practic'd by our lower sort of country people in their dances. They form'd the triple semicircle as the former had done, and a person who advanc'd at the head on one side began by repeating something in a truely musical recitative, deliver'd with an air so gracefull that might put to the blush our most applauded performers. He was answerd in the same manner by the person at the head of the opposite side, which being repeated several times the whole in one side joind in the responses to those of the other as they advanc'd slowly to the front, and they finish'd by singing and dancing as they had begun.

114 which is the small isle next to it, that we might go in a direct course
for Anna'mooka and found it safe as far as he went.

On a report of the Indians that Hoolaiva though almost as large
311 as Lai'fooga was neither inhabited nor cultivated I went on shore to
[225] see it, and found their account true, for there is neither the least mark
of culture or habitation upon it except one hut where a person resides
[226] to catch fish and Turtle. It is rather uncommon that it should be in
this situation when that next to it is so perfectly cultivated and the
inhabitants can walk from one to the other at low water, for though
the soil is quite sandy and there is not good water upon it why might
not the Cocoa palms, an article so usefull here (and which thrive in
the midst of sand), be planted or indeed other articles, for it produces
all the trees and plants found in a natural state on the other islands
133 with the greatest vigour. The east side has a reef like Lai'fooga from
whence we could see no island except Ta'taffa, and the west side has
349 a bending at the N part where there seems good anchorage. We found
an artificial mount like that at Hapaee raisd as high as some of the
223 surrounding trees with an arbour upon it for catching Pigeons.

Three large sailing Canoes with people who seem'd strangers has
643 come to the ship, in one of which was a person nam'd Futta'faihe[1] or
Poulaho who said he was chief of Amsterdam & all the islands we
[634] had seen or heard of. On mentioning that Feenou had pass'd as such
with us, he said that he was indeed a person of power in Amsterdam
and often sent on warlike expeditions to the other isles but deny'd his
643 being first in rank. If weight of body could give weight in rank or
142 power Poulaho was certainly the most eminent man in that respect
we had seen, for though not very tall he was of a monstrous size with
[644] fat which render'd him very unwieldy and almost shapeless. He had
straight hair and his features differ'd a good deal from the bulk of the
[576] people; but these differences would not have been sufficient to convince us of his superior rank had we not seen some marks of respect
paid him to which we were strangers, for on giving him something to
eat two of his attendants fed him and the rest turn'd their backs while
643 he was eating. He made the Captain a present of a hog or two and a
[648] quantity of red feathers which he had heard we esteem'd, and in
return he had a piece of printed linnen and some other things. In the
[431] evening he went on shore to Laifooga, and to show that his corpulence
[501] had not render'd him wholly inactive he took a large paddle with
which they scull in the fore part of the boat and handled it dexterously enough, but he soon tir'd of the excercise. The Captain went on
[177] shore after him and found that all the people on shore brought in the
[439]

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[1] Fatafehi.

things they had got in trading with us, which he examin'd and 643
enquir'd what they had given for them but returnd all except one [177]
necklace.

This mans arrival sufficiently explain'd the conduct of Feenou and [439]
points out his Character, for it seems to have been his aim all along 634
to detain us amongst the islands where his authority was superior to
that of every other person, and prevent our going to Amsterdam 648
where he knew his true consequence must appear. His objections to 157
our going there when at Annamooka, his directing us to Hapaee and [643]
the diligence he us'd there to procure us a sufficient supply are strong proofs of this; but finding us still bent on going there he not only set out for Va'vaoo to try if the things he could procure there would alter our purpose, but in all probability he had occasiond the report of the Europæan ship being at Annamooka to be spread—perhaps with an intention of at least delaying our passage to Amsterdam by visiting that place, if not with the hopes that we might by lengthening our time meet with such bad weather as would oblige us to leave the islands entirely.

It would be hard to arraign a man before his purposes are fully known, as people are sometimes oblig'd to act faultily in appearance while their intentions are good. If Feenous motives for preventing our going to Amsterdam were entirely interested, that is if he meant to appropriate every thing he could procure from us to himself, no man would hesitate a moment in condemning him. But if he consider'd that it was a matter of indifference to us where we obtaind a supply, and that he endeavour'd to obtain these things as a proof of his diligence which he might produce on his return, considering at the same time that no more could be had from us supposing we had gone there, his conduct was not only excusable but perhaps laudable, and the methods he took to effect his intentions were sufficient proofs that he was no stranger to good policy when he wanted to recommend himself.

WEDNESDAY 28th. The wind ESE and SEBE. Moderate breezes with 132
close cloudy weather and in the afternoon a constant heavy rain.

There has been few Indians off since we anchor'd here, but we had 643
another visit from Poulaho to day who confirm'd what he said yesterday of Feenou, ie that he was a person sent often to decide differences [634]
in the smaller isles and made us sensible of his power by saying that
he could kill him if he did not act uprightly. He also mention'd a [644]
woman call'd Chee'nei,ta'kulla[1] that resides at Va'vaoo and is a

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[1] Sinaitakala. Cf. Cook, p. 178 above.

643 relation of his, who is superior in rank to himself but has little power.
[644] He is about forty and seems a sensible man from the many shrewd
questions he ask'd, amongst which was the reason of our coming
[648] amongst the isles &c. He already left off exacting that sort of homage
[644] as feeding him and turning their backs to him while he ate, which
was done perhaps only to show us his consequence, but neither of the
[576] two that was with him would eat or drink in his presence though one
[177] of them is his brother nam'd Futta'faihe. He seem'd to be the most
unprejudic'd person imaginable, eating any thing dress'd in our way
and drinking wine with as much indifference as if us'd to it daily.

132 THURSDAY 29. Gentle breezes of wind from the Eastward in the
morning with cloudy weather but in the afternoon the wind SSW and
S. Mod^t breezes with cloudy weather. Some swell from the eastward.

114 Between seven and eight in the morning we weigh'd and steerd
WNW, as we were not sure that the passage found by the boats
continued to Anna'mooka where we intended to touch. At first we
made little progress and pass'd at a distance from Longa'hoo and
Kakka'watta,[1] two islands next to Hoo'laiva (to the westward of
which last place and off its S part are some shoals), leaving them on
the left and afterwards pass'd between Lo'fango and Mong'onne as
we had done on coming to Ha'paee. We had also on the left two small
Islands call'd Ongoo,goo'boole[2] & Mai'amma,[3] off which lyes several
shoals, but when the wind shifted we haul'd close up and at night
were abreast of Nee'neeva standing on towards Fotoo'hâà.

648 Poulaho follow'd us and came on board but in the afternoon went
643 on shore to Lo'fango. Three more large Canoes follow'd us in one of
which came Too'bou, a person of some consequence at Amsterdam,
[431] who made a present of a hog with some other things and staid on
[644] board, as well as Futtafaihe and six or seven of Poulahos attendants.

132 FRIDAY 30th. The wind SSE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather and
some small rain in the morning. Before day light we made short boards
114 and with great difficulty kept clear of some reefs near Nee'neeva,
which could not be seen till quite near them as it was very dark, so
that at one time we were oblig'd to fire two swivels to let the Dis-
[133] covery know the danger. At seven in the morning were very near
Fotoo'hâà (between which & Nee'neeva we had been working in the
night) which is quite steep at this place and rather higher than the
other isles near it, being to appearance twenty feet or more perpen-
dicular with no soundings off it in less than   fathom and seems
[133] but indifferently cultivated. The rest of the day we kept turning to
[132]

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[1] Hakau'ata. [2] Nukupule. [3] Meama.

114 water, and we had an oppurtunity time enough to warn our consort
of the danger by firing three swivels.

In the fore noon we attempted to work up towards Hafaiva (which
is the largest isle hereabouts) between Pootoo poo'tooa & a shoal that
lyes NE from Kotoo, but making little progress and the same weather
being likely to continue, we came to an anchor at noon in fifty
fathom a coarse sandy bottom about a mile WbN from Pootoo
poo'tooa, Fotoohàá bearing nearly NNE, Kotoo SWbS, and the shoal
to the NE of it SSE and SE. The Discovery also came to soon after a
[439] little to the NE of us. Several Canoes came off from Ha'faiva with
Cocoa nuts & Plantanes and in the morning we sent the pinnace on
[481] shore to Kotoo with our Indian guests, who were so heartily tir'd of
their short Voy[age] that they had once prepar'd themselves to swim
[262] to it. Their greatest distress was with respect to their food, for they
were not fond of Pork dress'd after our manner and liv'd chiefly on
Yams. In the evening we caught a large Snapper of twelve or fourteen
Lib. and a Grooper of the same size.

132 MONDAY 2^d^. The wind SE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather in the
forenoon, but afterwards clearer. In the forenoon the Captain went
648 on shore to Kotoo, which is scarcely accessible to boats from the coral
reefs that surround it. It is not more than a mile and a half or two
133 mile long and not so broad. The NW end is low like the islands of
Hapaee, but it rises suddenly in the middle and terminates in reddish
clayey cliffs at the SE end about thirty feet high. The soil thereabouts
is of the same sort as in the cliffs but in the other parts it is a loose
[311] black mould. It produces the same things as the other islands and is
[162] tolerably cultivated but is thinly inhabited. We saw Annamooka
from the highest part of it and the Capt^n^ thought he perceivd a clear
137 passage about Toong'ooa and the other isles towards that place. Our
people were employ'd in cutting some grass for the cattle and we
177 planted some Melon seeds with which the natives seem'd much
pleas'd and inclos'd them with branches. On our return to the boat
312 we met with two or three ponds of water but it was very salt, and
764 near them was one of their burying places that was much neater than
those which were seen at Hapaee.

Several Canoes came from the different islands to barter their cocoa
439 nuts, plantanes &c and we observ'd that almost all of them as well as
164 the inhabitants of Kotoo were affected with a violent cough and
slight sore throat, which also made its appearance on board for two
days past, perhaps from the sudden change to and continuance of the
bad weather.

Poulaho to be King of Amsterdam & the other isles but seem'd to 634
insist very much upon it, perhaps from a fear of offending the other 648
when he should hear of his former presumption.

The inhabitants have been very busy in cultivating while we were 643
absent for they have made several large Plantane fields in places that 245
were waste at first. We observ'd here as well as at Kotoo a good many
of the small hillocks where the Yams are planted strew'd with a little 244
white sand, which they say are those intended for the use of the chief. 565
The Melons which the Capt^{n} sow'd here have come up but are mostly 137
eat by small insects & some of the Pine apples left with Toobou seem
to be in a thriving state. 177

SATURDAY 7th. The wind ENE. Fresh breezes with fine clear weather. 241
In the forenoon Poulaho came from Kotoo and we could at once see 132
his superiority to Feenou on meeting him, for the last plac'd himself
down in the circle that sat before Poulaho as an indifferent person. 643
He seem'd at first rather abash'd as some of us were present who had 634
been us'd to see him as a different person, but he soon recover'd
himself & both he and Poulaho went on board with the Captain. He [576]
behav'd there much as any of the others that attended Poulaho, [644]
saluting his foot with his head and hands and could not ther[e] eat [576]
nor drink before him.

A few Canoes came off to the ship but we had less trade on shore 439
than yesterday as most of the people went away when Poulaho
landed. 643

Some of the Indians stole three glasses belonging to the Astronomical
Quadrant while M^{r} King was observing on the beach, but 648
they were soon recoverd by applying to Feenou who had been very 634
usefull to us before when things were stole both here and at Ha'paee.

SUNDAY 8th. The wind ENE and NE. Moderate breezes but at night 132
rather gentle. The weather fine. A moderate sea. Between eight and
nine in the morning we weigh'd and left Annamooka steering SBW 114
for the island Amsterdam. The islands to the SE of Annamooka which
we had on our left are first Mango'eeke, Mango, Tonoo'maia, 133
Ko'noogoo and Falla'fa'jeea.[1] There is also a very small one off 103
Kon'oogoo call'd Gefoo'ganna[2] from which runs a large shoal nam'd
Ko'foonga'lillo.[3] In the evening between five and six we saw two
islets or rocks bearing W about four leagues, the N^{o}ermost call'd
Hoonga ha'paee and the other Hoonga'tonga.[4] The first has only five 162

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[1] Kelefesia.

[2] I cannot identify this shoal.

[3] Kefikana, a conspicuous white rock.

[4] Hunga Ha'apai and Hunga Tonga.

weather. The people employ'd in wooding, mending sails &c as usual 132
on shore, & those on board in getting up the empty water casks &c.

In return for the entertainment we receiv'd yesterday a party of 114
marines were order'd to go through their excercise on the spot where 648
the dances were perform'd last night. Poulaho with the other principal
people were present, and all the spectators were well pleas'd 177
with the several motions when properly done, but they easily discern'd [643]
the aukwardness of some of their monuvres which afforded
them matter for much mirth. They could not however help expressing
their surprize at some platoons that were tolerably exact, and still
more at the distance they saw the bullets fly to upon the water, but
they seem'd to pay little attention to the fife and drum or french
horns that play'd in the intervals.

In the evening we exhibited some fire works on the same spot,
which was convenient from being close to the water side, and they
express'd a considerable degree of wonder at some of them, especially
the water rockets and two false fires, the first of which some of them
were apprehensive would come on shore when they saw them change
their place so frequently in the water, and very seriously ask'd the
question. We found that the diversions which were shown us yesterday 648
had been done entirely by the orders of Mareewagee and 535
Toobou, for the two piles of Yams that lay in the ground where they 643
had been perform'd were given to Cap^tn Cook as a present (with
some pieces of cloth) and most probably were levy'd as a tribute for 431
that purpose, from the equality of what every man brought. 651

The circle of natives about the tent being pretty large they engag'd 526
the greatest part of the afternoon in boxing and wrestling, the first of
which they call Fanga'tooa, the other Foohoo.[1] When any of them [201]
chuses to wrestle he gets up from one side of the ring, crosses the
ground in a sort of [measured] pace clapping smartly on the elbow joint of one arm, which is bent, and produces a hollow sound that is reckon'd the challenge. If no person appears from the opposite side to engage him he returns in the same manner and sits down, but sometimes stands clapping in the midst of the ground to provoke some one to come out. If an opponent appears they come together with marks of the greatest good nature, generally smiling and taking time to adjust the piece of cloth they wear which is fastened about the waste. They then lay hold of each other by the piece of cloth, or a girdle which they sometimes wear, with a hand on each side and one endeavours to draw his antagonist to him, which if he is so lucky as to effect he immediately trys to lift him upon his breast and throw him

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[1] He has got the words reversed: *fuhu* is boxing, *fangatua* is wrestling.

their antagonist and give him another very smart one with the other 526
hand backwards. The boxing matches seldom last long, and the
partys either leave off together or one acknowledges his being beat
in that manner, but they never sing the victory in these cases unless
one strikes his antagonist to the ground, which shows that of the
two wrestling is their most approv'd diversion. Not only boys engage [857]
as often as the men in both these excercises, but frequently little girls,
who are generally mention'd by some person in the circle, box very
bitterly for a short time; in all which cases it does not appear that
they ever consider it as the smallest disgrace to be vanquish'd, and
the person overcome sits down with as much indifference as if he had
never enterd the lists. Some of our people ventur'd to contend with
them in both excercises, but were always worsted, except in a few
cases where it appear'd that the fear they were in of offending us
gain'd a greater share of the victory than the superiority of the
person who engag'd.

THURSDAY 19th. The weather pretty good but at night cloudy with 132
some showers of rain. Our people employ'd as usual. The Captain
made a distribution to day of the live stock he intended to leave here, 114
giving a heifer, bull and cow to Poulaho, a horse and mare to Feenou, 648
and a ram with two ewes to Mareewagee, at the same time time 177
giving directions how they should be rear'd and propogated: but 231
they did not show any particular marks of satisfaction as if they
considerd them a usefull acquisition.

FRIDAY 20th. The wind E or EbN. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather. 132
The people employ'd as usual. In the morning two of the Turkeys on
shore were missing, and upon suspicion that the Indians had stole 648
them the Captain confind Poulaho & Feenou with a guard at the 634
tent, and orderd a large Canoe that was along side the ship to be 643
detain'd; but they were soon releas'd on producing an axe and
wedge & one of the Turkeys that had been stolen before, with a
promise to restore the other Turkey.

SATURDAY 21st. The wind Easterly. Moderate breezes with fine 132
weather but at night a few showers and squalls. The Indians, many
of whom had been absent for two days from their being unable to 648
procure victuals upon the spot, collected in great numbers about the 431
tent and in the morning two large piles, each compos'd of the trunks
of four trees plac'd near [each] other in a square about thirty feet 643
high, were erected with pieces fastend across to get up by. These [349]
were fill'd to the top with large yams, and in the forenoon a number

643 of the peoples property. On coming to the point they mention'd
some thing of a person who they said had been fir'd at by some of our
164 people, and upon our wishing to see him they carried us to a house
where we found a man who had been shot through the shoulder, but
114 not dangerously, as the ball had enterd a little above the inner part
of the collar bone and pass'd out obliquely backwards. We were sure
from the state of the wound that it was the person who had been fir'd
at by the centinel the day the others were punishd, though positive
orders had been given that none of them should load their pieces
752 with any thing but small shot. There had been no application made
to it and the people about him seem'd to be very little concern'd at
the accident, nor indeed the man himself farther than his being
oblig'd to sit still from the pain and swelling which was considerable.
[627] We gave them some directions how to manage it & they seem'd
pleas'd when we told them it would get well in a certain time: but
[648] what is singular, on our going away they ask'd us to send him some
Yams & other things for food, and in such a manner that we could
not help thinking they imagin'd it was our duty to support him till
he should get well.[1]

In the evening we cross'd the Bay in a Canoe which Futtafaihe
643 had excercisd his prerogative in procuring by calling to the first that
[114] pass'd by, and found fault with the people because they did not seem
to come immediately as they were calld to. He had also got a large hog
[648] at this place and brought a servant from his house with a bundle of
cloth which he wanted us to carry as a present from him, but the Boat
[431] being small we objected and he order'd it to be brought over next day.

We got off the remaining horses, Cattle and sheep as preparatory
177 to our leaving the place.

231 WEDNESDAY 2^d^. The wind SE. Moderate breezes with dull cloudy
132 weather and some rain in the morning.

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[1] Compare King's account on the Tongan point of justice. They went to the man, '& found him in a very grave temper, with his wife & some friends sitting by him . . . nature was doing her part, the seperation had begun, & the Doctor said he did not doubt, but left to itself it would have done well; the parts about were swell'd & inflam'd & the man complaind of not being able to lay himself down; we had about us some linnen & the Doctor cleand the wound & applyd some lint to the place, & made them well understand, how they were to proceed in future, he direct'd them to clap a Poultice of Plantain, but we were a little surpris'd on his wifes not asking as a favour, but as matter of justice something to buy him Plantains, & not for this purpose only, but food for her family, saying that they had nothing of their own, living upon the labours of the wounded man who was a Fisherman, & that as we had depriv'd him of earning his & their livelyhood, we should keep them; We had a long Altercation on this point, but some grave old men nodded in favour of our arguments when we told the woman, that had he been fishing for his family when he attemptd the theft for which he was punishd, she woud not now have want'd our assistance. The man recover'd his spirits instantaneously on our assuring him that he woud not die of this wound.'—Adm 55/116, f. 93v.—In the Tongan context, the idea of 'buying' plantains is rather surprising.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

THURSDAY 3^d^. The wind SE. Moderate breezes with dull cloudy 132
weather. In the morning we unmoord and after breakfast weigh'd
and stood round the W end of Pangia-motoo, anchoring on its NW side [114]
in 17 fathom that we might take the advantage of a westerly wind to
pass the narrow[s] between Makkahäă and Mon'ooafai which leads
out to the eastward.

FRIDAY 4^th^. The wind ESE or SE. Moderate breezes with dull cloudy
weather and some rain. The Indians begin to collect again about the 439
tent as we have had more for these two days than some time past, &
they also bring a few Yams & other things to Barter.

SATURDAY 5^th^. The wind SE and SSE. Fresh breezes with close gloomy 132
weather and frequent showers of rain.

We had an Eclipse of the sun to day, the earliest beginning of which that could be observ'd happend at hours minutes seconds, but it was totally obscur'd by clouds a great part of the time it lasted especially towards the end. For several days before a great many spots were seen in that body which daily chang'd their number, magnitude & situation, but amongst others there was one place which had a groupe exactly like a cluster of nine islands.

The tent was struck and carried off in the morning and after the Eclipse the Observatory with all the other things and the party of marines went off.

SUNDAY 6^th^. The wind SbE or SSE. Fresh breezes with dark cloudy weather and some showers of rain.

MONDAY 7^th^. The wind SSE. Fresh breezes with some strong squalls and dark cloudy moist weather.

TUESDAY 8^th^. The wind SSE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather in
the morning but afterwards clearer and more moderate. The 648
Launches of both ships were sent to Mooa with the Cattle & horses
that had been left, and the Capt^n^ went to the same place to see a 177
Ceremony which Poulaho told us when we went last to visit him was 231
to happen about this time. We understood then that it was to be an
initiation of his son and heir into some privileges, amongst which was 651
that of eating with his father which he had never yet done, and as it 796
was only ceremonial that he would just eat a single mouthfull of Yam [644]
& his father the same. We found Poulaho in his circle of Kava
drinkers who told us that the ceremony would begin by and by, but
begg'd it as a favour that we would appear with our heads uncoverd
and our hair loose. About eleven oclock we went to the Ma'laee
where we were carried the first time of going to Mooa, but saw very

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

651 would continue to day when that part of it would be perform'd. Unwilling to let slip any part of it which might afford some informa-
796 tion of their religious or political opinions we went back to Mooa this morning, but found it did not begin till the afternoon. There was
[644] none of that introductory part perform'd as in the forenoon yesterday, and the first thing we saw was the young prince immediately preceding the women with the cloth who were not so numerous today. He was dress'd with the cloth as before, and having retir'd under the shade after his Fathers arrival two men each with a bit of mat came repeating something seriously and put them about him. The procession then appeard which was not so considerable as yesterday, and instead of bits of sticks and yams carried a piece of Cocoa leaf plaited under the poles, but the last part had fish of all sorts which they laid
[537] down in the same place. After this the men with branches and runners perform'd as yesterday, and then one man took each stick that had been brought and laid down, always repeating something to another who continued reciting a harangue in a serious tone, but when the fish came a person always made a snatch at & endeavourd to force them from the others but seldom succeeded, during which the
[526] prince frequently turn'd himself round under the shade. The last part was twenty wrestlers who enterd the field challenging, which was succeeded by several wrestling and some boxing matches, with this difference that one person directed it, which is not done in the common way nor did they proclaim the victory when any one was defeated. None of the people assisting in the ceremony to day were arm'd.

This ceremony which is call'd Natche[1] has so much mystery running through the whole that it is hard to tell whether it is most of the religious or political kind. That it should be done so secretly and with such restrictions as to exclude all but the persons immediately assisting[a] would argue it of the first sort, but there are many circumstances which perswade us to think that it has still a greater share of
[644] the last. I apprehend it is a sort of oath of allegiance which they take to the heir of the crown (who seemd the principal person concern'd), and that the Cloth, mats, Yams & other things are mer[e]ly representations of what they engage to furnish him with in future, as they have done his father, who either from an ancient custom or

[177] [a] Captain Cook and Omái were both present on the place of action to day, the one with his cloaths off down to the waste & the other in a dress of the country, but it appear'd the natives would rather have dispens'd with such a proof of our curiosity had they not been averse to giving us offence.

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[1] 'inasi.

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114 The Discovery intended to bring to a little to the Westward of us
where her boat lay in fifty fathom, but missing the bank she drove off
though they veer'd above a hundred fathom cable, and did not get up
till twelve oclock.

132 FRIDAY 11th. The wind ESE and EbS. Moderate breezes with dull
close weather. In the morning we hoisted in the boats and in the
114 forenoon got under way, working up between Tonga and the isles
without as yesterday. A reef connects all these isles together except
[133] Eoo'èeegee (which is the largest and most easterly) and also surrounds them, but there is no anchoring near it, for in the afternoon when about two cables length from the reef off Noogoo we had no ground with less than 62 fathom. In the evening we opened Middleburg, whose N end is a high bluff point and the rest appeard much as when the Resolution made it on the East side in 1773, so that it seems narrow, but we made so little progress today that we did not weather the NE part of Tonga till ten at night, passing between that & Eoo'èeegee.

We had now been a month at Tonga and six weeks more amongst
[439] the other isles, during which time we were not only plentifully supplied with hogs & vegetables but carried some of the first to sea and as many Yams as would serve the ships company near two months, besides having salted   of Pork while we staid.
(648 The peacable terms that we liv'd on with the natives while here (if we
except a few triffling quarrels unavoidable in the best govern'd
177 nations) was by no means the smallest part of the satisfaction we
(101 receivd from visiting this cluster of islands, (which Captn Cook from
similar treatment call'd Friendly Isles in 1773 & 1774) and I believe few people who were unprejudic'd left them without some regret.

Amsterdam, Tonga or Tonga'taboo is the most considerable of
101 these islands and the seat of government, not only all the islands that
we saw being subject to it but several others that will be mentiond
133 afterwards. It is about twenty leagues in circuit, somewhat oblong, though by much broadest at the east end and its greatest length from East to west. The South shore which I saw in 1773 is straight and consists of coral rocks eight or ten feet high terminating perpendicularly, except in some places where it is interrupted by small sandy beaches on which at low water a range of low black rocks may be seen. The W end is not more than five or six miles broad but has a shore something like the last, whereas the whole north side is invirond with shoals and islands and the shore within them low and sandy. The E side or end is most probably like the S, as the shore begins to

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unknown ones discoverd by D^r Forster who visited these islands in 137
1773 and 1774 are not yet wholly publish'd. Besides the Pemphis,[1] 114
Decaspermum,[2] Mallococca,[3] Maba[4] & some other new Genera
describ'd by that Gentleman in his Characteres Generum Plan- [824]
tarum, London 1776, there are a few more found here which the [241]
different perhaps season of the year and short stay did not suffer [249]
him to detect, although it did not appear during our stay that above a fourth part of the trees and other plants were in flower, a circumstance absolutely necessary to distinguish the various kinds by.

The only Quadrupeds (besides hogs) are a few ratts,[5] and some 136
dogs which are not natives of the place but producd from some left by
Capt^n Cook in 1773, and others got from an island call'd Feejee, [177]
which must also have been lately, as the breed is not yet so numerous
as to furnish the neighbouring isles with any. Fowls which are of a [235]
large breed are domesticated here.[6] Amongst the Birds are Parrots, somewhat smaller than the common grey ones, of an indifferent green on the back & wing, the tail blueish and the rest of a sooty or chocolate brown;[7] Parroquets not larger than a sparrow, of a fine yellowish green with bright azure on the crown of the head and the throat and belly red;[8] besides another sort as large as a dove, of a fine green with a blue crown & thighs, the throat & under part of the head crimson, as also part of the belly, and the rest a beautifull green.[9] There are owls about the size of our common sort but of finer plumage,[10] the Cuckoos mention'd at Palmerstons island,[11] King fishers about the size of a thrush of a greenish blue with a white ring about the neck;[12] and a bird of the thrush kind, almost as big, of a dull green colour with two yellow wattles at the base of the bill, which is the only singing one observ'd here but compensates a good deal for the want of others by the strength & melody of its notes which fill the woods at dawn, in the evening and at the breaking up of bad weather.[13] The other land birds are Rails as large as a pigeon of a variegated grey colour with a rusty neck,[14] a black sort with red eyes not larger than a lark,[15] large violet colour'd Coots with red bald crowns,[16] two

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[1] Ngingie, *Pemphis acidula*.

[2] Nukonuko, *Decaspermum fruticosum*.

[3] Fo'ui, Forster's *Malacocca crenata*, now *Grewia crenata*.

[4] Mapa, Forster's *Maba elliptica*, now *Diospyros ellipticifolia*.

[5] *Rattus exulans*.

[6] The common Indonesian and Pacific *Gallus bankiva*.

[7] Tongan Parrot, *Pyrrhulopsis tabuensis*.

[8] Blue-crested Parakeet, *Coriphilus fringillaceus*.

[9] *Coriphilus solitarius*.

[10] *Strix delicatula*.

[11] *Eudynamis taitensis*.

[12] White-collared Kingfisher, *Halcyon chloris*.

[13] Wattled Honey-eater, *Foulehaio carunculata*.

[14] Banded Rail, *Rallus philippensis*.

[15] Spotless Crake or Sooty Rail, *Porzana tabuensis*.

[16] Swamp Hen, *Porphyrio melanotus*

142 countrys, but at the same time this is frequently the most exceptionable part, for in general their bodys and limbs are well proportion'd and some absolutely the most perfect models of a beautifull figure. Their breasts are commonly very protuberant and that even to a considerable age in some, while others have them quite pendulous & flaccid at a time when their faces would give no room to suspect it; but the most remarkable distinction in these women is the uncommon smallness and delicacy of their hands and fingers which may be put in competition with the finest in Europe.

The general colour is a cast deeper than the copper brown, but several of the men and women have a true olive complexion and some of the last even a great deal fairer, which is probably an effect of being less expos'd to the sun, as an inclination to corpulence in a few of the principal people seems to be a consequence of a more indolent life.[a] It is amongst the last too that a soft clear skin is most frequently observ'd, for though several such are to be found amongst the bulk of the people it is more common to meet the skin of a dull hue with some degree of roughness, which is either natural or occasion'd by some cutaneous diseases, especially where they are not 164 coverd. There are nevertheless upon the whole very few natural defects or deformitys to be found amongst them: they are rather an instance of the equality nature sometimes observes in her productions than a mixture of diminutive and gigantic, puny, decrepit, lame and blind creatures, though not absolutely free from such defects, as we saw two or three with their feet bent inwards and some with a sort of Blindness occasiond by a disease of the Corneá. Neither are they exempt from some other diseases, the most common of which is the tetter or Ringworm, that seems to affect almost one half of them & leaves whitish serpentine marks every where behind it; but it is of less consequence than another which is very frequent, and appears in large broad ulcers on every part of the body with thickened whitish edges. It discharges a thin clear matter and leaves very ugly irregular scars behind as if ty'd together or lac'd by bits of skin.[1] There is another which appears chiefly about the inner end of the collar bones and sometimes about the wrists and other parts, which is commonly coverd with a yellowish crust,[2] besides common boils and blotches [177] which are often met with. Inflam'd and sore eyes is a pretty frequent

[a] Besides these we saw a man & boy at Hapaee and a child at Annamooka perfectly white. These have been found amongst all black nations but I apprehend their colour is rather a diseas'd than natural phænomenon.

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[1] This is pretty clearly yaws.

[2] This again seems to be the very unpleasant yaws: or it may be some tropical ulcer.

disorder; but I believe the most destructive is a Europæan one intro- 164
duc'd amongst them most probably by the ships that visited them in
1773, which has already begun to make fatal ravages amongst them, 177
many having lost their voice and great part of their noses, though it
should be observ'd they have a disease amongst themselves that
affects the nose, but only destroys the lower part of the sides wheras
the other fixes chiefly about the bony part. The injury these people [891]
have receiv'd from us by communicating this certain destroyer of
mankind is not to be repair'd by any method whatever: for it is not barely depriving them of life at last that forms the greatest part of the misfortune, but it is by rendering them completely miserable while alive from their not knowing how to stop its progress, and depriving them at the same time of that intercourse between the sexes which most probably is a principal ingredient of happiness in a country where custom has laid but little restraint upon it, and religion has not branded it with the name of a crime. The man who has rob'd, murder'd and been guilty of all the Catalogue of human crimes is innocent when compar'd to the one who did such a thing knowingly. An adequate punishment may be found perhaps for a fault, however heinous, that may be comitted upon an individual, but is it in the power of man to invent tortures equal to those felt by a whole nation that the aggressor in this case might be properly repay'd? Humanity itself must startle at the thought of making a single object miserable in this respect, even for a short time, but what must be said when we reflect that in the present circumstance the misery is not only entaild upon thousands who now live but must of necessity be convey'd to endless generations?[1]

There are two other diseases which make themselves to be noticd 164
from their frequency, one of which is an indolent firm swelling or

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[1] Anderson's indignation and despair are very comprehensible; but it really seems that they were needless. Yaws and syphilis seem to live together very uncommonly, and never in the same person: and Tonga had plenty of yaws. Anderson has already noticed one stage of it. It would certainly do the damage to the nose he has also noticed. S. M. Lambert's *A Doctor in Paradise* (N.Y., 1941), pp. 30–32, referred to in I, p. 99, n. 4 gives a vivid discussion of the matter. Mariner's editor Dr Martin very much suspected the truth—Mariner, II, p. cvii. Mariner could hear of only one case of either venereal disease in his time in the islands—of a Ha'apai woman who had connexion with a French sailor, 'became on fire (as they expressed it), and died afterwards in a very bad state: and this was all that he learned respecting what might reasonably be supposed to be true syphilis'.—ibid., p. cvi–cvii. Of Tongatapu in 1793, only sixteen years after Cook's visit, Labillardière writes, 'We remarked no symptom of venereal disease among these islanders; nevertheless, one of our sailors caught a gonorrhoea there, but from a woman that had had a connexion with a man belonging to the Espérance, who had been long infected with this disorder. Are these people then so fortunate, that this contagion, after having rapidly run through its different stages, has naturally become extinct among them? For from the testimony of Captain Cook, there can be no doubt that it formerly made great ravages in this country.' —*Account of a Voyage*, II, p. 183. We must believe that Cook and Anderson were mistaken; but it is interesting that the French saw no yaws either on this visit. Cf. pp. clix–clxi above.

by small sticks reaching from one to the other plac'd across or 501
obliquely for the greater security, and of such a length that the
parallel spar (which is about two thirds of the Boats length) lyes on
the surface of the water as she goes along. It is nevertheless, notwith- 502
standing this precaution, a very common accident for their Canoes to
turn quite over barely from changing the posture a few inches when
sitting in them, and that always to the side where the outrigger is not
fix'd. The same happens if the small sticks fastening the parallel to
the cross spars are broke, but these accidents are of little consequence, [481]
as all ages & sexes are such expert swimmers that they easily repair
the injury in the water by turning up the Canoe and baling her out or
fastening the sticks when displac'd. In these small embarkations they [824]
will venture several miles from the shore in a considerable sea and
wind and manage them very dexterously; but notwithstanding the [415]
nicety with which they are joind and though the seams are pitch'd
with a jetty substance smelling like amber that is said to be the juice
of a tree harden'd,[1] they are oblig'd to keep constantly baling out the
water, for which they use a scoop made exactly like those of our small
fishing boats.

The large or sailing Canoes[2] are shap'd not much unlike the others; 501
but both ends, which are drawn out to a point instead of a wedge,
resemble each other. They are all double (i.e. two joind together)
with the heighth of a pretty broad plank raisd upon the rounded
part, from which rafters are laid across to lash the two together by,
that are about four or five feet asunder. Over these is built a large
platform or stage reaching from one deck to the other lengthways and
projecting considerably beyond the outside of each. These are made
of strong planks and are either flat or rise with a bending abaft like
the deck of some ships. On this is plac'd a hut like half a cylinder
resting on its inside, or of the figure of one of their common huts
divided longitudinally, in which they keep their matts, cloth or other
necessary things and where the principal people sleep in their
Voyages. The mast is plac'd always in one of the Canoes before its
middle and inclines to the opposite side and forwards, sometimes
fix'd sometimes made to take out. It is well stay'd with strong ropes &
has notches by which they go up occasionally, though it is but short
in proportion to the vessel. The sail is of a triangular figure with the

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[1] A number of trees produced a gum used in caulking: I have not succeeded in finding out which particular one Anderson refers to here.

[2] Anderson here goes on to describe the *tongiaki*, double canoe, which just about this time was giving place to an improved version, the *kalia*, based on the design of the Fijian *ndrua*. We know from Webber's drawings that Cook saw both types. Hornell's discussion of these double canoes (op. cit., pp. 265–73) is both learned and interesting. [177]

501 upper side, which is a little curv'd, fix'd to a yard near three times as
long as the mast. This hoists up to the top of the mast, making the
sail incline obliquely upwards & backwards, with the lower point in
an opposite direction projecting considerably before the mast. The
base is the upper part of the sail, & the long side of the triangle the
after & lower part: it is made of mat, sometimes a kind of streamer
502 flying from the after angle. In working to windward they shift the
sail to the opposite side in tacking, which is done very quickly from
the great command two very large paddles which they steer with
have over them. In these cases the little time they lose and the fast
rate of the Boats sailing makes them gain very quickly, for in a
gentle breeze which would set our ship about three knots it has been
found they went seven, and before the wind with smooth water & a
fresh breeze it may easily be conceivd they must go more than double
501 that. They carry from forty to fifty people, and some sixty or seventy.
The size of one of the largest as measurd was twenty five paces, the
extreme breadth (of one boat) about three feet, and the depth including the rais'd plank five and a half: the length of the stage was
eleven paces and the breadth near six. The sail of a smaller one
measur'd seventeen paces on the longest side, the upper or base of the
triangle twelve, and the yard to which the other side is fix'd nineteen.
They are built of much larger planks than the small ones and
seemingly with as few as they can, but notwithstanding their care in
joining them they are so liable to leak that they are oblig'd to be
484 frequently bal'd out. There are a few of the single kind that have such
648 a sail as this, with a large heavy outrigger which supplys the place of
another boat to ballance it,[1] but their distant Navigations are per-
[501] formd in the others. How far that extends is not very certain, but it
[177] is probable they have some knowledge of Cocos and Traitors island[2]
which is five degrees to the Northward, or at least have communication with others who frequent that place, from a circumstance they
say happen'd not many years ago of a ship larger than ours visiting
these places, from whence they had their knowledge of iron renew'd
(as they must have had some from Tasman) and was probably the
Dolphin, who in her second voyage fell in with them, and were call'd
484 Keppel and Boscawens Islands by Captn Wallace. However that may
502 be it is certain there are islands within their own knowledge which
take them three, four or five days sail to which they are directed by
821 the fix'd stars, many of which they have names for and some bear the
names of the islands they direct to, but when it is dark in the night or

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[1] This type of canoe was called the *hamatafua*.

[2] Niuatoputapu and Tafahi.

226 barb'd. With the large ones they catch Bonneto & Albicore by putting [321] them to a large Bamboo rod twelve or fourteen feet long, with a line as long, [391] which rests in a notch of a piece of wood fix'd in the stern of the Canoe for that purpose, and is dragg'd on the surface as she [227] rows along without any other bait than a tuft of flaxy stuff[1] near the [824] point. They have also great numbers of pretty small seines, some of which are of a very delicate texture, that they use to catch fish with [462] in the holes on the reefs when the tide ebbs, besides barb'd gigs which [502] they strike some with, each of which are so numerous that shows much of their time is employ'd in that business; & it is the only thing that can be reckon'd laborius where we find the women are sometimes engag'd, and where they handle the paddle as dexterously as the men.

534 The other manual employments consist chiefly in making musical reeds, flutes, warlike weapons and stools or rather pillows[2] to sleep on. [463] The reeds have eight, nine or ten pieces plac'd parallel to each other but do not observe that simple progression in length as the ancient ,[3] having the longest sometimes in the middle &c and several of the same length, so that I have seen none with more than [533] six notes. They seem incapable of playing any regular music on these, at least not distinguishable by our ears, though it seems very strange they should invent an instrument whose powers they must certainly be acquainted with and not be able to apply it to use, at least not generally. The flutes are a joint of Bamboo close at both ends, with a hole near each and four others, two of which & one of the first only are us'd in playing.[4] They apply the Thumb of the left hand to close the nostril of that side and blow into the hole at one end with the other. The middle finger of the left hand is applied to the first hole on that side and the fore finger of the right to the lowest of the same side. In this manner though the notes are only three, they produce a pleasing yet simple music which they vary much more than the notes would seem to admit of. Whether the other holes have any use in this case I am not certain, but one of their very evident intentions is to serve as a double flute, for the other two holes & that at the end are placd exactly in the same order as the others so that they play in- 533 differently with either end. Their being accustom'd to a music which consists of such few notes is perhaps the reason why they do not seem 177 to relish any of ours, which is so complex, but they seem very sensible of any that is more deficient than their own, as they us'd to be well

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[1] Teased out hibiscus bark would be so used.

[2] *kali*, pillows.

[3] Probably 'syrinx' was the word he was in search of. The Tongan name was *mimiha*.

[4] The *fangufangu*.

pleas'd with hearing the Heeva of our two young New Zeelanders 533
(from this change) which consists rather in mere strength than 177
melody of expression.

Their weapons are clubs & spears which cost them a good deal of 411
time & labour, the first being made of a solid piece of hard heavy
wood either black or brown, but chiefly that of the E'tóà tree. They [824]
are of various shapes but that they seem fondest of, & which they
always us'd in their public diversions, is one shap'd like a lance at the [293]
blade but a good deal broader in the middle.[1] These are commonly [531]
plain, but a great number of the others which are somewhat quadrangular
(except the handle) and broadest at the point are entirely
carv'd in that part with lines, little triangles & other figures, sometimes
with great nicety, and they frequently venture to make likenesses
of Fish, Birds & men fighting but are poor imitators in that
respect. The spears are made likewise of a hard brown or black wood [237]
(though sometimes from the Cocoa tree) from five & six to twelve feet
long or more, generally simpſy pointed but sometimes beset all round
with the ragged bones of the stingrays tail for a foot at the point.
They also make bows and arrows, the first near six feet long, slender
and neatly made with a groove for the reception of the arrow on its
back part. The last are almost as long, being only a reed with a blunt
wooden point which they only use to shoot birds with, but what is a
little uncommon the bow is bent and drawn contrary to the direction
of its natural curve. The stools are about two feet long but only four 322
or five inches high and near four broad, bending downwards in the 531
middle with four strong legs & circular feet, the whole made of one 237
piece of black or brown wood neatly polishd & sometimes inlaid with
bits of ivory. They also inlay the handles of fly flaps with ivory[2] after
being neatly carv'd, and make small figures of men, birds and other
things from bone, which must be very difficult as their carving
instrument is only a Sharks tooth.

The floors of their houses are always coverd with a very coarse 352
kind of matt made from the Cocoa leaf as taken from the tree without 285
any preparation. They sit upon these cross legg'd, a posture they are [516]
so accustom'd to that they cannot do the smallest thing without being
in it. The better sort have often a finer matt to sit on, & the same is 513
us'd as a bed with a stool under their heads when they go to sleep and 352
a covering of the pieces of cloth they wear. Men, women & children 285
lye in the same place without seperation, unless a few who have a

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[1] The foregoing sentence seems to be describing a spear, *tao*, the next one the clubs, *akau*, even though in the one next succeeding Anderson reverts to spears. Both were made of Toa, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

[2] Again whale tooth ivory, Tongan *lei*.

[1777]

352 stiff kind of mat that stands by itself & forms a low partition, which is
[285] also us'd to hang around the part of the house open to the wind in
[513] bad weather. Women of consequence sometimes sit in their houses
[562] in the day surrounded or enclos'd with one of these mats, seemingly
[565] with no other intention than to indicate their superior rank. They
seem to have no set time for meals (though it should be observ'd that
264 during our stay amongst these people their domestic œconomy seems
much disturb'd from their constant attention to us), for the better
276 sort only drink Kava in the forenoon and the others eat perhaps a bit
512 of Yam; but we have commonly seen them eat sometime in the
afternoon, and it would appear that the practice of making a meal in
the night is pretty common as their rest being disturbd in the night
makes them frequently sleep in the day, although they go to bed as
262 soon as dusk at night and get up at dawn in the morning. The
greatest part of their Vegetable diet is Yams, Plantanes and Cocoa
nuts: of their animal food the chief is hogs, fowls, fish, all sorts of shell
fish, and the lower people eat rats. The two first articles with bread
fruit are what may be call'd the basis of their food, which they have
at different times of the year with fish and shell fish, for hogs, fowls
252 & turtle seem only to be ate occasionally by the better people. The
intervals between the season of these things must be sometimes
considerable, as they prepare a sort of artificial bread from plantanes
which they put under ground before ripe, and suffer them to remain
till they ferment, when they are taken out & made up into small
balls, but so sour & indifferent that they often said our bread was
262 preferable though somewhat musty.[1] They also use great quantitys of
the Nuts call'd E'eefee at these times, which is coarser and less
agreeable than our Chesnuts.

252 The method of dressing these things is entirely in the kind of oven
us'd to bake the hogs with, but they sometimes roast the Vegetables
[415] on an open fire, and though they have a few earthen globular pots
[177] they get them from Feejee and are never apply'd to that purpose.
They are as yet almost strangers to the thousand destructive luxurys
which cookery has invented, but nevertheless have a few artificial
dishes, such as a soft pudding made of Talo and other roots with
Cocoa nut scrap'd into it,[2] which gives an agreeable smoothness to
262 every thing dress'd with it. There is also another very palatable sort
in which is put aromatic leaves as seasoning, and they prepare a dish

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[1] This, if accurately observed, is a variation on what Mariner, II, p. 200, calls 'Ma me; fermented breadfruit'. Churchward pleasantly defines *ma* as 'a kind of ensilage (but for human consumption)'; *mei* is breadfruit. Anderson in his own vocabulary explains 'Maa' as 'A sour plantain, by being put underground'.

[2] *po'oi.*

104

Ma'tangee	The wind
Gee'fai	Where
A'fai	When
+ 'Reta	Anger
+ 'Patoo	A stroke—To strike
+ A'faia	How many
'Koukou	To bathe
+ 'Loee, or Lohee	A lie
+ 'Monee	Truth
'Maha	Finished—at an end—Empty
'Aho	The dawn or day break
+ Le'laiee	Good
+ Kovee	Bad
+ La'langa	To make or fabricate
Mohe	To sleep.

Besides these we have been able to collect about six hundred of their words, amongst which are terms that express numbers as far as a hundred thousand, beyond which they never would reckon and probably are not able, as after that they commonly us'd a word that expresses any indeterminate number. 126 802

The number of islands we have seen are but a small part of what these people know, for we have procur'd names of above a hundred and twenty from them and they have reckon'd upwards of a hundred and fifty to us by bits of leaves. Thirteen of these are said to be high or hilly, such as To'fooa and O'ooa or Middleburgh, and thirty seven large, of which I cannot tell any other method to determine the size than by saying they must all be larger than Anna'mooka which is rank'd amongst the smaller isles. Of these Va'vaoo has already been mentioned as lying N^{o} E^{tl}y from Hapaee, which is said to have a good harbour, is free from shoals and seems to be a pretty considerable place from their frequent mention of it. Ha'môâ again is more northerly and is said to be even larger than Tonga, which however, has conquerd it and Poulaho frequently resides in this Island.[1] It is high and has good water, producing every thing found at Tonga in the greatest abundance. The manners of the people & their Language begin to alter here for they do not bury their dead as at Tonga but expose them to consume on a sort of scaffolds. Their songs & dances, some of which have been adopted at Tonga, are also different; & as we have seen houses built after the model of those of Hamôâ it 101 648 [643] [171] 177

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[1] This last information is wrong. Tongan forces did conquer Samoa, or part of it, from perhaps the end of the 12th century, and the Tu'i Tongas did spend some time there; but they were driven out about the middle of the 13th century. Later Tongan rulers sometimes visited the group, but it does not appear that any of them did so in the 18th century. Possibly Anderson's informants were giving their own country 'a good build-up'.

177 appears probable the inhabitants of Tonga think them worthy of
imitation in many respects. I have subjoind three words which seem
104 to differ much from those of the other isles.

Tama'lôà	A chief man
Tamaë'ty	A chief woman
Solle	A common man

648 'Feejee is the only place they know that does not bend to their
authority and they are themselves oblig'd in some measure to
[201] acknowledge the superiority of Feejee, a circumstance they always
express by bending the body forwards and covering the face with
their hands. This place is compos'd of several high isles which bear
[509] about w from Hapaee and is much larger than Tonga. Its distance
may be guess'd by their time of sailing to it which with a good wind is
721 three days but with an indifferent one five or more. The inhabitants
sometimes visit Tonga and the other isles in a hostile manner and
carry off their hogs and other things, where they are much dreaded
from their fighting with Bows and Slings but more so from the unnatural practice of eating their enemies whom they kill in battle.
[266] This practice is destested very much by the people of Tonga (who
mention something of an Island to the eastward where the same
[829] custom prevails) and who cultivate the friendship of those of Feejee
apparently out of fear, though they sometimes venture to skirmish
with them on their own ground and carry off red feathers as their
Booty, which are found in great plenty there and highly valued at
648 Tonga. When they are at peace the intercourse between the islands
seems pretty frequent, though they have been doubtless but lately
177 known to each other, or we may suppose that Tonga and the other
231 isles would have before this been supplied with a breed of dogs which
abound at Feejee, and though now at Tonga were not to be seen
171 when Capt^{n} Cook was here in 1773. Contrary to the practice at
Tonga the women of this place are punctur'd but not the men. We
304 have seen several of both sexes at Tonga who are generally smaller
563 than the natives of that place, are of a deeper and more shining black
and have the hair frizzled. The Ears of some are slit and the lobe
hangs down almost to the shoulder, like the inhabitants of some other
isles in the south sea. They are much respected here, not only perhaps
as a powerfull people but from their ingenuity, as they seem even to
exceed the inhabitants of Tonga in that respect if we might judge
from several things that come from that place: as their clubs and
spears which are carv'd in a very masterly manner, their cloth which
is beautifully checquer'd, variegated matts, their earthen pots, and

some other things which have all a cast of superiority in the work- 563
manship. Their language too differs almost totally from that of
Tonga, as may be seen in the small specimen I was able to procure 000
subjoind, where Eco, Yes is the only word that agrees, & Latoo, a chief is mentiond by Le maire as signifying the same thing at Cocos Island.

Kanna	To eat
Tabee'ly	A boat
Vai'ty	Coition
Veen'aga	Good (Adopted at Tonga in some cases)
Matanee-denna	The Penis
Laggo'my	Come here
Shainga	No—There is none
Laiva	A woman
Toá	A man
Latoo	A chief
Oeelai	An interjection of admiration
Eeo	Yes.

I must notwithstanding conclude by observing that the natives of 105
Tonga and the isles around it are upon the whole arrivd at as much perfection in their manual works, as much regularity in their government, at as a high a pitch in their agriculture and some other things as any nation whatever under the same circumstances; and that exclusive of the helps obtaind from learning the use of metals and communication with nations who have these advantages, they are in every respect almost as perfectly civiliz'd as it is possible for mankind to be. They seem to have been long at their ultimum: at 177
least by what we may judge from the general description of them given by Tasman they have been so for above these hundred and thirty years, and had they not been visited by Europæans would probably ever have remaind in the same state. What effect our intercourse and the large supply of iron they have now got may have upon them is uncertain, but they seem of that disposition which converts every oppurtunity and example to its advantage and consequently may reap some lasting benefit from our visit. It would indeed appear 439
that they have already by some means learnt the true spirit of traffic, for they would not even part with the twig of a tree to us without asking something in exchange. The articles of ours they chiefly valued was iron ware, as hatchets, nails and knives, with beads of different sorts especially red and blue, the last of which they often prefer'd to iron. They were very fond of any kind of cloth and also of glass looking glasses or earthen ware, but iron was the staple

526 a cordiality which left no room to doubt but they were convinc'd of
[157] their mutual merit & that malice had no share in urging them to the
combat. Many people likewise fought with clubs of the hard heavy
Cocoa nut stem, a diversion I think the most exceptionable they have,
both because it is in some degree cruel and requires no dexterity so
that the advantage must generally be on the side of strength. These
Champions collected in a body on each side of the circle and when
any of them wanted to engage would come and sit down in the
middle of the open space, when some from the opposite side would
advance or if not he retreated to his party. When the challenge was
accepted the pair began without any ceremony and beat from above
upon each others heads and shoulders without mercy either till they
left off by mutual consent or broke their clubs to pieces which
[177] frequently happened. It can scarcely be doubted but accidents sometimes
happen at this rough diversion, in which they all show'd a kind
of reluctance to engage, yet we saw no method they us'd to defend
themselves from the blows farther than holding down the face,
except in one man who had a very large thick semicircular breast
plate made of one piece of bone hung round his neck which they said
648 was of the manufacture of Feejee. They intended to have finishd with
the Bo'mai or night dance but an accident put a stop to our entertainment.
The Captains servant walking a very little way was surrounded
by twenty or thirty of the natives who knockd him down and
strip'd him of every thing but his shoes. The Captain immediately
seiz'd two Canoes, & not long after they brought the trowsers and a
shirt that had been stole from another person. They then brought a
young lad who they said was the thief, and in a short time a hog to
609 redeem him, but night coming on he was carried on board. I cannot
674 help observing on this occasion that in this as in all other countrys,
there are some individuals who being total strangers to every sentiment
of justice and humanity are continually watching oppurtunitys
to commit acts of violence & rapine which renders them pests
to society. In these countrys however there is a kind of intelligence
kept up, perhaps superior to the best regulated police of civiliz'd
nations, by which such offenders are so easily detected that with
respect to themselves there are probably fewer instances of this kind
[648] than in most other places. But with respect to strangers they certainly
think they can take such advantages with less risque of being discoverd,
either from their hopes of our laying aside a search which in
all probability they know must give us a great deal of trouble, or
from their being sensible of the impossibility of effecting such a
discovery without the concurrence of their chief, whom they may

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sailing Canoes cruising about. We came to an anchor in an open road 122
at the Island of Anamooka, on the outside of the reef facing a bay [609]
with a fine sandy beach at the head of it, where some large Canoes
were hauled up & many of their Houses stood under the Shade of the
Cocoa nut Trees. We had many Canoes come off to us with Hogs, 439
Cocoa nuts & other Fruits which the Island afforded for which we
gave them Hatchets Nails &c. which they highly prized. Capt Cook 122
went on shore in the Bay & fixed upon a House which he hired of the
Indians for our Use during our Stay, which saved us the Trouble of
erecting the Tents. The Astronomers lived on shore tho' they did not
fix their Observatories here. The Horses, Cattle, Sheep &c. were sent [177]
on shore with two Men to look after them; the Natives who had never
before seen any other animal beside a Hog or a Dog were much
surprized when they saw our large Cattle. People were sent on shore
to wood & water; the water they got out of a large stagnant Pond
which was brackish, the wood they cut down was the Mangineel
Tree[1] which gave many of our People sore Eyes occasioned by the
Juice flying into them. The different Parties on shore were under the 439
Command of the second Lieut, & a Market was established before
the House under the Management of the Gunners of each Ship, who
were the sole Persons employed to traffick with the Indians for
Provisions, all other trade being strictly prohibited; a large Ring
was made before the House where those who had any thing for
market exposed them to sale. The Chiefs kept the rabble in order; if [565]
they came too near the House they pelted them with Stones & Cocoa
nuts & those they could reach they banged most unmercifully with [689]
Clubs, we have seen instances of their knocking a fellow in the Head
with one of their Clubs which deprived him of his Senses & he was
carried off by his friends in a State of insensibility, while the Chief
paraded about not minding whether he was alive or dead or seeming
to take any Notice of what he had done. Thus with the assistance of
the Chiefs things were carried on with regularity & the market was
every Day well supplyed with Provisions.

Capt^{n} Cook was visited by the King of the Island whose Name is 648
Toobow,[2] about 30 years of age, stout and well made & of a very 565
agreeable open Countenance. We continued upon friendly terms with
him by making him Presents &c. & he encouraged his Subjects to [439]
bring Hogs & other Provisions to market which were our first object,
tho' in a short time another article engaged our Attention from the
highest to the lowest and was sought after with greater avidity than

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[1] Feta'anu, *Excoecaria agallocha.*

[2] Tupou.

considerable Height & the Island may be called low upon the whole. 133
It abounds with Bread fruit trees, Cocoa nuts, Yams, Plantains &
Tarroo root & is well stocked with Hogs & Fowls. We found no great 136
Difficulty in getting the Girls on board, for the Charms of a Hatchet, 137
a Shirt or a long nail they could no more withstand than we could
theirs which were far from being despicable. Some of these Girls 609
were exceeding handsome, tho' it was afterwards universally allowed 836
that in female softness & Delicacy they were excelled by the Otaheitean Ladies.

We had been at Anamooka about a Week when there arrived 648
from one of the neighbouring Isles a Chief whose authority was 634
acknowledged to be superior to that of Toobow the King of the
Island. He was taken on board the Ship by Capt Cook & treated with
respect suitable to his Dignity, & presented with a Cotton Gown,
Hatchets, Beads & other Things with which he was well pleased. 634
The Name of the great Personage we found was Phenow,[1] he is about [141]
thirty years of age, not robust but tall & well made & exceedingly
active & lively with a majestic Countenance & a noble and manly [142]
Deportment, his forehead is high, his Nose Aquiline & his Eye
penetrating and full of fire, his Hair thick & flowing over his
Shoulders. He seemed to be possessed of a mind intelligent, firm,
elevated & generous; His manners were free and engaging. In his
intercourse with us he shewed a keeness and Penetration that distinguished him as a great Character. In a short time he became a
Favourite with all, & tho' afterwards we met with Chiefs of higher
rank than him he still continued to be the most popular Man among
us while we staid at these Islands. He generally had three or four of
his Mistresses attending him who were very handsome women. He 634
made Capt. Cook several Presents of red Feathers, Hogs & Fruits & 648
he spent much of his time on board the Resolution where many
things engaged his attention, more particularly the great Guns & 177
small arms; to gratify his Curiosity a great gun was fired with Ball [431]
towards the Shore which was about a mile distant, another was fired
afterwards on the other side towards the open sea. We saw them both
light & the astonishment which they created in Phenow & the other
Chiefs who were on board may be much easier conceived than
described; two or three more Guns were fired, when Phenow partly
terrified with the Explosion & perfectly satisfied with the Execution
of them told us that he desired no more. At the same time that this
Experiment pleased & gratified the Curiosity of the Indian Chief, it
impressed him with a Dread of our Power, which no doubt was of use

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[1] Finau. Why Samwell spells the name with 'Ph' is a mystery.

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634 to us in our future intercourse with his Countrymen. We staid at this
648 Island till Wednesday the 14th of May, when we set sail to the NE
with a fair Wind, Capt Cook having been informed of some Islands
[177] called Happai which lay in that direction & were under the Dominion
of Phenow, who had invited him thither with a promise of a plentiful
[122] Supply of Hogs & other Provisions. Phenow in his large sailing Canoe
attended by many others set sail along with us.

122 FRIDAY MAY the 16th we came in sight of the Islands & the next
Morning we anchored in a good Bay about a Mile from the Shore.
101 These Islands besides being called Happai have each a seperate
Name; they are joined to one another by reefs, are in Number
& extend considerably in length from NNE to SSW but not much in
122 breadth. Our Passage here from Anamooka was tedious considering
the Distance being no more than fourteen Leagues in a direct Line.
We passed several small Islands in our Way, among the rest the high
Island on which is a Volcano[1] & which is to be seen from Anamooka.
609 The Sailing Canoes that accompanied us went on shore to
one of these Islands every night & as we lay to after sunset they joined
us again in the Morning, they sailed much quicker than we did, their
634 rate of going being about three miles to our two. After coming to an
Anchor we were surrounded with a great Number of the natives in
648 their Canoes loaded with Hogs, Breadfruit, Plantains, Cocoa nuts
&c. & Phenow came on board the Ship to welcome us on our arrival
here.

648 SATURDAY MAY 20th. This Day was dedicated entirely to martial
Exercises, Dances & other amusements which were conducted with
541 great regularity & afforded much Pleasure both to us and the
Indians. Phenow having expressed a desire of seeing our military
648 Exercise, this being a fine morning presented an opportunity of
177 gratifying his Curiosity in this Particular, accordingly Captn Cook
ordered the Marines of both Ships on Shore under the Command of
their Lieut. & a midshipman dressed in his Uniform to carry an
English Jack before them on a long Staff. A prodigious Number of
the Natives were collected together on the Beach & a large Space
was left clear for our People. Captn Cook with some of the officers of
each Ship sat in a House at the upper end of the open Area along
with Phenow & the Chiefs of the Island. The Marines were drawn up
facing them & went through their Evolutions to the great admiration
of the Natives, who were astonished at seeing the Balls light at a
considerable distance in the Sea. Phenow willing to see their effect

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[1] Tofua.

desired they might fire at an empty Canoe which lay upon the Beach 648
at the Distance of about 100 yards. The marines fired at it several
times but when the Indians run to examine it they found only one 177
ball had hit it, but that having gone through each side was sufficient
to convince them that it would be rather imprudent to stand in its
way. Presently, after the Marines had withdrawn, about a hundred 648
Indian Warriors in battle array made their Appearance with Phenow
at their Head, each bearing a small weapon in his hand about 2 feet 541
long, very slender & of the shape of a spade, they seemed to use them [713]
instead of Clubs like we do Foils in fencing. They were drawn up in a
regular Line three deep with two Drums beating in front. They began [533]
their Exercise by twirling their Instruments slowly according to the
Measure beat on the Drums, several of the Chiefs at the same time
singing in a gentle deep Cadence & lifting up their Legs & inclin[in]g
their Heads & Bodies to each Side alternately, keeping exact time;
by degrees the Drum and the Song grew louder & quicker, which
was accompany'd by their Movements which at last became violent
to a great degree; they ran backwards & forwards the rear Rank
being sometimes in the front and the front in the rear. After continuing
these maneuvres some time there ensued a Pause; then they
began again in a slow measure and went through the several Degrees
of quickness as before, & thus repeated the same Exercise several
times. It was observ'd that Phenow, who appeared to be their [634]
General, was always at the beginning of their Exercise in the center
of the front rank, but by the Course of their different Evolutions he [701]
was sometimes in the rear Rank & in the Wing of that rank, so that
there did not seem to be any fixed Station for their Leader, nor was
he distinguished from the rest by his weapon or any other Mark of
Eminency. Every one seemed to perform the same Duty without any
Advantage over his fellow warriors but what was to be derived from
bodily Strength or superior Skill. To us who could hardly seperate [887]
the Idea of Decrepitude & weakness from old age, it was matter of
peculiar Delight & admiration to behold the Vigour & activity of the
old Men, who in performing their military Exercise were not to be
distinguished from the young-ones any otherwise than by their grey
Locks and venerable Countenances. Once or twice while a Pause
was made in their Exercise a Man advanced in the front of the line
with a Club in his Hand, who jumped and turned about as quick as
possible, brandishing his Club & twirling it about in a strange &
violent Manner, this he continued for about a Minute and then
retired to his Rank. Perhaps on the day of battle his office may be like
the Champions of old to challenge the opposite Party to single

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648 Combat. Some time afterwards it was observed that the Exercise
541 performed by a few Men commanded only by two Chiefs was something
different from that before described, for here the two Chiefs
[701] brandishing their Clubs ran backwards & forwards along the front
of the Line, & were distinguished as the Commanders by performing
a seperate Duty from their Men.

648 When these Exercises were over, Preparations were made by us
177 for exhibiting Fireworks in the Evening, The Gunner having some in
his charge for the purpose. While these were getting ready some of us
took a walk a little way into the Country, which was exceedingly
648 beautiful & pleasant, & they were treated by the People wherever
526 they went with the greatest Kindness and Hospitality; others
[541] remained on the Campus Martius (if it may be so called) & were
[609] entertained with boxing Matches by the Women. A Woman
advanced a little way into the Ring & sat down which was understood
as a Challenge & was not long unaccepted of; in the boxing
they neither close nor pull hair & aim all their blows at the face
taking care not to strike lower. As the engagement is not suffered to
continue long it is seldom decisive, for after having exchanged 5 or
6 Blows some Friend steps between & parts them & they return to
their Seats. Two fine Young Girls advancing one of our Gentlemen
got up & interposed which produced loud Shouts of Applause and
much mirth. This Diversion having lasted some time was succeeded
by another Exercise which may be termed rather barbarous & cruel.
Several young Men made their appearance with Clubs made of the
green branches of the Cocoa nut tree about three feet long & 3 or 4
inches in thickness, they advance into the ring making Motions &
flourishes which are meant as general Challenges; afterwards particular
Challenges are given, when all retire except the two Combatants
who fall to & bang one another most unmercifully till one of the
Clubs broke or one of them was knocked down which put an end to
648 the Conflict. The News of the Fire works had before night spread
over most part of the Island and drawn together a prodigious
177 Concourse of People & among them the greatest number of beautiful
Girls that we had yet seen. They were all waiting with eager Expectation
when about 8 o'Clock the first Piece, a Water Rocket, was
played off; it is not possible to convey by words an adequate Idea of
the Astonishment & Surprize they expressed at seeing fire burn in the
Sea, & now & then even diving under water, then rising & shining
with redoubled Lustre & at last going off with a sudden & unexpected
Explosion. They knew not what to think of us or of what
they saw. They had hardly recovered from the Astonishment into

which they were thrown when the Sky Rockets were let off; the 648
immense Height they flew to struck them no less forcibly than seeing
fire burn in water, but when the Baloons went off with a horrid 177
Explosion close to their Ears it was hard to say whether their Terror
or Surprize was greater. Some of them cryed out 'Matte matte' (ie)
that they should be killed & begged that we would put a Stop to
every thing, but presently something less terrible drew their Attention;
their applause and admiration were expressed by a continual
Roar during the whole Exhibition. Some of our attention was
drawn off the Fire works to observe the various Passions with
which the poor Indians were agitated, they certainly could not
have expressed greater Wonder if angels had descended among
them in a Storm of Thunder & Lightening, for to them one seem'd
as miraculous as the other possibly could. In short every thing
appeared to them like Enchantment, what they saw before their
Faces they could hardly believe to be real but as something delusive
raised by the Power of Magic. Upon the whole they were played off
with good Effect & admirably calculated to raise Terror & Surprize
among them who never saw such things before.

When the fireworks were over another Entertainment was prepared 648
for us by the Indians which consisted of Dances by the Men & 541
Women. A large Ring was formed by the Natives, those in the inner
circle sitting all round it; at proper distances sat five or six Men 535
holding Lights in their Hands, which were bundles of dry Sticks [372]
burning at one end & these required constant trimming. A Band of
Music consisting of four or five Performers was placed at one part, 648
one beat very briskly with two sticks upon small Reeds of Bamboo 541
Cane, the others had large Canes about 2 yards long open at one end
& the other they beat slowly against the Ground, accompanying it 535
with their Voices in which they were joined by many others in the 533
ring; this accompanyment consisted of a Monotone made by repeating [534]
the double o three times, as thus o͞o-o͞o-o͞o, the last tone being
drawn out longer than the preceding. This, the only vocal music,
was repeated the whole time in concert with the Instruments, if they
may be called such, & all together formed a plaintive Melody which
was not disagreeable. The music was no sooner begun than there 648
advanced into the Ring with a measured Step a Female elegantly 541
dressed with a Chaplet of Flowers on her Head. She was soon followed
by near a dozen more dressed in the same manner who all joined 535
together and formed the Dance. It consisted in moving in couples [301]
briskly round the ring, springing up & clapping their Hands all
together, throwing them by their sides, clapping one hand to the

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439 We were soon surrounded by a great number of Canoes full of men
who behaved in a friendly manner to us and sold us Hogs, Cocoa nuts,
Plantains and other fruits for nails & beads.

122 JUNE 11th. The Tents with the 2 Astronomers' Observatories were
erected on shore under a Guard of Marines, & all our live Stock was
landed which consisted of 4 Horses, several head of Cattle, Sheep,
Goats & Hogs with Peacocks, Turkies & Geese. Our Tents were
situated at the upper end of a fine Area surrounded by Trees, it seems
to be a place appropriated for the Exhibition of Public Games, such
as wrestling, boxing &c. Close to the Tents was one of the Chiefs
Houses, behind them lay a thick wood, on the right an Inlet which
extended a considerable way up but was dry at low water, on the left
was the Harbour where we could see between the Trees the Ships at
anchor; the Observatories were erected without the Area close to the
Beach but within sight of the Tents, they were inclosed with a Hedge
[312] & always guarded by a Sentry. Near the Tents was a pool of in-
different fresh Water, of which there are many in the Island and are
[515] used as bathing places by the Natives. Powlohow took up his resi-
177 dence in a House a little way without the Area, that next to the Tents
was occupied by his Consent by some of the Gentlemen who were
825 ordered a shore on duty, and another little Hut close by was allotted
[122] us for the use of our Cattle & Poultry, whose appearance excited as
[643] much astonishment and admiration as a Collection of wild Beasts at a
Country fair in England. The Indians were a long time before they
could be persuaded to approach near to the Horses & Cattle, but our
Sheep & Goats, being more like their Hogs, they did not regard with
the same degree of Terror tho' it was some time before they became
thoroughly reconciled to the Goats; these on being approached by
the Indians would rear on their hind Legs & make a push at them,
which put them in bodily fear & often made whole armies fly.
However they found out by degrees that they were as innocent as the
Sheep & only more playful, so that at last the Indians passed by them
648 or advanced up to them without any dread. During the time of
erecting our Tents we were surrounded by a great Number of
609 Indians who behaved in an orderly and peaceable Manner and at
643 night retired to their several Homes except the attendants of Powlo-
how, who remained with him at his House waiting for his Supper.
[431] Some Servants arrived with provisions enough for a Hundred men
which Powlohow, after a basket or two were laid by for himself,
ordered to be laid at the Doors of our Tents as a present for our
people together with a number of Cocoa nuts; the provision he

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presented us with consisted of Fish and Yams baked, which were 648
very well cooked.

After he saw our people make themselves welcome he went to his 609
own Supper, which consisted also of baked Yams & Fish with the 643
addition of some pudding made of the meat of the Cocoa nut, some [431]
Cocoa nuts stripped of the Husk & some Cups filled with good fresh
Water; the Men who brought the Provisions went away as soon as 644
they had laid down their loads, and as they retired paid their respects 643
to Powlohow by sitting down cross legged & rising again immediately; the Table off which he supped was a clean Matt laid 264
upon that he sat upon, a basket was opened from which some fresh [262]
Plantain Leaves were taken out, unfolded & laid upon the Matt [271]
before him, & the Yams & fish laid upon them, but the Pudding
remained in the Leaves in which it had been prepared. Two Chiefs[1] [576]
waited upon him, poured some water on his Hands while he washed [516]
them, peeled his Yam & picked the Fish & then fed him, one
putting Fish in his Mouth the other Yam. He did not eat much: as
soon as he had done the two feeders got their Supper, & then every
thing was removed & what was not eaten put into the Baskets & put
by in the House, they eat their Supper just without in the open air.
Soon after Supper was over He desired the two Chiefs to make preparations for his going to sleep, on which they unrolled & spread out 644
on the floor of the House a large Matt & after that a great parcel of 643
Cloth & laid one of their Wooden bolsters at hand. Powlohow soon 513
laid down & addressed himself to sleep, and the Chiefs covered him [352]
over with the Cloth & then laid themselves on each Side of him.

In a few minutes after a young Woman came into the House & sat
down by him, it was naturally concluded that she was one of his
Mistresses but in this we were mistaken; her office was to lull the old
King to rest by tapping him with both Hands as quick as possible
on different parts of his body. He was much troubled with an [164]
asthmatick Complaint which frequently waked him, on which the
young woman immediately renewed the Tuggee tuggee[2] as it is called
& laid him again asleep. After having been about an hour and a half
busily employed in this manner, finding him fast asleep she respectfully kneeled down & took her leave of him by kissing his feet &
touching them with her head, however there are always women in
waiting in case he should happen to wake. Everything had gone on 177
hitherto very quietly at the Tents, but in the night the Guard was
alarmed with the Cry of Murder help &c. A file of Marines went 648
directly to the place where the Cry was heard, where they found one

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[1] *matapule*, titled ceremonial attendants.

[2] *tukituki*.

177 of our people who informed them that he had been attacked by
two Indians who had knocked him down & stripped him of his
648 Cloaths; he had been rambling in search of a mistress when some
difference arose between the contracting parties which ended in the
above manner, he was severely reprimanded & strict orders were
given by the Officers ashore to prevent such quarrels for the future.

439 JUNE 12th. Early this morning the Tents were surrounded by a great
number of the natives who brought provisions & various other
articles of Traffic: for the Conveniency of Trade a regular market
was established & the Gunner from each Ship was appointed to
manage it & buy Provisions. The Indians were directed to sit down
round the Area & not to pass a certain boundary along which a
Sentry was ordered to walk; the Indians complyed with these
Regulations & Trade was carried on between us with perfect Harmony,
and we were plentifully supplied with Hogs, Yams, Bread
fruit, Cocoa nuts & Plantains which we bought at a reasonable price,
our Hatchets and Nails being in great esteem among them. At the
same time that the Market ashore was well stocked the Ships received
no inconsiderable supply from the Canoes, so that having more
Hogs than were expended by the daily Consumption of the Ships we
648 salted much Pork for sea Store at this Island. One of our people paid
a visit early to the King whom he found drinking Ava attended by
643 many of his Chiefs. The man wishing to shew his respect to his
majesty & concluding that our Method of saluting would not be
understood by him endeavourd to pay Homage to him after the
manner of the Country, but being very aukward in performing the
Ceremony his Majesty & all his Courtiers burst into Laughter; poor
Powlohow himself was so delighted that he laughed himself into a fit
of the Pthisic[1] & was for some time unable to speak, however at last
he recovered himself & made the Man sit down by him, & was
seemingly pleased with this blundering Testimony of his respect.

439 JUNE 13th. The Long Boat was employed in watering and the Sailmakers
sent on shore to repair the Sails, while the Inhabitants are
fully employed in bringing Hogs & Yams to the Ship & to the Market
at the Tents, for which we give them nails and Hatchets.

526 WEDNESDAY JUNE 18th. Our marines were excercised on shore, &
648 in the Evening fire works were play'd off to the great astonishment of
the Indians, who in the Afternoon entertained us with their Exercise
541 of boxing & wrestling, which are conducted in the following Manner
177 within the Area before our Tents amidst a prodigious Concourse of

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[1] i.e. phthisic, used loosely for a bad fit of coughing.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Spectators. The Indians are divided into two Parties, the Wrestlers 526
go out from each Side one, two, or three as it happens. The Wrestling
is generally introduced by the Boys of ab^{t} 6 or 7 years old, & is then 648
taken up by older ones & so on till the old men themselves are at last 541
engaged, tho' they seldom make their appearance till the boxing is [177]
introduced, where more Manhood & Skill is required. He who goes
out first gives a formal Challenge to all round by laying the left Arm [201]
across the Breast & striking it hard with the right hand open, which
gives a smart Sound; as he continues to do this he runs with a [292]
moderate pace up & down the Circle, and if no one comes out to
answer the Challenge which is performed in the same manner, he
continues it till he arrives at the place from whence he set out & then
takes his seat, but it seldom happens that he does not meet with an
Opponent; when they close they lay hold of each other by a platted
Girdle which they put on for this purpose. In general the Contest is [643]
but short; when it is ended both the Victor and vanquished rise &
pay their respects to Powlohow by sitting down before him cross [576]
legg'd & touching his feet with their Heads, after which they return
to their respective Sides. He that is conquered retires silently, while [538]
the other as he goes off repeats the Challenge and is received by his
Party with a Song of Triumph, which is repeated very loud in a kind
of recitative; the Words are 'Too way Hey O măr tŏ yo ē',[1] the first
word is sung by a single person & the rest in full Chorus by the
Party to which the Conqueror belonged. A Continuance of the
Exercise excites their Emulation & the young Men grow impatient
for the lists, this sometimes brings on half a dozen matches at
once, which when those who seemed to sit as Judges & Conductors
of the Games perceived they put a stop to them by introducing the
Boxing.

The first step taken in this Exercise is to bind the clenched fist 526
with a small Chord so that it cannot be opened; this done, he who gives the Challenge goes out & with a kind of a half jump & half hop advances slowly & with a becoming Carriage from one end of the ring to the other, & instead of the form used to challenge at wrestling, he brandishes his fists, collects & dilates his body into several kinds of guards & attacks, which he continues till his antagonist shews himself at the other end of the Circle & advances to meet him, who comes on with the same parade and Gestures as the other; they loose no time, they just put themselves in a posture of defence and the attack

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[1] *Tu'u ai he 'o mou tue*, 'Stand up and shout hurrah', an expression still current at weddings [585]
and other festive gatherings. The lengthening and distortion of vowels in a shouted
recitative would account for the peculiarities of Samwell's version.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& made a blow at him, but missed him; he endeavoured to lay hold 648
of me again, but well knowing that putting a good face on the Matter 685
would be the only way to extricate myself out of their Hands, I followed my blow & after making an Effort or two to lay hold of me he took to his Heels finding himself deserted by his Confederates, who had run away in the utmost precipitation on my first getting loose, I thus saved above one half of the Beads & probably my Cloaths which it is odds but they intended to take from me. This was the only instance of Violence that I met with among them, tho' I was frequently as much in their Power as I was at this time.

There were but few Houses on that part of the Island where the 361
Ships lay, & those who came from distant Parts erected temporary Huts near our Tents for their residence during our stay in the Country. Among these was Malawagee the father of Phenow, an old 643
Man & a Chief of the first consequence, and there was another Chief 644
who generally resided in the House close to the Tent, who was remarkable for being foolish & possessing the highest Rank tho' it is believed not the greatest power of any of the Chiefs of these Islands. His name was Tooloobooloo,[1] he had a wife as foolish as himself and they both seemed to be considered in the light of Divinities among their Countrymen; Powlohow who was certainly their King, as he possessed the first Authority among them, was not even suffered to eat in the presence of this foolish Fellow. Omai spent most part of his 123
time on shore, where he erected a small House for himself and his Girl close to the Astronomer's observatories; as he always kept Company with Captn Cook & the officers of the Ships, he was looked upon as a Chief of great Consequence & as such was highly respected among them. The two new Zealand Boys did not trouble the Ship [177]
much while we staid here, they spent most of their time among the Natives, who paid much attention to them & were very fond of their Company; having once seen the new Zealand Heivah or war dance they frequently desired the Boys to perform it before them which they did & were much caressed & admired for it. In this manner those 648
who had leasure time on their Hands spent it here, while the necessary duty of the ship was carried on such as wooding, watering, 439
repairing the Sails, salting Pork & stowing away yams for a Sea 123
Stock, & Captn Cook kept up an amicable intercourse with the 122
Chiefs by making them Presents & treating them at all times with 784
Kindness & respect, by which means our market ashore & the Ships were well supplied with provisions but which cannot be the case without the Concurrence of the Chiefs, who have it in their Power to

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[1] Latunipulu.

344 kept their Drums. The soil is rich & good & the Climate equal & fine
like most others situated in the same Latitude, where there is no cold
134 Weather & the Inhabitants are not oppressed with Heat.

132 The Chief Produce of the Island is Cocoa nuts, bread fruit, Plantains
& yams & Sugar Cane, all which the Country affords in great
241 Abundance, & there are some Shaddocks, but not near so many as at
Middleburg. Their Hogs are not so large as those of Otaheite nor so
231 numerous, tho' we found plenty to supply the Ships while we staid
[136] among them, there are but few Dogs & many Rats on the Island and
[177] large Batts. They were very fond of our Cats some of which they
stole, for which 2 or 3 of them were flogged on board the Discovery
[685] more than once. They have Variety of Birds some of which they used
[648] to bring on Sticks to the Ship to sell, such as Pigeons & a beautiful
small green & red Parrot and they have plenty of Poultry about their
Houses.

The Inhabitants of these delightful Isles are a handsome fine Race
302 of People; the Men are rather above the common size, strong &
[141] exceedingly well made, of a dark copper Complexion with black
[142] Hair naturally, I say naturally because they daub it over with a
Paste made of coral Powder which changes the Colour of it in different
places into yellow, so that it is of a mixed Colour yellow & black,
and this no doubt is the yellow Hair which Dalrymple takes notice
of as having been seen by Quiros & other former Navigators to the
South Seas, & which he supposes to be natural & therefore concludes
that they are a different race of Men from the other South Sea
Islanders who had not this custom among them, and therefore produces
it as an Argument for the existence of [a] Southern Continent
[171] & that these were some of the natives. This practice is not confined to
these people but common among other Islands in these Seas. They
304 tattaw or mark their Loins & Thighs in various Lines according to
their fancy, tho' there is an uniformity or standard to which they all
approach like the Otaheiteans in tattawing the Breech. Some of
302 them tattaw the Glans Penis. They all shave their beards, which is
done with 2 small shells with sharp edges one laid under the Hair
[237] while they cut the beard with the other, & by this means they perform
[412] the Operation with expedition & get the hair off tolerably
clean, tho' they always preferred our Razors when they could prevail
upon the Ship's Barber to trim them.

Their Dress consists of a piece of Cloth tyed round the middle
291 which descends as low as the Knee with sometimes a matt over it;
others wear what they call a Pooraw[1] which is a Substance between

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[1] *pulou.*

175 able, upon account of the various Isles and reefs (which are delineated in
the Survey) that a good deal interrupt and impede your Navigation;
175 however we anchor'd off them very well on the 17 Instant. Here we like-
wise found our friend Feenow, Lord of all, and he certainly did behave in
634 a very friendly, liberal manner, making us large Presents of Hogs, Yams
609 &c, for which, tho' he was ever amply rewarded, still I give him Credit,
for it certainly has a more generous and social appearance than that of
absolute bargaining.

[177] On the 20th Instant by his desire the Party of Marines from both Ships
were taken on shore and exercised before him and his Court; they seem'd
much pleas'd at their various Maneuvres, and perfectly happy at their
175 Entertainment. As soon as our People had done, Feenow with about an
hundred of his principal Men got up and in return gave us a dance (what
609 they call a heavah) to the Tune of their Drums, and some Men who set
535 round the Drummers, at the same time singing; the Dancers all join'd in
[533] the vocal Musick and accompanied their bodily Movements with those
of a light wooden Implement between 2 & 3 feet in length (the form as in
[293] the Margin)[1] which they have for this Purpose. The amazing exactitude of
their various Motions, both with this implement and every joint of their
Body, and the perfect Time in their musick surpass'd every thing I had the
least Idea of; their motions were infinitely more uniform than any Com-
[292] pany of Soldiers I ever saw exercise in my Life. They were decorated upon
this Occasion, with Cloth of various Colours, which set off their Persons,
that were by Nature exceeding good, to much Advantage; this with the
perfect regularity of their motions gave them a most striking and pleasing
175 Appearance. The Evening concluded with Fireworks, with which Capt
Cook treated them: they were exceedingly amaz'd at the extraordinary
177 revolutions of the Water Rockets in the Water; this must appear to them
indeed most wonderfull, that two of the most opposite Elements in Nature,
shou'd, for such a length of Time, seemingly act in conjunction.

175 Feenow during our Stay here treated us with many Heavah's and
Amusements of various kinds; some perform'd by Women, these were
609 generally in the Evening after Sunset; but we were very well illumin'd by
535 burning the dry'd Leaf of the Palm Tree and some ribs of the Coco Nut
[372] Leaf, on which was stuck Nuts containing an oily Substance, which
infusing itself into the Stalk and communicating the Oil as it melted from
one to the other, gave a light by no means inferior to our Candles. The
[292] Ladies were peculiarly attir'd for these Exhibitions in various colour'd
robes, in which they look'd very gracefull and beautifull; they perform'd
to the Musick of Drums and singing, were perfectly regular in their
Motions, which however were to us altogether novel, curious & laughable;
the seeing us laugh'd and pleased contributed much to their festivity and
every thing was conducted with the utmost good humour and Cordiality.
175 If there [was] such a Sensation as Anxiety felt among the Group, it was in
609 the vying of the Performers and Spectators which shou'd most emphati-

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[1] There is no drawing in the margin. The 'instrument' was the *paki*.

57: Clerke G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

in a fine spacious Pleasant Bay, we were landed in a delightfull part of the 175
Island, most numerously inhabited. We were conducted amidst many 643
hundreds of our good Friends to a large House where we were desir'd to
set down and wait till Mallawogga was prepar'd for our reception. After 123
waiting till our patience was pretty well exhausted, we began to be 609
inquisitive to know when his Majesty wou'd be enough at leisure to give
us a few minutes Audience; some to whom we address'd ourselves told us
his Majesty was taken very ill; others that he was retir'd to his religious
Offices; others again told us he was gone to the Ships: this last we knew
was a very improbable Assertion for had that been the Case, we must have
seen something of him in our way hither, however it requird no great
degree of divination to find out that his Majesty, be he where he wou'd,
was not dispos'd to see company, at least us that Day, which being now
pretty well convinc'd of, we walk'd again towards the Boats; in our way
thither, Powlahow wou'd fain have introduc'd us to another Gentleman,
who he said though not a King was a very great Man; but our visit today
being professedly to his Majesty, and not feeling any great Exultation at
the Turn affairs had taken, we did not find ourselves dispos'd to any
farther introductions for the present, so got to our Boats and made the best
of our way for the Ships again. The next day we were given to understand [124]
that Mallawogga was on shore a little distance from our Tents; in the
afternoon I accompanied Capt Cook to pay our respects; we found him
setting under a Tree, surrounded by many of his great Men and a multitude
of the rabble: he is a very old Man, I think clearly arriv'd to his
second Childhood; however we were graciously receiv'd, pay'd our respects,
made our presents and set down by him; after about 2 Hours
conversation, but confusedly understood on both Sides (for we are as yet
by no means perfect in their language and they know not the least of ours)
we got up and took our leaves; the old Gentleman in return for his presents
gave us some large Pieces of Cloth, and we parted very good Friends.
The old Boy now took up his Quarters among us, as before had our old 175
Acquaintance Powlahow and Feenow, with many Chiefs of less Distinction,
so that we pass'd our time in all the luxury and festivity that this 643
Country afforded; in the first place in respect to Diet, we far'd sumptuously 609
every day, and in the next we were very frequently entertain'd
with Musick both vocal and instrumental, Dancing, Wrestling, Fighting
&c in the manner I have before related.

On the 18th We had our Marines on Shore, who went through the 175
various Maneuvres of their Exercise before them and in the Evening we
set off some Fireworks with which they were both delighted and astonish'd. 177
We soon had reason to observe that they had aggrandized old Mallawogga 175
to the degree they did only to forward some favourite Scheme of theirs; I
conclude upon the same principal that Feenow before had beking'd 634
himself; for it may be necessary here to observe, that upon all Introductions 643
to Indian Chiefs, you make your way, with a present in your hand,
and they of course conclude that this present is generally calculated

[1777]

000 that nothing remain'd of the Ear, but the outside fleshy Skin; this I understand
was for the reception of some Ornament, which was fashionable at
their Isle, but having nothing in it now, it hung about their Shoulders.
175 The Natives of Fidgi are the only people in this part of the World, who use
Bows & Arrows in Battle: it is very amazing, that tho' these Friends of
411 ours, experience the efficacy of them in their own destruction, that they
177 do not attempt an imitation, but still adhere to their Spears & Clubs,
which they find so infinitely inferior Weapons, they have Bows and Arrows,
with which they Shoot Birds & Fish, but have no idea of improving them
175 to nobler uses, tho' they have the Example before their Eyes. They tell us,
the Fidgi Gentry frequently eat their Prisoners, & deem a good jolly
829 Carcass of a Man the most delicious Fare in the World, so much so, that
the Feast is wholly devoted to the Gentry, the lower Class not being
sufferd to taste: they give us so particular an account of this Business & at
the same time it is so universal among them, that for my own part I have
no doubt of its Authenticity, and that they do deem it a choice repast.
175 Every principal Family among our Friends, here, have a particular burying
764 Place, which they call their Mori; it is form'd by throwing up an
Elevation about 6 or 8 feet above the general Surface of the Earth, which
766 they render compact by facing it with large Stones or Sod; a very large one
[349] in particular at Amsterdam, was fac'd with Stones which they had hewn
for that purpose, about a foot thick, 5 or 6 in length, & 4 or 5 in breadth;[1]
in the middle of this rising is a House into which the dead Body is carried &
[769] buried. These Elevations of the Mori's are from an 100 to 2 or 300 yard,
[565] in circumference, they are held very sacred; nobody goes near them but the
[688] People of the Family: it wou'd be Death to one of the lower Class of
People to enter one of the little burial Houses, & I much query if it wou'd
not, to be seen walking over the Eminence of the Mori. There must be a
175 great deal of Pain in their Mourning Ceremonies for their Friends here,
765 they make a confounded howling & beat their Faces just upon the Cheek
Bone, till the Blood & Tears flow most abundantly. I believe the more
heartily they beat themselves, the greater Compliment they are suppos'd
to pay to the deceas'd; they must have some very persuasive Inducement,
for 'tis almost incredible to what a degree they torment themselves upon
[785] these Occasions. A very fine Lass, a particular Friend of Feenow's, with
whose Household I was very intimate, made herself such a fright (in
honour of old Mallawogga's wife, who was a friend of hers, and died whilst
we were there) that I absolutely knew no more of her at our next Meeting,
than if I had never seen her in my Life: that mutilation of the hand by
cutting off the little finger, is certainly a ceremony at the death of their
Relations; I enquir'd the particulars of this Circumstance of many of them;
they all told me, the right hand finger was devoted to the father, and the
left to the Mother.[2]

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[1] This was evidently a *langi*, or royal tomb.

[2] This last detail of the propitiation ceremony so often referred to is found nowhere else, but is not impossibly true.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

5. KING

AT TONGA, MAY–JULY 1777

[*Adm 55/116*]

f. 74 [20 MAY 1777.] Feenow expressing a great desire to see what exibitions 175
we cou'd make, in the morning the Captⁿ order'd the marines from 177
both ships on shore, where they went thro their exercise & shew'd the
effects of their guns by aiming at an empty canoe; as canoes were at times
passing by the place where they stood, they stop'd fir'ing upon any danger
of hurting anyone, nevertheless Feenow bid us continue on, & seem'd
totally indifferent at the risk; there was a vast multitude collected together,
and the principal people from the neighbouring Islands. I know of
no judgement that is more liable to err, than in giving the numbers in a
croud; the most moderate computers suppos'd 2000 collect'd whilst others
guest 3 times that number; I am inclin'd to the first estimation, as the
open space they stood in, could not hold 6000. When the marines had [181]
given tolerable satisfaction to the natives, we were bid to stay & see one
of their dances; it appear'd evident by the care they took of selecting their
principal people as well as putting on their handsomest cloaths and other
ornaments, that they meant to rival or surpass us. Whilst they were preparing, 175
two more brought into the space what we call a drum, which 534
however has no resemblance to one. It is a cylindrical piece of wood 4 feet
long hollow'd in the inside, yet clos'd at both ends, & open only by a
small chink of 3 or 4 inches, running nearly its whole length, & about the
thickness of a stout man. The chink being towards them, they beat upon
this drum with two round sticks about a foot long & the thickness of a
walking stick; this makes a coarse, yet loud & powerful sound, and a little
varied by striking the middle or end of the trunk....

f. 74v. We all I believe had the feelings of people that were fairly surpass'd 175
when we little expectd it; & the natives seemd to have the consciousness of 177
being superior to us in their amusements & ask'd us if we woud shew them [181]
some more of our meia[1] (which is what they call theyr dances): the Captain
said he would in the evening, & desir'd the natives to collect themselves &
not be absent. Accordingly in the evening some excellent fireworks were [152]
got on shore & preparations made to exibit them; as it was not proper to
begin till dark many of the Natives began to move off, but the first sky
rocket brought them back; few of us had seen such a variety of good
fireworks & we shar'd in the pleasure with the natives; but our admiration
was cool, while theirs was expressd with a warmth & violence, which our
civiliz'd mode of restraining the passions cou'd never equal & hardly
conceive; such roaring, jumping, & shouting, as made us perfectly satisfied
that we had gaind a compleat victory in their own minds. Sky &
water rockets were what affect'd them most, the water rocket exercis'd
their inquisitive faculties, for they coud not conceive how fire shoud burn
under water. Omai who was always very ready to magnify our country,

[1] *me'e.*

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58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

175 told them, they might now see how easy it was for us to destroy not only
177 the earth, but the water & the Sky; & some of our sailors were seriously
perswading their hearers, that by means of the sky rockets we had made stars.

175 *ff. 82v–83.* MONDAY 23d [JUNE.] Some of our officers had taken a long
177 walk in the country with their muskets, but before they returnd the Natives
609 contrivd to steal them all from them; they desird my assistance to recover
565 them & Omai's, who immediately went to acquaint the King with this very bad behaviour to our principal Officers, he promisd to use his endeavours, but at day light he & Feenow were fled; Fatafee told me that they woud not return for fear of being serv'd as before; that he expectd the Capt^{n} would wreak his vengeance on him & that he was prepar'd for the worst. Powlohow had two or three times ventur'd to express his dislike at the confinement 2 days ago, & that he believd Capt^{n} Cook wou'd kill him. It is certain that he dreaded the consequences; the Capt^{n} was very angry at Omai's interfering in this business. The two chiefs were sent for & promises made that no hurt should befal them, & that the Capt^{n} did not care whether the Muskets were deliver'd or not; this brought back Feenow in the Evening & Powlohow next day. Powlohow repeatd again that no Gentleman shoud go in the Country without acquainting him, when they should be attended by some of his People who coud protect them, & he also said he coud not be answerable for the conduct of a number of theives about us; the trouble these people gave him & us made him very desirous for our going on board, & he wish'd to be at liberty to go about some affairs of his own. He was however kept from leaving us by the Capt^{n} promising to go with him to Moa, the place up the Inlet or bay & of his principal residence, the Capt^{n} & a party accordingly went with him on the 25th. They returnd on the 27th, & during that time we had the good fortune to have preserv'd peace & hinderd thefts, owing to the care of
175 Fatafee & Feenow. A very untoward spirit had posses'd our working
177 parties & soldiers on shore, they had indulg'd the Natives with great
609 liberties, & had made trials of skill in boxing & wrestling with them, although in general unsuccessfull which they did not take so patiently as they ought; this had rais'd a freedom & contempt of our People among the lower sort, & which they shew'd by gestures & acts. This made our sailors & Marines quite angry, which was the principal cause of the others still persisting in plagueing them; they woud laugh, heave bits of wood & run off. Out of respect or fear of Fatafee they never molestd our parties when (being his friend) I was with them; & he himself tried to find out these troublesome fellows. They woud sometimes make very open thefts & glory in it: to put a stop to these proceeding's, Centries were placed by the Carpenters, & loaded with shot with orders to fire if any one was very insolent; at the same time Cutlashes & Pistols which our working men took with them to chastise the Natives were taken from them, & orders [given] that no notice shoud be taken of their childish tricks: but after the Capt^{n}

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had come down, one man behav'd very rude & tried to snatch a tool, on 175
which the centry fird & hit the man who made off, & those with him. At 177
the same time at another place where they had been throwing pieces of 609
Coco nut to vex some of the Officers they were chas'd, but as numbers were flying it was not possible to know who were the Agressors, however three were seiz'd on & bound, till the Captⁿ came on shore; one of the three was an old Offender, & another was also known to be a principal in making disturbances, but in the present case was not guilty, the third had been lug'd out of a hut where it was said he had hid himself; this man was a servant of Powlahow, who always handed him his Victuals, he said he had been asleep when this fray happend; Fatafee desir'd he might be releas'd but his request was refus'd, & he went away. Feenow tried if he coud buy him off, but as some of the Gentlemen thought they knew the man to be an Offender, the Captⁿ would hear nothing in any of their favours, but had them tied up & well floggd; the servant had an additional punishment besides flogging, which savour'd of cruelty, & gave great offence to the Chiefs, as well as to all the standers by.[1] The Centry's fyring & this
Punishment put a stop for a time to their insolent behaviour. I shoud have [171]
mention'd one circumstance which shews a strong similitude in the customs [593]
of these People & those of Otaheite: that the wives or relations of some of
these culprits came, & made terrible lamentations, cutting the top of their [304]
head with a Sharks tooth, as is practis'd there.

ff. 85v–86. [8 JULY.] A very extraordinary personage went along with me 175
call'd Latoonoobooloo, he who was shewn to the Captⁿ last Voyage as the 177
first Chief & whom we had seen at Happai; he had frequently visit'd us at 571
the Observatory, but made a short stay at a time; his temporary hut was
on the outskirts of all the rest; he is much madder than his sister whom we 644
have noticed as receiving that particular homage from Powlohow, who 604
we judge from an instance to day is also inferior in some respects to the 565
brother, although in others higher, since this mad fellow walkd in the [609]
procession as a common chief; he was wanting to give me a hog, & not [576]
knowing where else to find me but at Powlohows house, he came there [264]
roaring out for me; Poulohow had just begun his dinner, but the coming in of this man made strange confusion, the dinner was hastily remov'd or coverd over with cloth. Powlohow sat seemingly vexd, & very grave, the attendants star'd at one another; Latoonoobooloo on seeing Powlohow sat himself down with that strange aspect which was common to him; I rous'd him from his seat & relievd the Company by taking him & his attendants with the hog away with me; Although the People were very conscious of his being wanting in his mind, yet they paid him great respect & deference, & if he chose any thing they had, he woud take it from them & give it me; upon farther enquiry who & what this singular person was, we were told he was the son of Powlohows aunt (living at Va va hoo) by a
Feegee man. There is another sister besides the one here, who lives with her 175

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[1] This was the arm-slashing, which outraged some of Cook's officers also.

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58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

mother; whenever we ask'd what they were, & if very superior people, 175 they woud be surpris'd at the Question, & said they were Tamaha's, a 177 distinguishing name higher than any, but what particular meaning is in 644 the word, we coud not find out. Although from their fathers country they 604 might not be intitled to power & Possesions, yet their superior rank may 565 arise from that line, as they generally admit that they are oblig'd to shew [576] signs of respect to the Feegee chiefs, by folding their hands before their face & bowing their bodies. Women in this Country enjoy equal Privi- 562 ledges of honour & respect with the men, for at our Observatory there were 175 two women who had homage paid to them by the Chiefs, & to one of them 602 Fattafaihe used to bow: I understood this woman to be his near relation, she had her husband with her, who enjoyd none of these marks of honour.

'Eua

f. 86v. [13 JULY] . . . on the top of the hill is a circular place pil'd round 133 with coral stones & one or two large ones in the middle, this place they [349] call'd Etchee[1] & said it was built as a mark of Powlohows sovereignty; [312] there was an Excellent spring of fresh water close by it; we met in several places in the chasms of the rocks very good water & which might be conveyd down to where the Natives are, yet they do not appear to regard good water, as they in their houses always gave us indifferent & often very brackish water to drink. We were all delightd with the charming prospect from this hill; the Sea on the SE side of the Island is but at a little distance from it & the land rises in broken hills, rugg'd & cliffy, & is not capable of much improvement, but the NW part of the Island has a fine assemblage of hills & Valleys with extensive Meadows & patches of wood, with now & then a plantation; Yet this kind of Country, which we praise so much, does not answer so well the purposes of what the Natives cultivate as the flat borders by the Sea Side, so that it is in a great measure Waste; but it struck us strongly, as the best calculatd place for Cattle of all the Islands; & we thought that to make the Landscape the most charming one imaginable, woud be sheep & Cattle upon the Meadows & hills before us; We rather hop'd than firmly believ'd, that the sheep which had been given [177] to Marrawaggee & now put on shore here woud thrive, since the 2 Yews were very poor & the Ram quite young, however as there are no dogs yet in this Island & as the Natives do not much admire them, they stand a chance of being unmolest'd & from that circumstance may thrive & answer the purpose for which they are left.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS

[*Adm 55/116, ff. 88v–89, 89v–90, with excisions*]

In regard to their numbers I know of no criterion by which to make even a 175 tolerable guess, the Natives followd us from one Island to another, there- 161 fore it is not possible to know the number of any one Island we visit'd; at 162

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[1] *eti.*

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[1777]

edges of each plank which are brought to join, thro which they are lash'd 175
to one another. The large sailing Canoes are two single ones join'd to- 501
gether (but each of much larger dimensions than what we have describ'd) by strong rafters lash'd across, over these is built a platform or stage extending in length from the deck of one Canoe to the other, & in breadth projecting considerably beyond their sides; on the After part is placed a hut resembling a Cylinder divided lengthways & resting on it inside, or when a shed is placed on the side, it is a longitudinal section of the above hut; here sleeps the chief & his Women & here their Goods are stowd away. The Mast is short in proportion to the Vessel & placed in one of the Canoes, before the middle part, inclining forward & to the opposite side,[1] some fix'd & others made to unship; the Sail is tri-angular, the longest side fixd to a Yard about twice the length of the Mast & hoist'd up to it; the Sail has then an oblique direction, the broadest part uppermost, & ending in a point coming down with the yard a good way before the Mast almost close to the Stage. They have a stout boom, which they use as an outrigger, well secur'd by strong ropes from the Mast head & from each end of the Canoe: this, when it blows fresh & the boat heels, some of the Men go out & stand upon. The size of one of the largest I saw was about 70 feet long, the Extream breadth of one of the Canoes or boats about 3 feet & the depth 5½, the length of the Stage 30 feet & breadth 16½. The measure of a Sail of middling size, in that part fix'd to the Yard, between 50 & 60 feet; the broadest part of the Sail, or base, between 30 & 40 & the lower side from 45 to 50. These Canoes are of diff^{t} sizes & will carry from 30 to 70 people. They have also single sailing Canoes with the outriggers very stout.
The Tools with which they perform their works in Architecture & boat [412]
building are a stone Hatchet, an Augur made of Sharks teeth & rasp made [237]
of rough fish skin....

Marriage. Whether Monogomy or Polygamy is the mode among these 595
people we cannot positively say, or whether their engagements are bind- 565
ing, or attended with any ceremony or contract; the bulk of the people had only one Wife, but Powlohow & Feenow had several women, whether considerd as lawful wives or only one & the rest Concubines is a matter of doubt to us. It should seem from Powlohows having elder sons by other
women than the one who is to succeed him, that some of his Women had 175
a superiority over the others. Where a free intercourse with the Sex does 581
not appear Criminal, & where there is little appearance of delicacy in their 837
Amours, their Marriage Contracts are not perhaps binding; the Men are [152]
free from jealousy, & made no scruple of our having intimate Connexions [609]
with the Women, & they convert'd this intercourse to their advantage by [437]
fixing a price upon it; the Women when the Ship was here before were by
no means backward on their parts; but now there is an evident disgust on [565]
their sides which however avarice gets the better of; by no means all the [164]
women are to be understood to be purchasd by our riches, all the married

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[1] The foregoing details indicate that the canoes here described were *tongiaki*, not the Fijian-influenced *kalia*, with (for instance) the longer mast. [177]

> all. And much less, an internal stratified system as the result of ramification (ramage 613
> type according to M. Sahlins) can not be possibly found in this village. Supposing the 554
> ramage type to exist here in this village, all the villagers should be integrated into a 565
> triangle of hierarchy, the top of which is occupied by Leka. Actually Leka is in the
> highest rank of the villagers but except for his position it does not seem that people 114
> are internally stratified.

This illustrates precisely how the existing situation can be clouded by a failure to distinguish societal ranking from social status, failure to understand that a different kind of rank operates within them, failure to delineate how these systems are subdivided and ranked in relation to specific activities, and failure to understand how the systems can be manipulated.

Aoyagi seems to imply that village structure is, or should be, a microcosm of the societal structure. In Tonga, at least, this is not the case. *Ha'a* are part of the societal structure and have little to do with villages, and not all villages have men of title. No doubt "ramages" did not exist in Aoyagi's village, since "ramages" (*ha'a*) can only be conceptualized in terms of the whole society and would make no sense at all in terms of a single village.
But that *ha'a* do exist as societal groupings is undeniable. The whole tra- 613
ditional government is predicated on them, and one can observe them in 554
operation in a royal kava ceremony. Village structure in Tonga today is a
Western overlay rather than part of the traditional system. Traditionally 565
the people did not live in villages, the usual pattern being one of dispersed [177]
settlement (Maude 1965: 27). The positions of *ofisa kolo* (town officer) [361]
and *pule fakavahe* (district officer) are appendages of a central administra- [647]
tive system that is concerned mainly with health, sanitation, and taxes.

Power and prestige are still functions of the traditional sociopolitical 554
system based on *ha'a* affiliation and the class division that separates chiefs 565
from commoners. Education is a new force, but those educated men who 178
succeed usually do so by manipulating the traditional system to their ad- 613
vantage, e.g., by marrying the daughters of high-ranking chiefs. The society [581]
as a whole is still kinship oriented, and the principles of *kainga* rank are [612]
acknowledged on even the most important societal occasions.

During the recent coronation kava ceremony, a large pig was brought to 554
the front of the kava circle and divided, ostensibly to be eaten by the chiefs 565
and *mātapule* in the kava circle, but actually to be ritually taken away
from each of the individual participants by a person of higher rank. This 276
visually acknowledged the social fact that rank operates in more than one 574
dimension, one set of principles being used on the societal level while a 613
different set was operating within the *kainga*. On this particular occasion [612]
all the *ha'a* were represented, and their relative rank and association with other *ha'a* were shown by the order in which their members were served and the position in which they were seated (*ha'a* ranking). Some of the title holders of the low-ranking *ha'a* are higher in class rank than the title holders of some of the high-ranking *ha'a*, but in this case *ha'a* rank takes
precedence.[28] The persons who took away the portions of the pig had higher [612]
status within their *kainga* than these highest societal ranking people.

Tonga has an internally stratified system and is very conscious of rank at 554
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535 of weight, or to the side. Thus by referring to this chart the reader has the information needed to tell which parts of the body are relevant in the structure of Tongan dance and what specific movements or motions are significant for that body part.

The physiological aspects of the kinemes of Tongan dance, classified according to body part and motion-position, are summarized in Table II. Each kineme occurs at the point where the body-part axis coincides with the motion-position axis. Where no kineme is noted we know that motion-position is not a significant category in Tongan dance. This chart gives the reader the information needed to tell what are the types of action significant in Tongan dance as well as what body parts are used. Table II is adapted from linguistic charts used to classify phoneme systems (see, for example, Gleason 1955, p. 24).

From the data provided we can make generalizations about significant components in Tongan dance at various levels. At the highest level of abstraction, we can say that Tongan dance uses mainly the lower leg and the lower arm, the head is used mainly for style, and other parts of the body are quite insignificant. Although kinemes vary with the dance genre, in general the same basic components are used and the same elements of performance are respected or rejected.

535 Tongan dance has been remarkable in the persistence of its
177 movements. Dance forms are still quite similar though minor changes

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 102]

535 have occurred by internal evolution and by adaptation of other Western
177 Polynesian concepts. Some of the music has been Westernized. But the kinemes or smallest significant units of movement seem to have persisted--at least from the time of European contact until the present (Kaeppler 1967b). In the future new movements diffused from other Polynesian traditions, are likely to be adapted to the basic Tongan dance kinemes.

538 one would not state someone's name or tell in words what he did. [177] Instead, the person is symbolized by a flower or type of flower garland, or a bird (or since European contact a Lion). Deeds are referred to in poetic terms in a round-about way. The ability to create poetry of this kind is highly admired and sometimes even considered to be supernatural. A poet is called pulotu which is also the indigenous name of the afterworld.

535 Allusion is also the essence of Tongan dance. Movement motifs do not interpret in a realistic manner. One would never allude to a flower by holding the hands to look like a flower or a bird by moving the arms to look like wings (as might be done in Hawaiian dance for example). Instead, the movement would suggest a flower or bird in an abstruse way.

539 [538] [535] To illustrate the double abstraction that dance creates, I will use one stanza of a lakalaka known as Kalauni from Lapaha, Tongatapu. The stanza of poetry and its literal translation are as follows:

Kulukona 'o tavake fai'ana	Kulukona flower of the tropic bird created
Ma'e toli he matangi mafana	Plucked by the warm breeze
Kohai 'o Ofo he 'ene ngangatu	Who is surprised at his fragrance
Fakatoukatea 'i Monotapu	Double canoe of Monotapu
He 'oiaue fakatoukatea 'i Monotapu.	Oh yes, double canoe of Monotapu.

This stanza of poetry refers to Prince Tungi (now King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV) and tells us that he was born of the two highest chiefs in the land. Tungi is referred to as the Kulukona flower (a variety of

CHAPTER VII

DANCE GENRES

535 The highest level of structure in Tongan dance is that of whole dances. In Chapter I a Tongan dance was defined as a totality in which the structural elements have a standardized chronological order. The Tongans recognize six genres or types of Tongan dance and each has a different combination of structural elements.

The kinemic and morphokinemic levels of dance structure were stated mainly in terms of movement contour with little reference to music, text, or timing. Even motifs were stated almost entirely in terms of movement. At this higher level of organization the differentiation of Tongan dance genres depends on three factors
535 external to movement as well as movement itself. Type of music, the
533 association of poetry, and the occasion of performance influence
538 movement and must be taken into account when whole dances are considered. All four elements are also necessary to understand the role of the dance in Tongan society.

This explanation of Tongan dance structure will briefly consider
535 all four elements for each of the six genres. Besides those to be
[177] discussed here, other dance types exist in Tonga but they are recognised as not Tongan; these are kailao, eke (soke), mako, meke faka-Fisi, and are said to have come from Uvea and Fiji. Ancient dance forms that are no longer performed such as liku, me'elaufola, me'etafoa, me'etaki, or hea will not be discussed; nor will the

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

535 *tau faka-Niua* which is a dance local to Niuafo'ou that I have never seen.

The six genres that will be discussed are all still performed today in Tonga. *Lakalaka*, *ma'ulu'ulu*, and *tau'olunga* are 'living' dance genres--that is, they are still created today, and are known to all Tongans. *Fa'ahiula* and *ula* are quite widely known, though by no means universally, especially not to the younger generation. Although sometimes re-choreographed there are no new creations within these genres. The *me'etu'upaki* is an ancient dance type known only by a select few. It is neither created nor re-choreographed today, but performed only as it has been passed down from generation to generation. I have called these last three genres 'dead but extant' because they are still performed but no longer created.

535 All Tongan dance is performed in conjunction with poetry.
538 Dances without poetry--for example, the *kailao* which is said to have
[177] come from Uvea--are recognised as not Tongan. Although at times
535 there may be instrumental music only--for example during a *tau'olunga*,
533 --it is understood that the text was there originally and that the
music was derived from accompanying poetry. Thus, instrumental music
can be said to be 'wordless' or 'nonvocalised' poetry. However,
some genres have a prelude consisting of *haka* and drumming only.

535 although a modern innovation is to form a wide angled 'V'. The
535 musicians sit inside the curved row of dancers. Traditionally the
533 associated music consisted of singing and beating on a *tafua*, that is,
[534] a mat which had bamboos rolled inside. The *tafua* was struck with
[178] two sticks to establish the pulse for the singing and *haka*. Today the
fa'ahiula is often performed without *tafua* percussion.

535 The singing, however, is not dispensible, because in many cases
533 the movements are really an accompaniment to poetry. Melodic pitch
538 range is quite small and the pulse organization[3] is often 4 or 8. In some cases there are several phrases with 8 pulses followed by a phrase with a different number of pulses. Singing is done by the dancers and those who beat the *tafua*. Sometimes men and women will sit behind the performers and sing, but they are not a necessary part of the performance.

535 The dancers sometimes divide physically into two or more groups
533 (*fa'ahi*) which sing alternately or polyphonically, and their movements
538 also differ. Much of the poetry of the *fa'ahiula* has been handed
[177] down from generation to generation and is no longer understood. In
[829] such cases the Tongans rationalize that the words are Samoan, which is
the usual explanation of something that the Tongans do not know.

There are three types of structure of *fa'ahiula* poetry. The first type has one standard phrase repeated alternately with each of

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[3] 'Pulse organization' is used in this paper to avoid implications of the Western concept 'meter.'

535 The poetry of the *ula* is not very important for movement, except
538 for the length of the phrase. Although words are always associated, it
533 is not imperative to the dancer that they be sung. As a case in point, when practicing *ula*, if we were tired of singing we would stop singing and carry on with only the beating. During a practice of *fa'ahiula* we couldn't stop singing because our movements had to follow the words, even though we didn't understand what we were saying. The structure of an *ula* is a single stanza consisting of two phrases, repeated over and over. Thus, the text phrase structure is t^1 t^2 t^1 t^2 t^1 t^2 t^1, etc., while the stanza structure is simply A A A A A etc. Sometimes the first phrase of the stanza is sung by the chorus of singers, and the
535 second phrase of the stanza is sung by the dancers or vice versa. The
539 only example of an *ula* that is translatable is:

Fai mai se langi ula	(t^1)	Do for me the words of *ula*
Fai mai se tau'olunga	(t^2)	Do for me the dance.

535 This is no doubt a recent example, first because it is translatable
539 and second because the word *tau'olunga* is used. *Tau'olunga* is a
174
192 recent dance type said to have come from Samoa in recent years, which
[177] is probably historically valid because old Tongan dictionaries do not list the word and *tau'olunga* is a contemporary Samoan dance type.
535 Even though the above example of *ula* poetry is recent we can postulate
538 that the untranslatable *ula* also referred to the dance itself, its performers, and its spectators. There are frequent references in texts to Sina, Vaea, Maleipo, who were mythological and historical figures known for their beauty and handsomeness, and references to

535 The performers accompany their movements with singing and a group
533 of men called *lolongo* also sing. Two or three hollow log gongs called
[534] *nafa* are beaten. The *nafa* was a log hollowed out in various thick-
534 nesses so that when hit in the middle or near the edges different tones
were obtained. It is said that the Tu'i Tonga himself beat the *nafa*
while the lesser chiefs danced. During the first half of this century
it was often Hopoate (p. 247) who beat the *nafa*.

534 Today the word *nafa* is used in two ways. *Nafa* is translated by
192 Churchward as "drum" (1959, p. 374) and refers to the skin drum used
in *ma'ulu'ulu*. The indigenous *nafa* should not be called a drum
because it does not have a skin. Most Tongans today do not associate
the word *nafa* with a hollow log gong, but rather with the skin drum
[177] used in *ma'ulu'ulu*. The hollow gong used today in Tonga, mainly as
church 'bells,' is called *lali* and is the Fijian style of log gong.

538 *Me'etu'upaki* poetry is untranslatable by present day Tongans,
[192] who say that the words are Uvean, Futunan, and Samoan. It is through-
538 composed in several stanzas. Each stanza is performed two or more
535 times and there is usually a short interval between the stanzas. Before
533 each stanza begins the dance leader, who stands at one side, says,
"*Tu ki hoki*" which signifies that the stanza is to begin. Most
stanzas end with a shout "*tu!*" at which time *paki* are raised with a
flourish. The poetry structure of a performance of a *me'etu'upaki* that
I witnessed is as follows (for text see Appendix B):

535 a position in front of the dancers. It is because of the title that
554 he is permitted to stand in front of the dancers and not necessarily
because of the ability of the individual who holds it. This title
descends from the Malukava, who along with Tuku'aho originated the
535 *lakalaka*. The dance leader calls, "*Nima ki 'olunga*," at which time
the dancers measure the space between them by stretching their right
arms to the side and touch the shoulder of the adjacent person. The
dance leader then calls "*fu e ua*," which is the *vahe*, dividing motif,
535 for the *lakalaka* (p. 214), and counts, "*taha*, *ua*," "one, two." He
533 then begins to sing the song and after a few words the whole group
joins in. Sometimes, especially if there is a large number of
performers, the dance leader may beat the time on two sticks so that
the whole group can hear. It is said that if they cannot hear the
beat the singers go faster and faster until finally the dancers,
especially the men doing vigorous movements, are so tired that at the
end of the *lakalaka* when they should do their best movements, they are
[301] too fatigued to do so. There is no instrumental accompaniment except
[177] that the performers from a few villages wear seed anklets, which is
said to be a borrowing from the Uvean dance *kailao*.

A *lakalaka* typically lasts fifteen minutes or more. Usually there are three sections and these may be divided into sub-sections which, in turn, are divided into phrases. Within the overall structure there may be one or more sub-section known as *tau* or *tau ngahaka*, which is a stanza in which the performers are particularly *māfana*,

535 such as the appropriate rolls of men and women as reflected in the
182 character of their movements.
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MA'ULU'ULU

535 *Ma'ulu'ulu* is a dance that may be presented on formal and on semi-formal occasions. It can take the place of a *lakalaka* when one or more of several criteria are present:

1) all men or all women will be the performers,
2) performers are too young or too old for *lakalaka*,
3) performers are too few or too many for *lakalaka*,
4) when a *ma'ulu'ulu* *pulotu* *haka*, 'choreographer,' is available,
5) a group prefers to do a *ma'ulu'ulu* rather than *lakalaka*,
6) if they are requested to do *ma'ulu'ulu* (by the Queen for example).

[541] Although a *ma'ulu'ulu* may replace an individual *lakalaka* in a
katoanga, the whole dance program of a *katoanga* would not consist
entirely of performances of *ma'ulu'ulu* (whereas it could consist of
of *lakalaka* only). This may be one reason why *ma'ulu'ulu* is recognized
[177] as a semi-formal dance. Other reasons are that *ma'ulu'ulu* is incom-
[643] plete because it may have only one sex, and it is said to have diffused
from Samoa, while the origin of *lakalaka* is historically associated
with the ruling line of Tongan Kings.

Ma'ulu'ulu differ from *lakalaka* in several ways, the most obvious observed difference, and the immediately verbalized one, is that *ma'ulu'ulu* is a sitting dance and *lakalaka* is a standing dance. Though in

535 general this distinction holds, there are exceptions. In some *lakalaka* there are stanzas in which the dancers are seated, as in the *lakalaka* of Kolovai where the dancers depict the making of kava. In a *ma'ulu'ulu* with more than one row of dancers only the first row is
[533] seated. Other important differences between *ma'ulu'ulu* and *lakalaka* are those of musical accompaniment, overall structure, movements, and origin.

535 The *ma'ulu'ulu* dance type is said to have come from Samoa
177 toward the end of the 1800's. It was well liked by the Tongans and
[192] the first one that the Tongans performed was sung in the Samoan language. As performed in Tonga today, the *ma'ulu'ulu* is a combination of Tongan dance concepts and Tongan-adapted Samoan and Western concepts.

535 The formation of a *ma'ulu'ulu* is one or more curved lines. The front row sits cross-legged, M.II.a.15. on the ground. The remaining rows are elevated in various ways--by kneeling, sitting on chairs or benches, and standing. When the performers of the back row are standing, they move slightly from side to side using the main step of the *lakalaka*, M.II.a.1. The arm movements are the most varied of any of the Tongan dance genres and use any of the morphokines of the M.I. group. Like *fa'ahiula*, the *ma'ulu'ulu* can be described as *'otu haka*, 'row of *haka*' because the aim of the group is to perform with such precision that all the individuals in a row move 'as a machine' giving an impression of a row of *haka*.

535 If we compare the structure of these *ma'ulu'ulu* with the structure
of the previous Tongan genres, we can see that *ma'ulu'ulu*, though
supposedly brought from Samoa has prototypes in indigenous Tongan
genres for most of its essential features. *Fa'ahiula* can be said to
be the main prototype for the *ma'ulu'ulu* genre.

Ma'ulu'ulu like *fa'ahiula* is primarily a women's sitting dance.
Men and women occasionally perform the *ma'ulu'ulu* together, and it is
also said that men sometimes joined in the *fa'ahiula* (I have not seen
this). Performers of *fa'ahiula* sit in a single curved row. When
there is a small number of performers in *ma'ulu'ulu*, they, too, sit
in a single row. When more performers are added, more rows are added
and the dance space resembles a combination of *fa'ahiula* and *lakalaka*
535 performance. Music associated with both *fa'ahiula* and *ma'ulu'ulu*
533 consists of singing by the performers and beating time by one or more
[534] musicians who sit within the curve of the dancers. The *nafa* has
replaced the *tafua*, and serves the same function. The pulse organ-
[177] isation of both genres is usually in groups of 4. The *ma'ulu'ulu* is
more regular and tends to have a larger pitch range, probably due to
[538] the influence of Western music. In both genres the movements inter-
pret the poetry and are based on the text phrase structure.

535 The structure of *fa'ahiula* are quite diverse and include the
533 strophic, verse-refrain structure of the *ma'ulu'ulu* as well as the
538 through-composed structure which has stanzas of different lengths
and melodies as some *ma'ulu'ulu* do. In both cases the function of the

535 *Ma'ulu'ulu*, like other Tongan genres, has its well known choreographers. The most famous is Peni Tutuila, who choreographs the Queen Salote College *ma'ulu'ulu*. This dance has been seen throughout the world in the Cinerama production, "South Seas Adventure." Students of Peni have choreographed *ma'ulu'ulu* in his style and others have 'stolen' his routines. Peni comes from the island of Uiha in the Ha'apai group of islands, the son of a reknowned female choreographer.

Another exponent of *ma'ulu'ulu* is the Honorable Ve'ehala, noble of Fahefa who is recognized throughout the Kingdom for his knowledge of Tongan traditions including dances--especially *lakalaka* and *ma'ulu'ulu*. Several of the Lapaha *pulotu haka* also choreograph *ma'ulu'ulu*.

Tafi

A subdivision of *ma'ulu'ulu* is a dance called *tafi*. That is, it is classified as a *ma'ulu'ulu* by many Tongans. The only people I found who do not classify it as a *ma'ulu'ulu* are the people of
[829] Fua'amotu village, and it is they who perform the *tafi*. They say that
[177] *tafi* is a 'real Tongan dance' and not a *ma'ulu'ulu* which came from
Samoa. They also say it was originated by Tuku'aho who also originated the *lakalaka*. Tuku'aho was chief of two villages and after he gave
[533] the *lakalaka* to Tatakamotonga he gave the *tafi* to Fua'amotu. When the
dance was originated in about the 1890's it is said to have consisted

535 In the absence of *tafi* as the first dance of a formal occasion, [541] a *ma'ulu'ulu* is often substituted. During the 1962 *katoanga* the first dance on each of the two days was a *ma'ulu'ulu*--the first day, that of Queen Salote College; the second day that of St. Andrews Secondary School. If there is no *ma'ulu'ulu* or *tafi* to perform, the first *lakalaka* of the day is called *tafi mala'e.*

TAU'OLUNGA

Tau'olunga is the informal dance genre, although occasionally it is elevated and performed on semi-formal occasions. It does not, however, take the place of the formal dance type, *lakalaka*.

535 177 *Tau'olunga* is an acculturated dance form consisting of Western, Samoan, and indigenous Tongan elements. Its music is adapted from Western musical traditions. Its name and manner of performance are borrowed from Samoa. Its movements and role are Tongan.

535 [624] [177] [192] In Samoa the *tau'olunga*[8] is performed by the village *taupou* and a *tulafale*, 'talking chief ceremonial attendant.' The girl's graceful movements contrast with the vigorous male movements. The first *tau'olunga* was brought to Tonga from Samoa at the beginning of this century and the words were sung in Samoan. Some of the first performers of the dance in Tonga were Sioape Kaho (son of the noble Tu'i [192] Vakano) and a group under his aegis. Tongan *tau'olunga* is performed

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[8] *Taualanga* in the Samoan language.

535 by one or more female dancers and one or more male dancers known by
[192] the Samoan name, *tulafale*. *Tulafale* in Tongan has no other meaning
than that of a male dancer of *tau'olunga*.

535 Samoan *tau'olunga* use much more leg movement than indigenous
171 Tongan dances. Samoan movements include quick short running steps
that bend the knee after lifting the foot from the ground, and a leg
535 rotation to keep time. Tongan kinemes L_9 (the quick bending of the
[177] knee) and L_8 (leg rotation) are probably borrowings from Samoan
movements that diffused with this dance. L_8 and L_9 are used in
Tongan *tau'olunga*, but in no other Tongan dance genres.

In Samoan, *tau'olunga* designates the last dance on a program. In Tongan, *tau'olunga* is the name of a dance genre based on Samoan dance concepts that are broader than just *tau'olunga*. The word *tau'olunga* in Tongan has a meaning of its own. *Tau'olunga* contrasts as an antonym with *taulalo*. *Tau'olunga* connotes something high in space, while *taulalo* connotes something low in space. *Taulalo* was used in this paper to describe the position of the legs during the t^2 t^3 t^4 phrases of the *ula* genre which uses morphokine M.II.a.7. In contrast to *taulalo*, *tau'olunga* can be used to describe the usual position of the legs in the *tau'olunga* dance genre--that is, the legs are not bent and the body remains high in space. Thus, though *tau'olunga* as a dance name was borrowed from Samoa, it makes sense in the Tongan language when describing the dance genre. Tongan dances

535 Music for the *tau'olunga* is Western acculturated. Guitar and
533 'ukulele, using chords derived from Western music, form the musical
177 background for the singing, which also employs Western intervals and
harmony.

Though originally the model for *tau'olunga* songs may have come from church hymns, a more recent model is rock-and-roll songs. Tongans take great delight in fitting *tau'olunga* poetry to melodies heard on the radio. These melodies may be heard only once or twice and the remembered version that is eventually fitted to a *tau'olunga* often has little resemblance to the original, especially when added to the Tongan preference for singing harmony rather than melody. In music as in poetry, the obvious is hidden--that is, they allude to the melody by singing the harmony. Perhaps we can compare the result to the 'silent theme' tradition or 'bebop' school of American jazz--though we do not hear the melody, we can 'feel' that the melody is
535 there. On one occasion I was taking a rather long time to learn a
533 *tau'olunga* song. One of my informants told me that she couldn't
177 understand why I had so much trouble when the melody was an American
123 rock-and-roll song called "Honey, Honey." She then sang what she
considered to be an English rendition of the song--which I admit could
have been a rock-and roll song, but, unfortunately, I didn't know
it.

533 Songs that are associated with *tau'olunga* dancing are called
535 *hiva kakala*, 'sweet songs,' and are composed for singing rather than

62: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
Tungua

172 sites. The Ha'ateiho line of chiefs belongs to Falefisi, which is the patrilineal
172 line of the Tamahā, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga's sister's daughter.(5) The origin of this
644 line is traced by tradition to a chief of Fiji. The Tamahā held the highest social
[554] rank in Tonga and was the recipient of many gifts. Indeed, one of the traditional barkcloth designs of Tungua is the *'akau ha'amo* which represents the carrying pole used by Tupou I to bring gifts to the Tamahā. A number of Tamahā lived, at least part of the time, on Tungua and some of the Tamahā are said to be buried there, including the last Tamahā, Amelia. I suggest that the pots were not made in Tungua, but were part of the household-ware brought with the Tamahā from Ha'ateiho or were gifts from other chiefly lines of Tonga and possibly Fiji.

172 It is possible that the distribution of pottery may be explained by the distri-
172 bution of living places(6) of the high chiefs. Besides the Ha'ateiho line of chiefs,
565 which was associated with the high "social ranking" Tamahā, the three highest
323 "societal ranking" lines of Tonga were the Tu'i Tonga line and the lines of the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu (Ha'a Ngata). The Tu'i Tonga line is associated with the Lapaha area and more anciently with Heketā (near the Ha'amonga trilithon); the Ha'a Takalaua line with the Tatakamotonga area (Lapaha and Tatakamotonga are collectively known as Mu'a); and the Ha'a Ngata line with the village of Kanokupolu, *i.e.*, four areas outside of Ha'ateiho with a concentration of pottery-bearing sites (I have collected surface pottery in all these areas). Ethnohistoric inquiry into the ownership of other pottery-bearing sites might reveal similar chiefly connections, as well as the lack of such connections in the sites with little pottery such as Atele(7) and some of those investigated by McKern.(8)

Archaeologists who have worked in Tonga seem to assume that pottery was used widely by all levels of the society. However, what we know about the consumption patterns of material culture in Tonga in the eighteenth century would indicate that this was not necessarily the case.(9) Certain kinds of material culture were made primarily for use by the chiefs. Early migrants to Tonga (*i.e.*, proto-Polynesians) perhaps did make considerable use of pottery which could account for the fact that a few potsherds are found almost everywhere. But I suggest that the development of the Tongan hierarchical social structure and the decline of pottery (and its decoration) went hand in hand and resulted in the retention of pottery for use by the chiefs and their households. Though one might argue that the exclusive use of pottery by chiefs goes against the notion of dropout of decoration and elaboration, I propose an alternative explanation. That is, if pots were no longer widely used, the mere fact that there were pots would make them special and there would be no need for elaboration, especially at the end of the sequence when few pots were used at all. At the middle of the sequence, however, the decorated pots may have been used by high chiefs and undecorated pots by lesser chiefs.(10) This could account for the increasing attenuation of Lapita decorated sherds which has been noted by archaeologists but not satisfactorily explained.(11) Similar retentions and changes have occurred since the
[177] eighteenth century. Some items of material culture which would appear to have

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5. See Kaeppler 1971b:181–183.
[764] 6. Items of material culture were not usually included as grave goods with Tongan burials so there is no reason to expect that the appearance of sherds indicates a burial ground. If sherds and burials are found in the same area, it is likely that they are not contemporaneous.
7. Davidson, 1969.
8. McKern, 1929.
9. Kaeppler, 1971a.
10. See Kaeppler, 1971a:214–215 for an analogous elaboration of fly whisks which were also used only by chiefs.
11. See Groube 1971:281, 302–304.

62: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
Tungua

323
been in general use in pre-European times (wooden headrests, for example) 172
have been generally replaced by Western imports (pillows in this case). Many 565
chiefs, however, still make use of the traditional objects, especially on ceremonial [177
occasions (such as weddings when wooden headrests are part of the necessary
presentations).(12) Perhaps by the eighteenth century only the highest chiefs made 178]
use of pottery, and the few pots needed were not manufactured in Tonga but
came from Fiji.

Some of the pottery-bearing areas were visited by Cook, who collected two 172
pots at Amsterdam (Tongatapu) on his second voyage.(13) On his third voyage 177
Cook met the Tamahā Moungalakepa and her brother Latunipulu and it is 113
conceivable that Cook received pots from them.(14) One of these pots eventually 323
reached England and became part of Sir Ashton Lever's Museum.(15) This pot
was purchased at the dispersal of the Leverian Museum in 1806 by a Mr Atkinson as part of lot 4441, "... baked earthen bottle, New Amsterdam."(16) Although I have found other items purchased by Atkinson, I have not yet found his Tongan pot. There is a chance, however, that this eighteenth-century Tongan pot still exists and will eventually help to settle the question regarding Tongan v. Fijian manufacture of pottery during the eighteenth century.(17)

In a recent publication, Bulmer has concisely described the role of ethnography 172
in reconstructing the prehistory of Melanesia(18) and has encouraged ethnographers 121
and ethnohistorians to provide more useful data. A similar need exists
for Polynesian ethnographers to make their relevant material available for use by archaeologists and prehistorians. Archaeologists who have worked in Tonga have made some use of the ethnohistoric information, but more creative use of this information, as well as ethnographic data, might contribute to a resolution of the divergent explanations existing in the present interpretations in the Tongan
prehistoric sequence. Green, for example, explains the lack of pottery in certain 172
areas by a long aceramic horizon,(19) while Golson and Poulsen, basing their explanation on a series of radiocarbon dates, had come to the opposite conclusion that pottery was made for the total span of Tongan prehistory and up to the period of European contact.(20) Green supports his view with the logical assumption that if pottery were present in the historic and protohistoric period, it would be mentioned in Tongan traditions.(21) However, an examination of such traditional material shows that mention of material culture of any kind is very rare except for what Tongans consider *koloa* (valuables), namely mats and barkcloth that are given on ceremonial occasions. Golson and Poulsen now would appear to agree with Groube that C^{14} dates do not necessarily date pottery found in the same levels.(22) Groube explains the distribution of pottery sites on ecological

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12. At the time of European contact wooden headrests were elaborate and varied but by the twentieth century, when they were used mainly by chiefs, only two simple types survived.
13. Beaglehole, 1961:265.
14. Anderson (Beaglehole, 1967:942) and Samwell (Beaglehole, 1967:1037) both mention seeing pottery.
15. It is more likely that the Leverian pot came from 3rd voyage (see Force, Force & Kaeppler, in preparation).
16. Leverian Museum, 1806:207.
17. The eighteenth century pot depicted in Labillardière is clearly a Fijian pot (1802, plate 31). It is difficult to tell whether the globular object depicted in Tasman's journal (Sharp, 1968:161) is a Fijian-style pot or a coconut water container.
18. Bulmer, 1971.
19. Green, 1972:83.
20. Golson, 1971:74.
21. Green, personal communication.
22. Golson, personal communication.

> 571 is probable that should this take place a war would be the immediate
> 565 consequence [Stress added] (W. Cross *Letter* of July 1, 1830).

643 The *Tu'i Kanokupolu* was not deposed and a war did not take place at that
time. The examples indicate, however, the flexible aspect of the Tongan concept of "chieftanship" in the nineteenth century, and also the aspect of consensus needed for leadership.

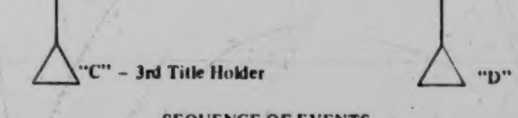
The Constitution

642 The Tongan Constitution of 1875 was promulgated by King George
571 Tupou I with the aid of European advice. What the Constitution did was to
554 remove the inherent flexibility concerning the inheritance of titles. Where
178 before the Constitution an individual received a title because of the consensus
● [177] of the people, after 1875 a person received a title because of the law.[10,11]

642 In pre-1875 Tonga, if an adopted son of a titled individual succeeded to
597 the title of his adopting parent, the new titled individual would not transmit
428 that title to his own son. The new titled son was, in essence, only "holding"
554 the title until a proper heir to the title came of age (see Figure 1).
178

FIGURE 1

ADOPTION TRANSACTION



SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Title Holder "A" adopts individual "B"
Title Holder "A" dies – individual "B" selected as new Title Holder in lieu of "C"
Title Holder "B" dies – individual "C" selected as new Title Holder – Title has "reverted" to original descendants.

AFTER the Constitution of 1875, when Title Holder "B" died, the title did not go to individual "C" but went (because of the law) to individual "D."

his (or her) adopted parents (although the child could certainly inherit from 597
his own biological parents). As recently as 1961 the Chief Justice of Tonga 642
stated: 428

> no person who is an adopted child and has not been born in wedlock to [565]
> the person from whom he claims to inherit, is now entitled to inherit under the law of succession in any event. (Hammet *in* Hunter 1963:182).

The Chief Justice also pointed out in the same context:

> From the date the Constitution was granted in 1875 until the present time no adopted child has been entitled to inherit under the law of succession and no provision has been made whereby an adopted child may succeed in the future. (*ibid.*).

The 1953 Amendment to the Tongan Constitution changed the Constitu- [565]
tion for the high ranking Tongans, but for the bulk of the populace in the
twentieth century inheritance rules are guided not by custom but by law. For [425]
the Tongan farmer, inheritance of land (in a land-scarce archipelago) is [423]
extremely important; and as A. Maude's most recent work on land in Tonga states it, "only legitimate sons may inherit" land, and "these rules of inheritance do not necessarily follow Tongan custom exactly" (A. Maude 1971:113).

It is clear that twentieth century Tonga is not aboriginal Tonga. The 178
"Europeanization" of Tonga removed much of the inherent consensus and 177 ●
flexibility from Tongan society, and researchers and Tongans alike must be 121
made aware of this.

NOTES

1. Funding for the research partially presented in this paper was provided, in part, by an NDEA (Title IV) Fellowship and an NIH Traineeship (PHS Grant 5 T01 GM01382-05). Field work was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia. Assistance and information provided by individuals in Tonga, especially those connected with the *Komiti Talafakafonua 'o Tonga*, "Tongan Traditions Committee", is greatly appreciated. Space limitations obviously precludes the listing of all individuals from whom assistance was gratefully received, but see the completed dissertation (1972:v-x). An earlier version of this paper was discussed at a symposium on "Adoption and Fosterage in Oceania" at the First Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, March 29-April 1, 1972. Numerous people have commented on my Tongan work, none of whom, of course, are responsible for what I present. 122 [101]
2. C. Maxwell Churchward has defined *tauhi* as "to tend, look after, take care of" (C.M. Churchward 1959:463). One of the earliest definitions of the term was recorded by the Wesleyan missionary S. Rabone who defined *tauhi* as "a nurse, a 597 855

that particular occasion. There is no set pattern of *kava* distribution when the King is not there. The only theoretical generalization that one can make for all non-*Taumafa kava* drinking sessions is that "the *kava* is distributed according to the agreed upon rank of those individuals present." This admittedly low-level generalization is true whether we term all non-*Taumafa kava* sessions either *'ilo kava* ceremonies or *fai-kava* sessions. 276 574 554

For particular non-*Taumafa kava* sessions when individuals cannot agree in advance upon their relative rank *vis-à-vis* one another, they then avoid one another at certain *kava* sessions. For early-contacted Tonga this behavior is quite clear from the account of the French navigator Dumont D'Urville in Tonga 1827. He wrote about the rarity of certain *kava* sessions because of the lack of certain major individuals and:

> above all because of the claims of Palou [also known as Fatukimotulalo, an important and powerful and non-titled individual] and Tahofa [also known as Fae], who took care to avoid any [*kava*] gatherings where they could not occupy the highest place (MS: 10).

In contemporary Tonga, elaborate genealogies (both real and fictive) are often traced out for seating positions in non-*Taumafa kava* sessions. Some changes have taken place in all *kava* sessions since the advent of Europeans and, briefly stated, in aboriginal Tongan society the "rank" for a *kava* circle was determined on the basis of the personal rank of the individual whereas in contemporary Tongan society it is the rank of the "title" which an individual has which is the determining factor in seating (and drinking) arrangements.[3] [601] [177]

What is important for all *kava* drinking in Tonga is [1] that it occurs today and [2] the basic structural features (bowl, circle, and relative order of serving) have remained essentially stable over the years. The non-*Taumafa kava* sessions serve as a "safety valve" for Tongan society and provide a frequent chance to discuss the latest gossip, rumors, or general conversation. The Beagleholes pointed out in their 1941 work that the topics of conversation in an informal *kava* session frequently deal with: [178] 276 574 521 [182]

> the state of cultivation, the gossip and scandal of the village, the strange ways of white people, news and rumour from other villages far and near, actions of government representatives from policemen to high officials, chance remarks from passing acquaintances on the island roads, religious doctrine and dogma, dreams and strange events all [of] these and many other topics are considered from every possible angle and point of view (1941: 20).

In brief, an informal and small-sized *kava* session is not an extremely spectacular event, much like the drinking in a tavern or bar among good friends. The *Taumafa kava*, on the other hand, provides Tongans with a particular focal point for their own identity and is discussed below. 276 574 [643] [186]

114 in numerous respects, are not superior to reputable eye-witness descriptions of aboriginal Tonga.[1]

CONTACT AND DESCRIPTIONS

175 Part of the Tongan archipelago was first contacted by the Dutch naviga-
177 tors Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, and various contacts with Europeans
followed: 1643 (Tasman), 1767 (Wallis), 1773, 1774, and 1777 (Cook),
1781 (Maurelle), 1787 (La Perouse), 1789 (Bligh), 1793 (D'Entrecasteaux
and Labillardière), and 1793 (Malaspina) (see Colson 1885; Tudor 1968:
125–127). These contacts between Europeans and Tongans lasted for
periods of a few days to several weeks. The accounts of these men made
Europeans aware of Tonga and placed Tonga on Europe's map. The
accounts spurred Europeans to send men to proselytize the peoples of the
175 Pacific. Tonga, along with Tahiti, was one of the first island groups to be
177 sent European missionaries in the late eighteenth century.

797 The first missionaries were of the Missionary Society of London (form-

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101 [1] Tonga, named by Captain James Cook "The Friendly Islands," is composed of
some 150 to 200 islands and islets with perhaps only 25 percent of those being inhabited.
133 The islands are a form of raised limestone, or volcanic formations and limestone
formations (Anonymous 1944: 16). The most recent work indicates that the total land
131 area of the archipelago is 256.42 square miles, with the Tongatapu Group (the main
island of Tongatapu with surrounding small islands but excluding the island of 'Eua)
having 100.37 square miles of that total or some 39.1 percent (Maude 1965: 218).
161 Tongatapu Island is approximately 99 square miles in area. The estimated population
for the entire archipelago for December 31, 1970 was 86,055 (Tapa 1971: 4).

101 The territorial boundaries of the Kingdom of Tonga were proclaimed by King
George Tupou I to be 15°S and 23°S and 173°W and 177°W (*Tonga Government*
131 *Gazette*, 2: 55, August 24, 1887). The islands of the Kingdom thus fall within a rectangle
of the South Pacific some 596 miles North-South by 264 miles East-West, with the
outer islands of the Kingdom being Niua Fo'ou Island to the North at 15°34'S and
175°40'W, and 'Ata Island to the South at 22°20'S and 176°12'W. 'Ata Island is
approximately 100 miles southeast of the main island of Tongatapu and Niua Fo'ou
Island is approximately 232 miles northwest of the Vava'u group of Islands.

101 Tonga derived its name from the principal island of the group, Tongatapu Island or
'sacred' Tonga. The *tapu* was probably appended to the Tonga because this island
became the residence of the leaders of the archipelago. Tongatapu Island was the focal
point for the political and religious system in the archipelago prior to and after Euro-
133 pean contact. The Polynesians who settled the archipelago appear to have chosen this
relatively flat island because of terrain and climate. The middle, or Ha'apai group of
islands are a series of low islets. The northernmost island group of Vava'u has relatively
high hills, with most of the land being at least one hundred feet above sea level (as
opposed to Tongatapu Island which is no higher than two hundred feet along the
133 southern or *liku* coast). Vava'u was, and is, subject to more destructive hurricanes than
132 Tongatapu during the hurricane season and it was only on Tongatapu that relative
permanency of Tongan culture and continuity of leadership could be maintained for
182 generations.

ed in 1795 and later termed the London Missionary Society, or LMS) 175
and they arrived at Tongatapu on April 10, 1797 (Benson 1960: 113; 177
Wilson 1799: 96). Ten male missionaries landed and some remained until 797
1800, but the attempt at religious conversion ended in a debacle. One
missionary, Vason, married a Tongan woman and was converted to the
anga-faka-Tonga or 'Tongan way of life' (Vason 1810). The Wesleyan 797
Missionary Society established a mission station on Tongatapu in August 177
of 1822 manned by one missionary, Walter Lawry, who was accompanied
by his wife and several servants (including Europeans and a Marquesan
islander) (see Lawry's *Diary* for August, 1822). This attempt at Christian
conversion also ended in failure with Lawry being ordered by London to
be "removed from Tonga to Van Diemen's Land" (Lawry, *Diary*: July
26, 1823). Lawry eventually left the island in October of 1823, and it
wasn't until 1826 that a second Wesleyan mission was attempted in the
archipelago. In June of 1826 the Wesleyan missionaries John Thomas and
John Hutchinson arrived, with their wives, and this mission eventually
proved succesful. From 1826 onwards Tongans entered into sustained
European contact.

The various published accounts of the individuals of this period 114
(1616–1826), combined with twentieth-century field work, have allowed
us to make inferences about aboriginal Tongan culture (Coult 1959, for
example), yet no systematic attempt had ever been made to incorporate
manuscript materials into (1) an aboriginal ethnographic base line, and
(2) an analysis of changing Tongan culture. What were the processes by
which the aboriginal Tongan culture of 1800 developed into the Constitutional
Monarchy of 1875?

The date of 1875 is extremely important in Tongan studies, for in many 178
respects the Tonga of pre-1875 was not the same as the Tonga of post- 177
1875. In 1875 the Tongan Constitution was promulgated by the *Tu'i* 178
Kanokupolu King George Tupou I, with the help of European advice. 177
The Constitution was the result of Western influence on Tonga and the 642
culmination of all of the written Tongan law codes in effect in the
archipelago since 1839. The date of 1850 given in Murdock's *Ethnographic* 177
atlas (1967) for Tonga, for cross-cultural research of a certain type, can 178
be extremely misleading, for by this time two major wars (as a result of
nineteenth-century Western influence) had been fought in the archipelago 114
(1837 and 1840), the Tongan language reduced to a systematic orthography
(c. 1830), and a European-induced codified system of laws had already
been in effect for certain parts of the archipelago for many years (in the
island groups of Vava'u and Ha'apai). Certainly Goldman's most recent 177
work which suggests 1800 as the "terminal date" for aboriginal Polynesian 178

177 society merits closer consideration than 1850 for Tonga (Goldman 1970:
178 xxviii).

178 Utilizing 1800 as a reference date for Tonga, one has a dynamically
554 operating and changing Polynesian society, with an elaborate system of
rank (based on kinship ties) and status (based on kinship and achievement).
[114] Changes in the rank and status systems resulted from Western
contact but these have not always been successfully analyzed or reported
in ethnographic accounts.[1]

ABORIGINAL TONGA

643 There are four major titles in Tonga with which we are concerned: *Tu'i*
644 *Tonga, Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, Tu'i Kanokupolu,* and *Tamaha.* When the
554 various missionaries arrived in the archipelago, they grasped part of the
cultural system of ranking. The Wesleyan missionary Lawry recorded in
his diary for September 13, 1823, that

> the following is the order in which the present Chiefs of the Friendly Islands rank, viz: –
> 1. Tooitonga [*Tu'i Tonga*]
> 2. Tooihatacalowa [*Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*]
> 3. Tooicanacabooloo [*Tu'i Kanokupolu*]

Another Wesleyan missionary, John Thomas (in the archipelago from

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121 [1] The only way in which a researcher can attempt a reconstruction of aboriginal
127 culture is for that researcher to examine the earliest extant documentation pertaining
to that culture and then make comparisons between the old information and new information
[114] gathered by contemporary field work. Urbanowicz (1972) provides a
detailed explication of the methodology of the documentary research.

127 Ethnohistorical techniques were used to extract ethnographic information of the past from the documentary materials. Ethnohistory is thus the application of historical method to a body of documents specifically chosen for the construction of an historical ethnography (See Fenton 1962; Sturtevant 1966). The ethnohistorian focuses on the "ethno-" in the term, in presenting an ethnography of a given group of people; the "-history" refers not to the writing of history, but to the application of historical method to gather verifiable ethnographic facts of the past. Ethnohistory is not a study of change per se, although it eventually contributes to studies of change. The term ethnohistory as used by ethnographers is not synonymous with culture history, as the distinguished Pacific historian H. E. Maude has written (1971: 21).

121 Every ethnographer is, in essence, an ethnohistorian, since every ethnographer must read background material prior to beginning field work and must weigh and assess previous research reports; and every ethnohistorian is at heart an ethnographer, combining archival research with field work among the contemporary people. This is
128 why I went to Tonga. Also see Cohn 1968; Dodge 1968; and Lurie 1961. Original
orthography has been maintained throughout this paper.

643 of aboriginal Tongan culture and a leader needed the support of the
175 people around him. Such support came from numerous plural marriages
571 and successful leadership. Laufilitonga, the last individual to hold the title
of *Tu'i Tonga*, was delayed in being appointed to his position in the early
643 part of the nineteenth century because of the inability of a secular ruler
to support him. Thomas wrote of the *hau* as King, that:

> It is said had the King's party been succesful in the war in the Anga, it was the intention of the King to have presented his daughter Halaevalu to Laufilitonga as his wife, and to have appointed him to office as Tuitonga but though a battle was fought and many fell on both sides — no victory was gained — The evils they had hoped to have removed were allowed to remain — as the King could not remove them — his daughter was therefore not so given — neither was the chief appointed to office, but remained at Vavau where he had been brought up (Thomas MS. 4:192).

643 After the separation of sacred from secular matters in aboriginal Tonga,
554 the *Tu'i Tonga* was still esteemed and revered but more as an intercessor
with the Tongan deities. Thomas wrote of the *Tu'i Tonga:*

> [793] The office of the Tuitonga was still esteemed, and became one of vast importance, even as the connective link between the gods and the people; he was not a high priest but a friend, or representative of the gods, his office as with his person was considered sacred (Thomas MS. 5:1).

Other eye-witnesses of the early nineteenth century corroborated this, as the Wesleyan missionary N. Turner relates:

> Many were present at the service this afternoon and were very attentive. The Tui Toga was there, who is by birth and rank according to their former superstitions the greatest Man in all these islands. Tho the nature of his office forbids him to have anything to do with public affairs. According to the ancient customs of Toga he is altogether a sacred person (N. Turner, Letter-Journal dated November 29, 1828, reporting events of October 28, 1828).

178
643 Eventually, however, as a result of Western contact (specifically the
177 Wesleyan missionaries in the nineteenth century) the position of the
Tu'i Tonga was totally eclipsed by that of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. Laufili-
643 tonga, the last *Tu'i Tonga*, had eventually been installed in his office in
1827 and held the title until his death in 1865. Although he requested that
a *Tu'i Tonga* be appointed after his death, no such appointment was made
by the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* King George Tupou. As a point of fact, at a
Tongan parliamentary meeting in 1875 King George Tupou stated:

> You must remember that I was conferred with the following two titles during the 643
> meeting that was held in Vava'u, Tu'itonga and Tu'iha'atakalaua together with
> my own title of Tu'ikanokupolu (Hunter 1963:4).

This was the ultimate consolidation of King George's rise to power. A 643
recent assessment by Latukefu of King George, or Taufa'ahau, is worth
considering: 177

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> It appears, however, that Taufa'ahau's initial acceptance of Christianity was 557
> only a part of his general desire to adopt the ways of the white man, his wealth,
> superior knowledge and weapons of war, and also [incidentally] his religion, to
> achieve his ambitions (Latukefu 1970:61).

With the eventual decline in the rank and status of the *Tu'i Tonga* and 643
the concomitant rise of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, the position of the *Tamaha* 644
also suffered a decline. Where the titles of *Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu* 554
meant that the individual so invested was responsible, respectively, for [178]
sacred and secular matters, Thomas has pointed out that in aboriginal
Tonga the *Tamaha* "is more a title of honour than office" (MS. 4: 30).
Although the *Tamaha* was usually held by a female, Thomas also pointed 644
out that "there may, in the absence of a female, be a male *Tamaha* 562
— which thing has been known to occur, but generally it is a female"
(ibid.).

The rank and status associated with that of the *Tamaha* was extremely 644
high in Tongan culture, and early nineteenth-century observers were astute
enough to point this out. The French navigator, Dumont D'Urville 554
reported of his 1827 visit to Tongatapu:

644

> all the people of Tonga, without exception, even the toul-tonga and the toul- 554
> Kana-Kabolo themselves, had to accord the homage of *moe-moe*, while she was 643
> not obliged to honour anyone in this way (n.d.:27).

The *moemoe'i* was the indication of respect that an inferior had to show [576]
to a superior, with the inferior person bowing down to touch the head to
the soles of the superior person's feet.

Dumont D'Urville, however, was also aware of the fact that by showing 644
deferential respect one did not necessarily acknowledge power and
authority, and he pointed out that the *Tamaha* "was reverenced in the [554]
islands although she only had any real authority over her personal
property and her people in Ardeo" (ibid.). She not only had authority
over "Ardeo," or *Ha'ateiho* (an area on Tongatapu), but it also extended
into the Ha'apai islands. Of the person designated the *Tamaha*, Thomas [554]
wrote:

644 while it raised the individual in the estimation of all her friends, she was by this
554 means brought so near to the gods, as to be a kind of divinity herself to the
people, and was much sought unto as such (Thomas MS. 5:4).

The Wesleyan missionary Webb was quite correct when he wrote that
"the *Tamaha* is the greatest personage in the whole group of islands"
(Webb, Letter-Journal of March 1, 1843, for the events of August 12,
[643] 1842). Where the *Tu'i Tonga* was the representative of the gods on earth,
the *Tamaha* herself was virtually viewed as a god.

644 Although the Wesleyans made numerous attempts to convert the
797 *Tu'i Tonga* Laufilitonga to Wesleyanism, they failed (and the *Tu'i Tonga*
became a Catholic); on the other hand, the *Tamaha* converted to Wes-
177 leyanism and the missionaries scored quite a coup on aboriginal religious
[643] beliefs when this happened. Thomas wrote in his Journal that "Tamma ha
has turned to God — also her brother Fehokohaabai, and all the people
of Tungua have turned" (Thomas, *Journal 5*, December 12, 1832). Gradual-
ly, Tongan culture changed in the nineteenth century under the pressure
of the Wesleyan missionaries.

554 The four titles of *Tu'i Tonga*, *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and
565 *Tamaha* thus represented the core of titles of aboriginal Tongan culture.
643 From these four titles all other titles developed and as Thomas stated
644 175 (as cited earlier), "formerly there were three ranks of nobles in Tonga"
for whom one would apply the term *'eiki* (Thomas MS. 5: 1). The concept
554 of *'eiki* has changed over time in Tonga, but this change has not always
565 been understood and interpreted by all European observers. Writing of
644 these four core titles in the nineteenth century, one astute eyewitness to
643 changing Tongan culture did comprehend the changes in part:

> 178 It may be noticed that the term Eiki applied to the above chiefs and their
> 175 families almost exclusively in gone by days, and was a very choice word, but of
> later years it has become more common (Thomas MS. A1961: 7).

554 In aboriginal Tonga, individuals closely related to the *Tu'i Tonga* were
565 termed the *Sino'i 'eiki*, literally 'the body of the *'eiki*' (Churchward 1959:
644 430). These included the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and the
643 *Tamaha*. In aboriginal Tonga, *'eiki* was a concept of nobility, or noble
175 birth. *'Eiki* is not immediately synonymous with 'chief' as numerous
114 early European observers recorded.

554 One of the earliest voyage accounts of Schouten and Le Maire from
565 1616 has *Ariki* for 'King' (Dalrymple 1770–1771: II; n.p.). The various
175 vocabularies connected with Cook's voyages have, for the Tongan
114 vocabularies, *'Egee* as 'a chief' (Anderson, in Beaglehole 1967: 956),

CHANGES

With sustained European contact, culminating in the Tongan Constitu- 178
tion of 1875, aboriginal Tongan culture changed. The Constitution was 642
promulgated by the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* King George Tupou with the aid of 643
European advice. King George's refusal to install a *Tu'i Tonga* after the [177]
death of Laufilitonga in 1865 has already been discussed. With the Constitution of 1875 King George totally consolidated his position (receiving the titles of *Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu*) and removing the inherent consensus and flexibility concerning the rights of chieftainship.[4]
The flexible system of titles and inheritance passed out of existence and a 178
rigid father-to-son inheritance system was initiated. Where before a 428
person received a title because of ability and consensus, now a person 554
received a title because of the law. A completely workable system of 565
status achievement had been removed and in its place a system of 642
ascribed status substituted.

With the Constitution of 1875 King George created the hereditary class 178
of nobles, or *nopele*, who are included in the generic gloss *hou'eiki*. The 565
Constitution created the *'eiki nopele*, but some of these *'eiki nopele* were 554
only *matapules*, or titled non-*'eiki* in aboriginal Tonga, and hence were 642
only *'eiki* in name and not *'eiki* by noble birth.

Prior to the Constitution, no one individual could hold more than one title, since the title-holder was responsible to a specific group of people. Now, as a result of the Constitution there are men holding two titles, the most notable being Honorable Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili, and an individual has to divide his time, and hence his obligations, between two different groups of people.

In aboriginal Tonga, women always had important positions in the 562
society, with the *Tamaha* being the classic example, With the passage of 644
time, the descendants of the *Tamaha* have suffered (Kaeppler 1971: 183), 178
although the *Tamaha* herself had extremely high rank and status in 554

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[4] It was not written into the Tongan Constitution that *Tu'i Kanokupolu* King George [554]
was given the two titles of *Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*. King George merely
said that he "was conferred" with the two additional titles; however, at the same [565]
parliamentary meeting, King George said: "However I now desire to appoint paramount chiefs for these two dynasties as well as the Hangatatupu so I now confer the [428]
following titles and they are to be hereditary. (1) Tungi and his descendants to be head of the Ha'atakalaua for ever. (2) Kalaniuvalu and his descendants to be head of the Kauhala'uta [of the *Tu'i Tonga*] for ever. ..." (In Hunter 1963: 4). One of the reasons that this was done was because of the fact that it was eventually written into the Tongan Constitution that if King George Tupou I were to have no legitimate heirs, the "Crown of Tonga" was to "descend to Uiliami Tugi and his lawful heirs" (King George Tupou I in *Tonga Government Gazette*, Volume II; 35E, December 16, 1885, page 1; also see Wylie 1967: I, 21).

562
644 Tongan culture. In aboriginal Tonga, the *Tamaha* and her descendants
554 always were well treated.
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INTERPRETATION AND SUMMARY

178 Change obviously takes place over time and to discuss changes in Tonga
[171] one must first know what Tonga was like. Tonga is the only Polynesian island group to successfully survive into the twentieth century. It is
178 currently a Constitutional Monarchy under His Majesty King Taufa'ahau
642 Tupou IV. The survival and establishment of the constitutional monar-
643 chial form of government was due to a skillful and somewhat bloodthirsty unification of the archipelago in 1852 by King George Tupou, later known as "the First" and a Great-Great-Great Grandfather of his current majesty.

178 The unification of the archipelago after the final war in 1852 and the
177 subsequent reorganization and codification of the laws along Western European concepts brought about changes which have had ramifications in Tonga to this day. Scarr has shown that Tongans were advised in the nineteenth century that if Tongans wanted to avoid being "taken over" by larger foreign powers, Tonga would have to take on the trappings of
178 Westernization. This Westernization was replete with a "Western facade"
177 of a written Constitution and codified laws (Scarr 1968: 86). Thus the
642 Constitution of 1875 must serve as a landmark for virtually any discussions pertaining to Tongan culture.

121 In a volume on psychological anthropology, it only seems fitting that there be some psychological aspects to the paper: psychological aspects concerning both the Tongans and the numerous Europeans who have been
554 in Tonga and who have written on Tonga. For aboriginal Tongans, rank was something which came about because one was born into the position. Status could be achieved by means of arranged marriages, skill at leadership or warfare, or anything which would virtually enhance an individual
602 in the minds of fellow Tongans. The family was all important, or the
[178] genealogical relationships between individuals of the extended family. In aboriginal Tonga, politics was "kinship writ large," something which
602 seems to exist to this day. The *Tonga Chronicle* of October 17, 1971, had the following statement in reference to the wife of His Majesty King
642 Taufa'ahau Tupou IV:

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> Queen Mata'aho in an interview with the Singapore newspaper *Straits Times* explained the tradition of the people and the monarchy in Tonga is like one big family with the King and Queen looked on as parents.

This may be how some view the monarchy today, and it would probably be 602
consistent with a statement pertaining to aboriginal Tonga, but it is not [643]
how nineteenth-century (and earlier) Europeans viewed Tonga. Alboriginal [642]
Tonga WAS an extended family, with virtually everyone being able to
trace kinship ties with everyone else. The concept of *'eiki* or noble birth [554]
was a perfectly viable one in aboriginal Tonga, for Tongans knew who [565]
was genealogically related to whom. The fact that only a proven individual 114
could be made a leader of men in aboriginal Tonga also made sense 642
— but this did not make sense to European observers of the time. The 175
Europeans, with European concepts of government, expected to find an
articulating "wholeness" in Tonga; instead, as Wilson's statement makes
clear, to their eyes they found chaos:

> The Government of Tongataboo is so complex in itself, and the natives' account of it so different, each taking a particular pride in exalting his own chief above others, that it is difficult to come to any certainty concerning it (Wilson 1799: 269).

Cook's ealier statement from 1777 is also in keeping with this approach:

> Of the nature of Government we know no more than the general outline, a subordination is established among them that resembles the feudal system; but of its subdivisions of the Constituent parts and in what manner connected to form one body politic I confess myself totally ignorant (In Beaglehole 1967: 174).

Cook was not "totally ignorant" but he was honest in his reporting.

When the missionaries arrived, particularly the Wesleyans in the nine- 177
teenth century, they too were confused — but they did something about 797
it: they did not admit to their confusion and set out to convert a culture! 114
They sent back fantastic reports to Sydney and to London and continued
to receive money and supplies to "convert" the Tongans. It was a fortu- 177
itous moment in 1826 when the Wesleyan missionaries Thomas and 797
Hutchinson arrived on Tongatapu: they brought their own supplies (to
augment those abandoned by Lawry when that missionary left in 1823)
to convert the Tongans, they capitalized on the Europeans who had been
living in the archipelago for numerous years, and they also profitted from
the problems of the Tongans. As Thomas relates in his Journal for 1827: 177

> I learn from a young man here, an Englishman, that Tonga at this time is 797
> principally in the possession of petty chiefs. Some few years ago the great men 643
> departed this life and some were killed — even the King's family now have no 669
> power — but these chiefs fought and defended Tonga and they now possess the
> part they have rescued from their enemies, SO THAT AT THIS TIME THEY SEEM
> MUCH CONFUSED, HAVING NO HEAD MAN (Thomas, *Journal*, entry of January 30,
> 1827. Emphasis added.)

177 Because there was no "head man" or secular ruler, there was no Tongan
797 with the authority to order the missionaries to leave. The mission approach
643 was that of "divide-and-conquer" and they turned Tongan against
669 Tongan — chief against chief. The religious wars of the nineteenth
century which resulted from Wesleyan interference in aboriginal Tongan
177 life were notorious for their ferocity. In January of 1837, the Wesleyan
797 missionary Watkin could write of the destruction of the non-Wesleyan-
669 ized-Tongan fortress of Ngeleia and how "one Christian was killed and
three wounded more than 25 heathens perished" (Watkin, Journal entry
for January 11, 1837). Of the 1840 battles, the Wesleyan missionary P.
Turner wrote:

> The heathens seem determined to die in their foolishness. I am told that they have made an oath to do so, before they will yield to the Xtns. (Turner, *Journal*, entry for July 19, 1840).

Of the ferocious 1840 wars, Thomas could write that he told the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Jiosaia Tupou that "the heathens had acted more kind a great deal than the Christians and that they were less disposed for war" (Thomas, *Journal*, entry for August 4, 1840).

177 Aboriginal Tonga was forcefully pulled into the nineteenth century and
797 more needs to be written on this distasteful period. The demise of
aboriginal Tongan culture was clearly visible in 1840 when the Wesleyan
[114] missionary John Thomas, probably one of the few missionaries who ever
partially "understood" Tongan culture (and who has been ridiculed for
it), wrote in his Journal of August 4, 1840, of the titled *'eiki* Ma'afu of
the *Ha'a Havea*, a staunch non-Wesleyan-induced pro-indigenous Tongan
individual:

> Old Maafu is angry and grieved, saying like one of old, "Ye have taken away my gods, and what have I more."[*]

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[*] Thomas gathered a tremendous amount of potential ethnographic data, most of which (if not all of it) still remains in manuscript form. He realized the problems of data-gathering when he was asking specific questions and the following somewhat poignant statement from his *Journal* of 1858 is worth re-reading: "conversed with a few persons, on some little matters connected with the Tonga history. My matter accumulates — also I hope it is in a way to be corrected before it sees the light — but whatever case I may take, it is scarcely possible to avoid making some mistakes, the more so, as various opinions are formed by various persons on the same subject" (Thomas, *Journal*, entry of February 20, 1858).

rural characteristics

To the air passenger wheeling over Nuku'alofa on the descent 361
to Fua'amotu airport some ten miles distant, there would be no doubt
that the town presents a rural appearance. It would be difficult for 369
him to remember, even if he knew, that below was a town of some 18,000
people with an average population density in excess of the Suva urban
area which he had left some three hours earlier. He would see the
iron roofed buildings of the administrative and commercial core, but
beyond this would recognise no functional specialisation. Many of
the houses, small and thatch roofed, would be hidden among the trees.
More visible would be the white coral sand of the graveyards, marking
the earlier boundaries of the town's component villages. Closer
inspection would confirm the observation by Spillius that 98 per cent
of the population live in rural conditions.[14] There is no sewerage, [364]
reticulated water serves only key government areas and over half the [365]
population live in houses made at least in part of indigenous
materials, often of traditional design. Towards the margins of the [362]
town the number of thatch and composite houses increases, as also does
the percentage of migrants squatting on unconfirmed titles to land,
and the involvement of agriculture. The town's boundaries, like its
position in the rural-urban continuum, taper off slowly and only a
broad transition area is distinguishable.

Land in Tonga is occupied on titles that trace their origin to 423
the feudal days of the primitive nobility[15] *and* to early attempts by 177
the first modern king and his missionary advisors to modify tradition
to more closely resemble the system of tenure acceptable in Victorian 178
England.[16] This blending of traditional and introduced, Tongan and 643
Western, permeates almost every facet of Tongan life. It was
consciously and deliberately introduced by a far-sighted monarch in an
attempt to consolidate his position within a traditional framework and
it served its function of perpetuating traditional content within a
modified and apparently modern or western form.[17] Thus, all land 423
belongs to the Crown and through it to the nobles and government in
the form of hereditary estates or *tofi'a*. These *tofi'a* are subsequently
divided into *'api kolo* or town allotments and *'api tukuhau* or
country allotments and all male tax payers are legally entitled to a
town and country allotment, although this right cannot always be
exercised. The occupier has only a life interest though it is usually [428]
inherited according to stipulated laws of succession which favour the
eldest son and the widow. The town dweller in this respect is in no [369]
way different from the country dweller. He is attached to the land
and the ownership and direction of this land is of family concern.
Its social significance is at least equal to its economic significance.
Thus, although some two-thirds of the town's household heads were
without registered *'api tukuhau* in 1963, only one-fifth had no access

121 369 economy remains labour intensive, the imbalance of the economy ensures a continued flow of peasant immigrants and kinship ties continue to provide security for the poor and status for the well-off. The "ruralisation" of Nuku'alofa is likely to continue because rural and traditional attitudes and forms of activity are a real and very necessary means of tackling urban problems.

000 It seems likely that only drastic internal changes can lead to a breakdown of the existing socio-economic relations based on kin. Peasant societies generally have shown a tremendous resilience and capacity for survival and there is no reason to suppose that urban peasant societies are more brittle. It is as well to recall, also, that Tongans long ago demonstrated their capacity to change forms without undermining substances.

369 [177] [178] [171] Nuku'alofa in these respects is neither totally unique nor solely transitional; it is a variant resulting from its own historical experience of the impact of western technology and economic organisation upon a traditional socio-economic system. It represents but one shade within the vast spectrum of urbanism in underdeveloped countries.

71: Forster OU9 Tonga OU9

● 177
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[For further information on contact between Captain Cook's crew and the Tongans, see Categories 123, 439, and 609.]

[160 cont.]

000 The English and French navigators have charged each other with the introduction of this detestable disorder among the harmless and hospitable Taheitians; though they have long been acquainted with it, and are not ignorant of the art of curing it (2). Nay, it seems

2. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 233.

that their simple diet, the salubrity of their climate, and a long space of time, have abated the acrimony of the virus, and brought it to that inactive state to which it is now reduced in South America. I am far from supposing, that the venereal complaint has been carried to America from Europe; no, the same causes which could give birth to it in one part of the world, are sufficient to produce it every
175 where else. The commerce of our crews with the women of Tonga Tabboo,
164 and the Marquesas; nay, their remarkable connections with the salacious
[B36] [177] females of Easter Island, had no sinister consequences. It may be inferred from thence, that the infection has not yet broke out at those islands, though such inferences are sometimes [161] fallacious (3);

3. See vol. I. p. 369.

for captain Wallis left Taheitee without having a single venereal patient, though the distemper is now proved to have existed there
000 before his arrival. It is also beyond a doubt, that the New Zeelanders (4) were afflicted with this disorder before any Europeans had an

4. Ibid. p. 239.

intercourse with them.

We passed the island of Mowrua in the afternoon, and stood to the westward with a favourable trade-wind. On the 6th, at eleven in the morning, we descried an island, which captain Wallis named after lord Howe. It is very low, consisting of coral ledges, which

[167 cont.]

000 and their civilization little advanced, since they are savage, and
[171] go naked. Their island seems to be about three leagues long, and
[175] was called Savage Island. It is situated in 19° 1' S. and 169° 37' W.

Having reached the ship, the boats were hoisted in, and the next morning we continued our course to the westward. A large high-finned whale, which was seen near the ship, spouted up the water, and several birds and fish attended us as usual.

On the twenty-fourth [June 24, 1774] at night we lay to, as
122
[177] we expected to be very near A Namoka, or Rotterdam Island, one of the
[175] Friendly Isles discovered by Tasman in 1643. Breakers [168] were
heard a head at two o'clock, and the land appeared at day-break.
122 We stood for it, and soon found it to consist of several low islands,
183 connected by a vast reef. Another great reef lay to the northward,
175 and we passed between them. At noon a canoe came off towards us,
609 though the nearest land was above a league distant. We discerned
175 two men in it, who stood on a long while, but at last, seeing that the
181 ship gained upon them, they put about and returned. We could not
175 help admiring the difference between this race, and the savages
whom we had so lately left, and agreed that the name Friendly was
122 very justly given to them. The wind slackened all the afternoon, and
died away to a perfect calm during night. We approached so near
one of the reefs by this means that we ran great risk of being wrecked;
but a breeze springing up in the morning, we were out of danger in a
short time.

The next morning [June 26] we sailed between reefs and small
183 islands, which made the water smooth. The islands had a little more
187 elevation than the common coral islands; they were covered with groves
175

[193 cont.]

122 announced to us that the island was inhabited.

175 The next morning [July 3] we bore down upon it again, and came
177 round its east end. It appeared to be about seven miles long, and
175 had two small hills of very gentle ascent, [194] wholly covered with
177 woods, like the rest of the island. One end sloped into a flat point,
133 on which we observed fine groves of coco-palms, and fruit-trees, together
with houses in their shade. A fine sandy beach surrounded the shore,
and at the distance of half a mile, a coral reef encompassed the east
side of the island, which at the points projected near two miles from
175 the shore. On this reef we soon perceived five blackish-brown men,
177 with clubs in their hands, looking at us very attentively. We hoisted a
609 boat out, and sent the master to sound an opening between the reefs
which we saw before us. He went on through the entrance towards the
shore, where we observed upwards of thirty inhabitants sitting. Amongst
them ten or twelve were armed with spears; but as soon as our boat
came near, they hauled a canoe into the woods, which had brought their
five men to and from the reef, and all ran off when the master landed.
[133] He laid some nails, a knife, and few medals on the sandy beach, and
returned on board, to acquaint the captain that there was no bottom in
175 the entrance of the reef, and not sufficient depth within it. He had
177 observed a dozen or more large turtles swimming in the harbour; but
136 being destitute of harpoons, or other instruments, could not strike any
122 of them. Our boat was hoisted in again, and the hopes of botanizing
175 on this island were entirely frustrated. We continued standing along
177 its reef, on which we observed some large single rocks of coral, near
[126] fifteen feet above the [195] surface of the water, narrow at the base,
[133] and spreading out at the top. Whether an earthquake had raised them so

132 on February 16, 1970 to a nighttime low of 55.8° F. on July 17, 1970
(Tu'ipelehake 1970: 2).

Government and Political Organization

642 In June 1970, the Kingdom of Tonga emerged from status as a British
Protectorate to a fully independent nation. Today the national govern-
ment of Tonga takes the form of a constitutional monarchy. Tonga has
646 177 parliamentary institutions which appear to be based on a Western govern-
178 ment model, but examination of content rather than form reveals Tongan
principles at work.

> The Legislative Assembly is unicameral and consists of Privy Councillors, Cabinet Ministers, Representatives of the Nobles and Representatives of the People. Eleven councillors or ministers-all but two of whom are nobles, together with a further seven Noble's representatives, represent the traditional foci of leadership. They are theoretically counterbalanced by seven representatives of the people, many of whom in fact have been elected because of qualities important in traditional Tonga. The system bears superficial resemblance to its English model: it is western in its legal form, Tongan in its benevolent but autocratic practice (Walsh 1967: 120-121).

632 Nuku'alofa, the major port, is the seat of government and the cen-
[504] ter of economic, social, and religious life of the Kingdom. Nuku'alofa
[368] is also the location of most secondary schools and has the largest and
[162] best hospital in the islands. With a population of 15,685, 21 percent
of the Tongan population resides in Nuku'alofa. Between 1956 and 1966
[161] the town showed an increase in population of 70 percent (Fiefia 1968: 11).
[179] Nuku'alofa is beginning to experience the problems of rapid population
growth and the attendant phenomena of unemployment, crime, and the in-
abilities to handle new demands on government services. Walsh (1969:

245 rhinocerous beetle has damaged a large percentage of trees. The banana
crop has recently been infected with a fungus, black leaf streak dis-
ease, to such a degree that many of the growers have stopped planting
commercial crops, and in the remaining plantations the yield is insuffi-
cient to allow profitable harvest. Damage done by careless packing and
[439] improper storage during shipment is resulting in the dissatisfaction of
importers.

241 The 1966 Census of Tonga shows that 66.6 percent of all adult males
[162] were engaged in agriculture (Fiefia 1968: 28). Table 3 gives a full
[463] breakdown of occupation of Tongan males.[A] Agricultural techniques are a
[177] mixture of the traditional techniques-swidden agriculture, bush fallow
[178] periods, and hand tools-and modern methods including the use of ferti-
lizers, light machinery and single crop planting. The older techniques
241 are still the more widely used. A friable, well-drained, and easily-
134 worked soil is the predominant type. Maude (1965: 12-18) gives a fairly
detailed discussion of Tongan soils, their fertility, and their geolo-
gic origins.

241 Tongan agriculture is subsistence oriented and cash-cropping re-
[656] mains a secondary consideration for most Tongans, with the exception
that law requires the planting and maintenance of a certain number of
464 coconut palms. Wage labor provides income for only a few (Table 3) and
465 wages are low, averaging somewhere between $T1.00 to $T1.75 a day; most
wage labor positions are in the area of services.[1] [B]

A. [See p. 19--Analyst] B. [Footnote appears on p. 122--Analyst]

565 The basic characteristic of Tongan society is the presence of ranked strata with each stratum havingan increasing amount of access to social prestige and economic resources as one moves from the lower to the higher strata. Membership in a stratum is ascribed by birth; one is born as a commoner (tu'a), chief's assistant (matāpule), a chief or noble ('eiki), or a king (tu'i). Individual movement between strata is nearly impossible except that occasionally a commoner may be advanced 565 582 to the position of chief's assistant. If one marries outside his or her social stratum, it does not alter his or her position. Such marriages are discouraged, particularly if one of noble birth should wish to marry someone of lower rank.

178 181 Tongan society is still very much a kinship-oriented society and attitudes and behavior evident at much life crisis events as births, first birthdays, circumcisions, marriages and deaths reflect the traditional orientation of Tongans. Traditional values and beliefs are also reflected by reliance upon native medical practices and the continuance of belief in ghosts, spirits, and spirit possessions.

75 177 178 181 The traditional exists side by side with the modern. For instance, modern medical care is usually readily available and readily accepted; traditional and modern medicine are conceived of as being complimentary rather than contradictory. The Tongan concept of social interaction seems to have been the most resilient aspect of their culture and two centuries of contact with the Western world have changed it little.

CHAPTER IV

ADOPTION AND KINSHIP

128 597 In this chapter I will present and discuss adoption of children as one kind of exchange event and in Chapter VI, I will compare the pattern of reciprocity existing in adoption transactions with the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Also in this chapter, I want to examine the motivations and beliefs pertaining to adoption as they further illustrate and clarify Tongan kin relationships and family organizations.

597 Nearly all adult Tongans have had some experience with adoption, either as adopters, adoptees, or by having more distant adopted kinsmen. The Tongan government sanctions only a few of these adoptions. Few appli-
597 692 [177] cations for adoption are made to the courts because the circumstances of Tongan adoption do not fit the European model of adoption applied in the courts. In 1970 eighteen applications for adoption were made in the courts, sixteen of these were granted, and two were refused (Roberts 1970: 3). Of the 125 cases of adoption recorded during research only one was a legally recognized adoption.

597 101 The village of Puke, being small, had only a few cases of adoption so a larger village, Vaini, was used for this part of the study. Vaini is a village of about one hundred households located on Tongatapu (See
597 124 [125] Map 2).^ All households in Vaini were sampled by using the household head or the household head's wife as an informant. Each informant was asked

^.[See p. 25--Analyst]

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spend money on entertainment, luxury items, or even investment. This concept of obligations provides some insight into how Tongans emphasize certain aspects of their life. The obligations themselves are ranked with education being first in importance, church support following closely, and household obligation being a definite least in importance. These spheres of obligation are expected to approximate an individual's income so that if he increases his wealth he increases his obligations accordingly. [197] [626] Relatively, wealthy persons who do not accept this paradigm and spend "too much" on Western luxury items, housing, cars and entertainment become the subject of social censure through gossip (lau).

511 From sample A, I obtained information on cash expenditure for twenty households; each household contributed information for five days. Table 14 presents items purchased for each household by amounts spent.[A] The most money in descending order was spent in the categories of fresh meat, bread and crackers, and tobacco products. The bulk of the fresh [439] meat purchase is mutton breast flaps which are actually shipped frozen from New Zealand. The price per pound is 16 cents for which one receives about 4 ounces of meat, 5 ounces of gristle, and 8 ounces of bone. Villagers use it primarily as an ingredient for a thick curry soup. The high expenditure on bread for the period is not indicative of normal expenditure for this product but the total was inflated by a single $5.00 expenditure occasioned by a funeral. The bread was required to feed those in attendance.

It can be noted from the table that few expenditures are made for durable or semi-durable goods. The category of "other" contains a few

[A] [See p. 79--Analyst]

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80

437 438 628 Group exchanges between villages are fairly common late in the year and women are always the major participants. A group of women (*kautaha fefine*) will form several months before the exchange and begin preparations; usually this involves the production of handicrafts or raising money to purchase the desired items. The details of the exchange are most likely arranged by a person or persons with kinsmen in the other [574] village. The exchange takes place in the context of a visitation with feasting and singing being important ingredients.

These group exchanges also seem to take on the function of providing rural isolated villages with items available through the market economy and providing groups from urban areas with more traditional forms of wealth to which they no longer have unlimited access. Couper (1968) [171] found this pattern to be strongly developed in Fiji where urban dwellers were providing their country-kin with Western items and receiving traditional, indigenously produced goods.

437 438 177 628 In Tonga I was only able to record detailed information on one such exchange. The exchange involved a village near Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu, having high access to Western goods and a village in the Ha'apai group, which is one of the more isolated areas in the Kingdom. The Tongatapu [574] group made the one-day trip by boat to Ha'apai and stayed for four days. At the conclusion one of the women from Tongatapu married a Ha'apai man, but that is not a typical feature of group exchanges.

The Tongan term for 'trade' is *fefakatau'aki*, or 'to trade' is *fai fakatau*. The items being traded are termed *kātoanga*, *kātoa* meaning 'all' or 'the entirety'. The exchange usually takes place outdoors and the

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438 two groups of goods are stacked on the ground. Speeches are appropriate
177 before the exchange with each group praising the offerings of the other.
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[537] Below I have listed the items exchanged on the occasion mentioned earlier.

Tongatapu Village Gave	Ha'apai Village Gave
300 sheets of 9-foot corrugated iron	11 40-foot fibu 'fine mats'
21 full length tapas	24 15-foot " "
24 bars of laundry soap	38 12-foot " "
1 box of cabin biscuits	29 10-foot " "
1 sewing machine	67 single thickness mats
12 dinner plates	40 papa 'floor mats'
2 bed covers	8 ta'ovala 'woven waistbands'
piece goods	200 salt fish
$T26.00 in cash	2 goats

With the exception of the tapa given by the Tongatapu group, all of their goods were non-traditional items available through the market economy. All of the Ha'apai goods were indigenously produced, and the bulk of the goods were fine mats, a traditional item of wealth and prestige.

Redistribution

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554 First fruits (polopolo) are given to nobles and high ranking female
431 relatives, both sisters and fathers' sisters. This is particularly appropriated at the time of the first harvest of a yam garden (pa'ala),
651 but also for other garden products, fish, and meat. In pre-contact
178 Tonga a society-wide system of redistribution was based on the giving of
431 first fruits, collected and dispensed at an annual religious ceremony
431 (Sahlins 1950: 24-25). In modern Tonga redistribution exists in the
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431 In Table 16A I have presented a breakdown on the types of items in-
volved in the exchanges recorded. About 63 percent of the exchanges
involved some type of food, and garden products had the highest fre-
quency of involvement. This category includes vegetables and tree
[426] fruits including the coconut. Money was involved as either a gift or
[177] a loan in about 9 percent of the cases. The category "other" includes
a wide range of otherwise unclassifiable items such as fuels, soap and
bleach, and European foodstuffs other than meat and fish.

Some other sample characteristics are that 71 percent of the items
exchanged were domestically-produced goods, 20 percent were imported
goods, and 9 percent consist of cash. About 79 percent of the items
exchanged were consumable goods as opposed to 21 percent durable items.
[426] Durables are frequently loaned rather than given, but there is no termi-
nological distinction made between loaning and giving in the reciproc-
ity system.

In about 87 percent of the transactions the informants said there
was no explicit expectation of a return gift. This does not mean the
receiver is under no obligation. First, all adults are expected to par-
ticipate in the reciprocity system as both givers and receivers. Sec-
ond, individuals maintain a loose reckoning of the balance of exchange
between themselves and other persons. Between non-kinsmen there is an
[609] expectation of balance in flow of goods between two persons. For indi-
[626] viduals this means that if he does not give as much as he receives, he
will probably become the subject of gossip, and lose some of his rights
[554] to solicit gifts. A person who gives more than he receives obligates

A, [See p. 100--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

74: Urbanowicz OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For information on early missionary activities in Tonga, see Category 797.]

131 and 175°40'W, and 'Ata Island to the South at 22°20'S and 176°12'W.
'Ata Island is approximately 100 miles southeast of the main island of
Tongatapu and Niua Fo'ou Island is approximately 232 miles northwest of
the Vava'u group of islands.

133 The Kingdom of Tonga consists of some 150 to 200 islands and
islets, with perhaps only 25% of these being inhabited. The islands
are a form of raised limestone, or volcanic in origin, or a combination
of marine volcanic formations and limestone formations (Anonymous 1944:
131 16). The most recent work indicates that the total land area of the
Kingdom is 256.42 square miles, with the Tongatapu Group (the main
island of Tongatapu with surrounding small islands but excluding the
island of 'Eua) having 100.37 square miles of that total or some 39.1%
(Vide Maude 1965: 218). Tongatapu Island is approximately 99 square
161 miles in area. The estimated population for the entire Kingdom for
December 31, 1970 was 86,055 (Tapa 1971: 4).

European Contact

175 Part of the Tongan archipelago was first contacted by the Dutch
177 navigators Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, and various contacts with
Europeans followed: 1643 (Tasman), 1767 (Wallis), 1773, 1774 and 1777
(Cook), 1781 (Maurelle), 1787 (La Perouse), 1789 (Bligh), 1792 (Edwards),
1792 (Bligh), 1793 (D'Entrecasteaux and Labillardiere), and 1793
(Malaspina) (Vide Colson 1885: 257ff.; Tudor 1968: 125-127). These
contacts between Europeans and Tongans were sporadic and lasted for
periods of a few days to a few weeks. The accounts written by these

175 ● 177 voyagers, and individuals connected with the voyages, made Europeans aware of Tonga and placed it on Europe's map of the world.

175 797 [177] The various published accounts of the European voyagers, especially the descriptions made by Cook, spurred Europeans to send men to proselytize the peoples of the Pacific. Tonga, along with Tahiti, was one of the first island groups to be sent European missionaries in the late 18th Century. They were sent specifically to convert the indigenous Tongan population to Christianity. The first missionaries of the Missionary Society of London (formed in 1795), later termed the London Missionary Society, arrived on Tongatapu, April 10, 1797 (Benson 1960: 113; Wilson 1799: 96). Originally, ten male missionaries landed. Some remained until 1800, but the attempt at religious conversion ended in a debacle. [563] One missionary, George Vason, married a Tongan woman and was converted to the anga-faka-Tonga or "Tongan way of life" (Vason 1810).[1]

797 The Wesleyan Missionary Society established a mission station on Tongatapu in August of 1822 manned by one missionary, Walter Lawry, who was accompanied by his wife and several European servants (Vide Lawry's Diary for August 1822). This attempt at Christian conversion ended in failure with Lawry and his wife departing the island in October of 1823 (Ibid., October 1823). In 1826 a second Wesleyan attempt at establishing a mission station on Tongatapu was made by the missionaries John [177] Thomas and John Hutchinson and this mission proved successful. From 1826 onwards Tongans entered into sustained European contact.

127 797 This research is based, primarily, on accounts, in English,

159 with another woman. The first dream is patently a wish-fulfilment dream with an undercurrent of anxiety that becomes obvious in Kafa's second dream. [599 842] The longer she remains without a child, the less secure she can feel in her husband's affections.

Case 4.—Heu, a woman of 30, long married but still without children, dreams that we are leaving Pangai and give her a baby girl as a farewell gift. She weeps over our departure but is glad she at last has a baby. She goes to get food for the baby, but, when she returns a moment later, the baby is gone. In her annoyance she beats her father's father, who lives in her house, accusing him of losing the baby. Then she awakes crying. This dream again is obviously motivated by the desire of a childless woman for children. Her paternal grandfather is very old and needs much attention and nursing. Making him responsible for the loss of a cherished gift enables the dreamer to vent on the old man some of the resentment she occasionally feels for him, [154] but as quickly suppresses, during waking hours. A feeling of guilt over this causes her to awake in tears and feeling, as she added, that she "had done something very bad."

154 Anxiety dreams also seem to be common among these villagers. Many of these dreams seem to relate to anxieties over religious matters. These I shall consider later. Others appear to have a number of different motivations of which the following are examples.

159 *Case 5.*—Dream of Tui, married man of about 27. In his dream Tui saw a family picnic where he and his wife and baby, together with his mother-in-law and Sigaleti (his *fa'e tangata*, mother's brother), were present. After the picnic was finished, he sent his wife and mother-in-law inland to collect coconuts. He then mounted his horse and Sigaleti with his baby mounted another. They went along the beach and made the horses swim out to sea. It became dark and he lost sight of Sigaleti, but he continued to swim his horse until he arrived at Ha'apai (the middle islands of the Tongan group, some seventy miles distant from Pangai). There he saw Sigaleti and the baby on the beach. They rode down a village road until they came to the house where a white man lived with his wife. The baby began to cry with hunger. Tui lifted the baby from the horse and asked the white people for water. They had none, but they offered European food, which Tui fed to his baby with a spoon. At first the baby refused this new food, but later it ate eagerly. Then some relatives came by. One of them, another brother of his mother, walked toward him carrying a little girl. As he watched, his relative and the little girl fell into a deep pit. He rushed toward them because suddenly the little girl looked just like his own baby. He could not see them. He woke feeling depressed and sad.

159 177 It is possible to interpret this dream, I think, if I mention the fact that it was dreamed two days after Tui, a very intelligent man, had been discussing [165 853] with us European methods of feeding and bringing up children. There is a heavy infantile mortality in Tonga and we had been propagandizing among the brighter Tongans for the exercise of more care in infant feeding (orange juice and cow's milk, for example, instead of half-cooked pork and taro and deadly teething powders). Many of our friends were quite receptive to this idea though they felt it would require much education and effort to put into practice. Tui was also extremely attached to his infant daughter. Doubtless a feeling of anxiety over his inability to do what Europeans with their great prestige thought best for his child gained expression in this dream. He symbolically dismisses his wife and mother-in-law, representative of current Tongan methods of infant care, and finds the desired foods for his child, only

to find in the end that a representative of this method, a mother's brother, 159
claims the child and perhaps kills it by accident. The whole of this dream pro- 177
vides a good example of the way in which specific anxieties arising from
specific aspects of a more generalized clash of cultural standards obtain a
certain justification, sometimes a resolution, in dream symbolism.

Two further dreams suggest interesting anxiety symbols, though I was un- 159
able to get the dreamer to recall data of his childhood years in sufficient num- [154]
ber to advance a definite interpretation.

Case 6.—Dream of Potemani, married man of about 36 years. He dreamed he was in Nukualofa with his mother, whom he was shortly to leave on his return to Pangai. He and his mother were walking down a bush path when he suddenly saw a huge tree about to fall on top of them. He was terror-stricken, but his mother told him not to fear. With a small stick she propped up the large tree and they walked safely past. Three times this happened. The dreamer awoke in fear, and the dream has returned since with all the terror of a nightmare.

Later Potemani had another type of terror dream. He saw indistinctly in his dream an elderly man who was threatening to strike a group of small children with a large bush knife. Presently the dreamer heard the old man strike one of the boys. He distinctly heard the crack of a leg bone as the knife sheared through the leg; he struggled to see what was happening, but he could not. He awoke frightened by the dream.

A not too fanciful analysis of these two dreams might, I think, discern in 159
them certain symbols for a father imago. The first dream particularly seems 159
transparent if we interpret it in Freudian symbols. In this connection, too,
it may be noted that dreams in which a father appears do not seem uncommon
among our informants. Thus Avai (see Case 1 above) said that while he was
in college in Nukualofa he had occasional dreams in which he saw his father
as a corpse lying dead. He awoke from these dreams crying and frightened.
Another informant, Sione, also reported a long and involved dream in which
he found himself at his grandfather's funeral feast eating the flesh of a large,
fat, delicious horse. Potemani's second dream is also not one that stands alone.
Children's nightmare dreams seem largely to include either being chased by
large animals (a horse or a bull) or else by a man often armed with a large
bush knife. Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical Officer for Vava'u, also
informed me of the case of a boy of 8 years brought to him for the treatment
of a persistent night terror which consisted in terror dreams of being chased
by a man with a bush knife. This boy, incidentally, was being severely dis-
ciplined by an irascible father. Marked improvement occurred only when Dr.
Lopdell succeeded in modifying this discipline by persuading the father to
treat the boy in a more gentle and kindly fashion. I suspect, therefore, that [861]
psychic stress conditioned by the necessities of adjusting to the rather strict
morality of the average Tongan home may well result in the type of dream
reported by Potemani.

Another type of dream in which symbolism of a different emotional value 159
suggests a Freudian interpretation is the following:

Case 7.—A dream of Sione, an unmarried man of about 20. The dreamer found himself in a working party with his eight brothers, hoeing rows of yams. The missionary (Free Church of Tonga), Pili, comes up to the workers, praising some, criticizing others. He tells all the workers to go to the village. Suddenly Sione finds himself inside a house where a feast of food is laid on the floor. He goes outside and sees the missionary's wife coming toward him with a large saucepan full to the brim with money. Pili tells the dreamer to

101 square miles. Nuku'alofa, with an approximate
population of 15,000, is the largest city
162 in Tonga and the capital (14).

II. A Review of Medical Practices in Tonga

175 A fairly detailed description of medical
practices in Tonga is found in *William
114 Mariner's Account of the Natives of the
Tonga Islands* (17, pp. 240–273). This
177 account was related to J. Martin by William
Mariner, who was shipwrecked somewhere
in the archipelago in the early 1800's. The
first Europeans to arrive in Tonga were
missionaries sent out by the London Missionary
Society in 1797.

757 Martin reports that around the year 1800
few plants were used in treating illness.
[753] Sickness was thought to originate from an
outside force, and all remedies used by the
Tongan were reasonably categorized by
Martin into three groups: invocation, sacrifice,
and external operations. When plant
remedies were employed, they had no effect
either upon the disease or the patient.
Martin states that such remedies were held
in "little esteem," for when the reigning
king's daughter became seriously ill plant
medicines were not considered (17).

752 Martin does refer, however, to the uses
of three plants. To reduce opthalmic inflammations,
278 the juice of the *vi* (*Spondias dulcis*)
was used. Following circumcision, the end
of the penis was wrapped in the leaf of
gnata'i (*Erythrina* spp.?). And the ulcerated
sores of venereal diseases were treated with
powder of turmeric from the fleshy rootstock
of *Curcuma longa*.

757 Martin states that "the idea of giving
(plant) infusions was first taken from the
177 natives of the Fiji Islands." The Tongan
also learned the practice of surgery in Fiji,
177 where constant wars afforded great opportunities
752 for practicing this art. The three
most important operations then practiced in
Tonga were *cawso*, or paracentesis thoracis
(drainage of fluid from the chest cavity);
tocolosi, or an operation to cure tetanus; and
broca, or castration.

755 Charms and amulets were not employed
in ceremonies for the patient. Sacrifices
[782] were common, and horrors such as *tootoo-*

[p.424-B]

757 Martin's report on life in Tonga indicates
that around the year 1800 few plants were
278 used in treating illnesses (17). There is no
reason to doubt his observations. However,
the possibility that plants were generally
used in medicines before 1800 must not be
eliminated on the basis of this single report.
171 Evidence from other regions of the Pacific
and from ethnographic studies of primitive
278 cultures in general suggests that plants
757 were used in medicines to some extent by
most peoples. By attempting to evaluate the
121 relative date of introduction to Tonga of the
species enumerated in Section V, perhaps
some conclusion as to the origin of plant
remedies in Tonga can be determined. For
128 this purpose, I have divided the 71 enumerated medicinal plants into three categories:
endemic, indigenous, and of recent introduction. For the purposes of this discussion,
"endemic plants" refers to species found only
in the archipelago; "indigenous plants" are
those found generally throughout Polynesia
and of pre-European introduction; and "recently introduced species" are those from
tropical America, Africa, Asia, or India that
were introduced after Europeans first arrived in Tonga. Table V lists those species
which are indigenous to Tonga and which
[278 are used in medicines. Table VI lists those
which are used in medicines and which are
[137 considered of recent, or post-European, introduction.

137 Of the species listed above, one is endemic, 49 are considered indigenous or of
278 pre-European introduction to Tonga, and
only 21 are of post-European introduction.
Therefore of the total of 71 species enumerated, 68% are indigenous to Tonga and 30%
174 are recently introduced. As the majority of
enumerated medicinal plants are native or
757 of pre-European introduction to Tonga and
the use of plants in Tonga is assumed to
[177 have flourished after 1800, it is possible to
conclude that the Tongan may have learned
the many plant remedies enumerated herein
from other Pacific islanders and/or from
Europeans who learned of certain plant
remedies in their travels and entered the
archipelago after visiting these other island
[114] groups. It is also possible to conclude that
Martin's (17) observations were, in fact, incorrect and that medicinal plants were used
000 by Tongans before 1800. Perhaps the Ton-

[p.448-B]

The growing contact with Fiji had quite a significant impact on 175 the new developments in Tonga. The Tongans highly prized a variety of products which were either not available in their home 177 islands or which were superior to anything of a similar kind which 175 they had at home, such as spears, bowls, huge double canoes, pottery, sandalwood and the scarlet feathers of the Fijian parrots. 177 So coveted were these articles that, in spite of the difficulties of 439 sailing to Fiji, the voyages gradually became regular (Thomson 1894:320). Seemann (1862:240-1) wrote: 175

> Up to this period the Tonganese had been peaceful traders . . . 177 Gradually they adopted a different line of policy. 484 Being men of athletic frames, of courage and daring, they were often asked to [439] assist in the feuds in which chiefs friendly to them engaged, receiving canoes and other property in return for their services. From being mere mercenaries, they gradually began to act on their own responsibility, readily avenging every outrage from time to time committed against any of their countrymen on the smaller islands of the eastern group. . . .

Such exploits became extremely popular among young chiefs in Tonga who were thirsty for excitement and renown. They only had [554] to join a party going to Fiji for canoes to place themselves in the way of gaining honour and fame enough to satisfy the most ambitious, for in Fiji 'there were alarums and excursions in plenty, war and rapine, easy living at the expense of their Fijian hosts, and freedom from the restraint of their elders' (Derrick 1963:122).

From these experiences, the young chiefs brought back to Tonga 175 not only goods but also some cruel and revolting habits which were 177 regarded by some of their fellow chiefs at home with great admiration. A list of these barbarities preserved in the old traditions were recorded by Thomson (1894:320):

> The cold-blooded treachery that will betray a brother to gratify the thirst for blood; the brutal ferocity that spares neither sex nor age; the depraved lust that is gratified in outrage on the dead; the foul appetite of revenge that will eat the body of a slain enemy,—all these seemed to the young Tongan the badges of a manliness worthy of imitation. He regarded the comparative refinement of his own people as effeminacy, and vied with his fellows in imitating the accomplishments of his more travelled countrymen.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 484 [868] [565] Gradually the excitement and the material gain of these expeditions, as well as the prestige and honour given to them, particularly by the younger generations of Tonga, made these exploits an integral part of the upbringing of young chiefs. Hence the rapid increase in the volume of traffic between Tonga and Fiji during the eighteenth century.

175 This intercourse had far-reaching effects on political affairs in
Tonga. On their return home the young warriors did not hesitate
177 to show off the new habits they had acquired in Fiji. Cannibalism
[266] and strangling of widows were introduced and became more and
[768] more common; 'Warriors who had blooded their clubs in Fiji
fretted at the inglorious routine of peace. Intrigue, treachery,
[721] murder, and rebellion resulted' (Derrick 1963:122-3). When
175 Captain Cook first visited Tonga in 1773 he reported that, although
he saw arms, the people went about unarmed and appeared peace-
721 ful. On his third voyage, in 1777, he named Lifuka, the main
114 island of the Ha'apai group, Friendly Island. He was entirely
unaware that on the very same occasion there was a plot to
assassinate him and his crew, and that they were only saved by
a disagreement among their chiefly hosts as to whether to carry
out the plot by day or by night (Martin 1827, II:71-2).

175 669 634 At the turn of the seventeenth century unrest began to appear, particularly in Vava'u. Vuna, a brother of the then Tu'i Kanokupolu, Mataele Ha'amea, went to Vava'u in order to quell the unrest and to restore allegiance to his brother. He was accompanied by one of his nephews, Tuituiohu, son of Mataele Ha'amea, who went as Vuna's *le'o kava* (guardian of *kava* protocol), and by some of the lesser chiefs of the *ha'a* Havea. However, after staying in Vava'u for a while, Vuna abandoned his original intentions and decided to extend his own powers, pronouncing himself Tu'i Vava'u (ruler of Vava'u) and establishing his own court at Pangaimotu, an island off Vava'u (informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote).

175 643 Meanwhile, the struggle for power continued on Tongatapu. One of Mataele Ha'amea's sons, Ma'afu'otuitonga, succeeded to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu. He had three sons, Tupoulahi, Maealiuaki and Mumui, all of whom succeeded to the position. However, when Maealiuaki's son, Mulikiha'amea, decided to

vacate the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tupoumoheofo, a daughter of Tupoulahi, a very ambitious and strongwilled woman, decided to make herself Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1793.[9] 175 643

This action was unprecedented, for although women were superior to men in rank, no woman had ever before become head [562] of any of the major socio-political units in the country, let alone succeeded to any of the three principal positions. Her extraordinary action could be explained by her unwillingness to see the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu go to her uncle, Mumui, and his descendants, for Mumui had a different mother from that of Tupoulahi and Maealiuaki, a woman of lower rank. For this reason Tupoumoheofo resented Mumui or his sons taking precedence, and while she had not objected to the succession of Maealiuaki or his son, Mulikiha'amea, to the Tu'i Kanokupolu position, she was prepared to take this drastic step.

One of Mumui's sons, Tuku'aho, was infuriated by her action. He came from 'Eua where he was living, drove Tupoumoheofo to Vava'u and deposed her. He made Mumui, his aged father, Tu'i Kanokupolu, while he himself retained the real power. Describing Tuku'aho, Captain Wilson of the *Duff* wrote (1799: 103):

> He is a stout man, and may be about forty years of age; is of a sullen, morose countenance; speaks very little, but when angry, bellows forth with a voice like the roaring of a lion.

In his youth he had led other young Tongan chiefs and they had [484] indulged themselves in a warring expedition to Fiji, returning with [177] exciting tales of their victories.

Gradually Tuku'aho tried to exert his power throughout the whole of Tonga, and when he eventually succeeded his father as Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1797, he ruled with harshness, cruelty and terror. William Mariner, a young ship's clerk adopted by Fīnau 'Ulukālala, said:

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[9] Tupoumoheofo was the principal wife of Pau, the Tu'i Tonga who met Cook in 1777. Pau left Tongatapu to reside in Vava'u because, according to tradition, he was upset by Tupoumoheofo's insistence on conferring all the regalia of the office of Tu'i Tonga on her son and heir, Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, while he was still alive (informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote). Pau died in Vava'u in 1784.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 15]

Tuku'aho, and half-brother of 'Ulukālala. He remained there until 669
his death, but before he died he voluntarily gave up the position 643
of *hau* in favour of his nephew, Tupouto'a.

This period of political turbulence was aggravated by the
contact with Europeans, which had an immense influence on the 177
affairs of Tonga. European goods, especially those made of iron, were highly prized by the Tongans, particularly the chiefs, who would ultimately obtain anything bought or stolen by the commoners. The appearance of the huge European vessels with their powerful guns, the display of their deadly pistols and other weapons, arrested the imagination of the Tongans, making their traditional fighting weapons appear clumsy and inefficient. The chiefs were quick to realise the advantages which these superior weapons could give them in their struggle for power, while the possession of European goods such as beads for ornaments, clothing and steel tools, brought much social prestige. Consequently, the chiefs were prepared to use every available means to obtain them.

The more the Tongans obtained European goods the more they desired them and determined to use drastic measures to
get them. In 1802, the Hihifo people of Tongatapu, with the help 721
of some sailors living among them, captured the American vessel,
Duke of Portland. Most of the crew were killed and a European
woman named Eliza Mosey was taken by the chief Teukava of [727]
Kolovai as one of his wives. Later, in 1804, Eliza managed to escape by swimming to the *Union*, which had called at Tonga and whose captain and some of the crew had been killed when they went ashore. Eliza Mosey informed the mate of these happenings and the rest of the crew escaped (Martin 1827, I:282; Blanc 1934:30).

Two years later, the *Port-au-Prince* arrived at Lifuka and was
captured by Fīnau 'Ulukālala II and his people. They murdered 727
the captain and most of the crew, but some were spared to show
Fīnau and his men how to use the guns, and the young ship's clerk,
William Mariner, was adopted by Fīnau as his son. Even before 563
this time there was a growing interest among the chiefs in having Europeans living with them, not only to assist in warfare but

568 because of their skills in making and repairing iron tools and,
more importantly, as interpreters between the two cultures.

With the guns of the *Port-au-Prince* and the services of the
634 Englishmen, Fīnau 'Ulukālala decided to launch another major
669 attack on Tongatapu. This new onslaught, in 1807, heralded a new
phase in the history of warfare in Tonga, more dangerous and
726 devastating than ever before. The fortress at Nuku'alofa was de-
● 177 stroyed in record time. With the support of artillery and muskets,
manned by Fīnau's white captives, the Tongans with their spears,
[713] clubs and fire-brands in hand, burnt down the fortress, slaying its
men, women and children. Mariner recorded this destruction:

> When Finow arrived upon the place, and saw several canoes, which had been hauled up on the garrison, shattered to pieces by the shot, and discovered a number of legs and arms lying around, and about three hundred and fifty dead bodies, he expressed his wonder and astonishment at the dreadful effect of the guns. He then thanked his men for their bravery, and Mr Mariner and his companions in particular, for the great assistance rendered by them. (Martin 1827, I:98)

669 On the advice of the priests, the victors rebuilt the fortress and,
ignoring Mariner's advice to launch a full-scale invasion of Tonga-
727 tapu, they engaged only in light skirmishes. As there was an acute
shortage of food due to civil war, some proposed killing the
669 prisoners and roasting them for food. 'The proposal was readily
727 agreed to, by some, because they liked this sort of diet, and by
others because they wanted to try it thinking it a manly and
266 warlike habit' (Martin 1827, I: 108).

Meanwhile, Tākai of Pea, a member of the Ha'a Havea, was
669 the most powerful chief in Tongatapu at the time. He entered into
an alliance with 'Ulukālala, pretending to acknowledge his rule,
726 but immediately after the latter left for Ha'apai, Tākai and his
634 men destroyed the fortress which 'Ulukālala had rebuilt at Nuku-
'alofa. This greatly angered 'Ulukālala, but further troubles in
Ha'apai and Vava'u kept him occupied until his death in 1809.

The trouble in Vava'u and Ha'apai stemmed from a plot by
634 Tupouto'a, 'Ulukālala's other half-brother, to avenge himself upon
Tupouniua who had murdered his father, Tuku'aho. Tupouniua
661 governed Vava'u on 'Ulukālala's behalf and was a popular and

Using their personal power the chiefs would seize anything that 565
might arrest their fancy. Referring to this situation Vason recalled: 421

> They [the chiefs] exercise an arbitrary power over the lower orders, and have everything belonging to them in their power, which their sub-officers take from them, without ceremony, as the chief may need. Though the provision they have by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequently obliged to eat the root of the plantain-tree, for a wretched subsistence . . . . (Orange 1840:124)

More seriously, traditions were questioned, and the validity and 771
effectiveness of the traditional religion were doubted by some.
This was inevitable for usually a religion is required by people
to explain how the universe works. The impact of the growing 771
contact with Fiji, and with the Europeans—explorers, traders,
whalers, beachcombers and L.M.S. missionaries—in particular, 177
shook the foundations of the traditional cosmology. Many of the
leading Tongans, therefore, were anxious to acquire a new cosmology to explain the new circumstances with which they were now
confronted.

When the Tu'i Tonga ventured to advise Fīnau 'Ulukālala II 634
on some matters of warfare, the latter replied, 'My Lord Tooitonga
may return to his own part of the island, and content himself in [643]
peace and security; matters of war are my concern, and in which
he has no right to interfere' (Martin 1827, II:126). He also
terminated the traditional ceremony of *'inasi* at Ha'apai and [651]
Vava'u because he regarded it as useless and wasteful, and he
thus deprived the Tu'i Tonga of the most important religious
ceremony offered to him, as being representative of the deity
Hikule'o. After Fīnau's death in 1809, it was revealed that he [793]
had planned to have the priest of the god Tupou Toutai strangled,
because he had failed to secure the help of the gods in saving the
life of his daughter who died from illness shortly before his own
death (Martin 1827, I:307).

This was the situation into which the Wesleyan missionaries 797
came. It was a period of political instability with several un-
successful attempts to gain absolute power over the whole of 669
Tonga, which were vigorously resisted, particularly on Tongatapu

797 learn the language, and worrying about the safety of their diminishing trade goods.

175 It was soon apparent that the Tongan chiefs were only interested in the missionaries' trade goods and not their teachings. The early
797 good relationship was due mainly to the missionaries' ability to
175 satisfy the chiefs' demands for European goods. When the chiefs, at the instigation of three beachcombers, Ambler, Morgan and
177 Connelly, demanded the expulsion of the missionaries from Tonga, Mulikiha'amea, the then Tu'i Ha'atakalaua replied:

> If the men of the sky, discovered by any attempts of violence, or secret whisperings, that they meant to take our land, and kill us, we ought all to strike hands, and root them out from among us; but they have brought great riches, they have given them to us freely, we reap the good fruits of their living among us, their articles are of great use to us, they behave themselves well; and what could we wish for more? (Orange 1840:117)

797 However, as their supplies began to decrease, and the missionaries
175 became less generous with their gifts, thefts occurred. One of the missionaries, Vason, was attacked one night and had his pistol
685 stolen.

Added to the missionaries' problem were the hostile reactions
797 of the beachcombers to their presence in Tonga. After the mission-
175 aries refused their unreasonable demands for trade goods, the three beachcombers told the Tongans that they themselves were
563 men of high rank in England, but the missionaries were only commoners, and that in their prayer meetings they were praying
[165] to their gods to kill off the Tongan chiefs. Unfortunately for the missionaries, four leading chiefs died within three months of their arrival (Wilson 1799:257), and the Tongans took this as proof
175 of the truth of the beachcombers' allegations. During the civil war
797 in 1799, three of the missionaries were killed,[2] and the rest had to

669 [2] Vason explained these murders as the result of one of the Hihifo men's vengeance upon the missionaries from whom he had earlier requested some presents, but had been refused. Seeing the missionaries, he decided to revenge himself and was supported by his friends. Another possible explanation for the attack is that the missionaries were murdered because they were staying with the chief of Ha'ateiho, who with his people had joined Mulikiha'amea and 'Ulukālala, and was regarded as an enemy.

leave Tonga for New South Wales in 1800 after being stripped of 175
their possessions, except Vason who 'went native'.[3]

Interest in missionary work in Tonga, however, did not disappear completely with its abandonment by the L.M.S. missionaries. 797 [669] One of those who escaped to New South Wales, Shelley, retained a lively interest in the people of the group. Several times 797 he pleaded unsuccessfully with various mission bodies to reopen the mission work in Tonga. However, after his death his widow excited the interest of a young Methodist minister in Sydney, the Reverend Walter Lawry, with the tragic stories her late husband had told her about their few years in Tonga (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921:267). Eventually Lawry managed to persuade the British Wesleyan Methodist Conference (at this time the Methodist people in New South Wales were still under the British Methodist Conference) to appoint him with another minister to the mission field in Tonga.

Among the circumstances favouring his proposal was the news of the success of the L.M.S. in Tahiti, which had reached England and caused tremendous excitement among the evangelicals there, at the same time creating sympathy and sorrow for the forsaken people of the Friendly Islands. It was not difficult therefore to persuade the British Wesleyan Conference to send missionaries to Tonga, and Lawry was the first appointed.

Lawry decided to leave for Tonga without delay. Accompanied by his wife, their child, a carpenter, George Lilley, a blacksmith, Charles Tindall, and a young man from the Marquesas, Macanoe, to act as interpreter. Lawry arrived in Tonga on 16 August 1822 (Lawry, Diary, 16 Aug. 1822). He decided to reside at Mu'a, the then capital of Tonga, under the chief Fatu, son of the last Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mulikiha'amea. It was soon obvious, however, that [177] their favourable reception was due more to his supply of goods than his teachings. Eventually, the opposition of the traditional priests and the people was so strong, and the constant threats to kill the missionary so affected Mrs Lawry's health, that Lawry tion they had to face, not only from the Tongans themselves but also from other Europeans who had found their way to these islands. In addition, the lack of proper preparation for their task, the absence of constructive imagination among some of the missionaries, and the rather unfortunate relationship between John Thomas and John Hutchinson further aggravated the situation. 797

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[3] Vason deserted missionary work and lived among the Tongans for four years. The fascinating story of his experiences in Tonga is told in Orange 1840.

Led by the traditional priests and many of the chiefs, the Tongans put up strong opposition to the work of the missionaries (see Lātūkefu 1966). Much of this opposition appeared to have been basically a conservative reaction against anything new. It sprang from a desire to preserve the *status quo.* They felt that the old standards and values ought to be safeguarded, not only because they were still more meaningful and were believed to be more relevant to their present needs, but also because of the chiefs' own deep loyalty and respect for their ancestors and their beliefs. This sentiment was at the heart of Ata's rejection of Christianity. He told Thomas bluntly 'that he would not pray but that he wished to end in the way he was in, it being the way his friends were in before him' (Thomas, Journal, 19 Jan. 1929). Asked later by Nathaniel Turner if he would change his mind about accepting Christianity, Ata replied, 'I will not attend to your religion. My mind is fixed . . . It is very good for you to attend to your God, and I will attend to mine . . .' (N. Turner, Journal, 16 July 1829). Obviously, the traditional leaders feared that Christianity as presented by the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries with its 'strange' scale of values and moral standards threatened to annihilate most of their treasured customs and traditions. Most of them coveted European goods, technical knowledge and firearms, but were not prepared to replace their traditional values and customs with those of the missionaries. John Thomas wrote: [177]

> Most of the chiefs upon this island [Tongatapu] will say, how glad they would be to have Missionaries; but the truth is they only want our property, and many of them cannot protect us from other chiefs; neither do they wish to change their religion; but whatever chief first receives a Missionary or an Englishman, all the property he has is considered as belonging to that chief . . . . (Farmer 1855:165-6)

563 in the islands of Tonga. Ships' deserters as well as sailors abandoned on account of illness or misadventure also made their homes among the Tongans.

These men had in common the fact that none of them sought to interfere with the way of life of the inhabitants of Tonga (see H. E. Maude 1964:293). They were quite content to live among the Tongans and to accept their way of life. They had good reason to feel contented, for many of them were devoid of any social standing in their homeland. In Tonga, on the other hand, they lived among the chiefs, some of them being accepted as close friends and advisers, particularly in time of war, and they were accorded all the honours and respect normally shown to the nobility.

563 Most of these men possessed special skills, such as the working
177 of metals, which were of great value to the chiefs, since iron tools were highly prized by the Tongans. Captain Peter Dillon, in 1827, found an American living with a chief in 'Eua. Dillon was told by him that he had been employed in repairing firearms, fish hooks and the like, and that he was kept amply supplied with produce of the country and was highly esteemed by the natives. The chief had shown him great kindness and had honoured him with his daughter for a wife (Dillon 1829, I:262-3).

563 Europeans were regarded as extremely valuable additions to a
[554] chief's household, and their mere presence became a source of social prestige. Consequently, they were keenly sought after and,
563 at times, there were disastrous consequences, as can be seen in the following incident as told to Peter Dillon by John Singleton,
721 one of the survivors of the *Port-au-Prince*:

> the chiefs of these islands [he said] pride themselves much on having Europeans resident among them; a feeling that gave rise to the following unfortunate affray:— The morning on which the ship [*Astrolabe*] was about to sail, two of the crew, unperceived by the sentinels, had leaped from the side into a large canoe, where they were concealed by the natives. The canoe immediately pulled for the shore, and shortly after a boat, with eight or ten men and an officer, put off for Pangimodoo to procure sand; but the canoe reached the shore first. The chief of this canoe having acquainted those on shore that he had two Europeans with him, the other chiefs became jealous, and said, 'we must have some white men to live with us as well as you.'

> The ship's boat had by this time reached the land, and the men on 563
> board being unarmed, were seized by the natives and taken on shore. 721
> (Dillon 1829, 1:267)

Had Captain Dumont d'Urville been aware of the real reason for this seizure of his men, he might have been more lenient in his handling of this unfortunate affair. As it happened, two armed boats were sent from the ship to search for the men. The search party burnt down several houses and wounded two Tongans, who later died, and one of their men was killed, without finding any trace of the two men. Finally, the captain decided to keep the village of Ma'ofanga under fire for two days, with the result that, on the third day, the men re-embarked without having received any injury.

On the whole, relations between the beachcombers and the 563
Tongans were harmonious and they lived quite amicably together
before the arrival of the missionaries. The beachcombers helped [177]
to explain to the Tongans the various aspects of the white man's
culture—his customs, economic system, technology, literacy and
even religion (H. E. Maude 1968:163). Some were instrumental 563
in paving the way for the work of the missionaries, and others 797
helped the missionaries in their work. Lawry used Singleton of the *Port-au-Prince* as an interpreter. Before Thomas and Hutchinson arrived in 1826, Lolohea, one of the first converts in Tonga, and his brother who lived in Vava'u at the time 'were impressed by a few words about Jehovah, spoken to them by a sailor who lived
in that island' (Farmer 1855:179). King George persuaded a [643]
sailor who lived under his protection in Ha'apai to show him and [634]
his people how to write and conduct prayers to the Christian God, and in 1827 'Ulukālala Tuapasi of Vava'u persuaded a sailor to write a letter for him to the missionaries in Tongatapu asking for a missionary of his own (Turner 1872:102-3).

The arrival and continued presence of the missionaries in Tonga was not, however, welcomed by many of these men. They feared that the missionaries would expose them to their chiefly hosts and thereby undermine their prestige and newly found privileges, and destroy the Polynesian way of life which they favoured and wanted to preserve. Consequently, some made every

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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563 effort to make life unpleasant for the missionaries. Nathaniel
797 Turner wrote:

> Today we have heard more serious reports concerning the intentions of our Enemies. They now say that they cannot hurt Tubo [King Siosaia Aleamotu'a] but they will put a stop to the Lotu by putting an end to us . . . Report says that two Frenchmen are at the bottom of this. These men are runaways from a French Discovery ship that was here some time ago. They are now residing with a powerful chief in the interior. They endeavour to persuade this chief and others with whom they have acquaintance that if they suffer us to remain and our religion is spread, by and by the English will come and take their country from them. (Turner to Committee, 4 Jan. 1828, WMMS 1818-36, item A2833)

John Thomas told of an Englishman by the name of James who had since been captured in Tonga by the captain of a British man-of-war for his part in stealing a vessel at Van Diemen's Land. According to Thomas, James, while in Ha'apai, planned to kill him and Tāufa'āhau, 'and the reason he assigned for so strange a conduct', wrote Thomas, 'was because I knew of his crime, he having confessed it to two Englishmen who made it their business to inform me of it' (Thomas, Journal, 29 April 1831). Woon, a later missionary, complaining about the conduct of these men, wrote, 'We have been much tried of late from the wicked conduct of some of our countrymen, who seem to defy the laws of God . . . Some have been so wicked as to say, that our religion is a lie' (Woon to Committee, 19 Jan. 1833, WMMS 1818-36, item A2838).

Although the escaped convicts, ships' deserters and castaways
[797] do not appear to have made any direct contribution to political development, their presence among the Tongans and their work in making and repairing tools for them, explaining the European culture, and advising them in warfare, stimulated the general desire for change. Their negative reactions to the missionaries, however, and to the emerging monarchical authority, and rule of law, which the latter had encouraged and assisted, met with disfavour from the British officials and, in some instances, they were deported. Indirectly, the prestige of the missionaries was enhanced as these men were discredited and their reputation among the Tongans badly damaged.

439 These glowing reports soon made Tonga a popular port of call for shipping. Traders of all kinds called for provisions, both before and after the establishment of the Wesleyan mission.

499 797 In general, the traders and missionaries did not get on well, but there were a few traders who were convinced that the work of the missionaries was definitely advantageous to trade and commerce. Many of these were sons of missionaries who had been born or brought up in the islands. These men maintained good relations with both the missionaries and native leaders, particularly those who had accepted Christianity through the work of the Protestant missionaries, and mutual respect, friendship and help prevailed among them. They did their utmost to assist the work of missionaries, who naturally reciprocated.

499 177 797 643 831 Samuel Pinder Henry, a trader son of a missionary in Tahiti, was friendly with the Tu'i Kanokupolu Siosaia Aleamotu'a of Tonga. Arrangements were made with Aleamotu'a to obtain some Tongans to accompany Henry to the New Hebrides to cut sandalwood. Sickness prevented Henry from joining his vessel which called for the men. Unknown to him, his crew had brought some prostitutes in the ship from New Zealand. When the King, who had already become a convert, found this out, he decided to prevent the Tongans from boarding the vessel. However, Nathaniel Turner, who was acquainted with Henry and knew of his reputation for assisting missionaries throughout the islands, persuaded Aleamotu'a not to break his promise and thereby penalise Henry for the misconduct of his crew. He pleaded that it would have been a different matter if Henry himself had been aboard the vessel. The King was eventually persuaded to drop his objections and the Tongans were permitted to join the ship (N. Turner to Committee, 15 May 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835).

439 797 Such dissensions as did take place between some of the traders and the missionaries may be attributed to a number of factors. Certain missionaries were worried about the effects of trade upon their converts:

> 439 797 177 291 The influence of trade is a source of serious apprehension to us. The people have a strong desire for our style of dress. Showy and expensive dress 'fakapapalagi' is the height of their highest aspirations. This is attended with many evils—the more they expend in dress the less

> they have to give to God—this is one evil—the more their mind is 439
> engrossed in the idea of dress (fakasanisani) beautiful, the less it
> contemplates God and things divine. (Whewell to General Secretary, 797
> Aug. 1856, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170) 177

The traders were resentful of the fact that the missionaries 291
were chiefly responsible for the growing sophistication of the
people in the art of trade. In the early days they were able to 797
fill their ships with provisions in exchange for a few guns, beads,
nails, pieces of hoop iron and cheap calico and printed cloth. 439
After the establishment of the mission and the introduction of 177
schools, the people were taught the value of money and of articles
of trade among the civilised countries. They soon refused to trade 436
for cheaper goods and wanted either payment in money or more
valuable articles. Peter Turner recorded on his way to Tonga
by ship in 1831:

> Many on board think with ungodly captains that missionaries do more hurt than good among heathens, because they cannot do with them as they did while their minds were held in darkness and error. They cannot now buy a fine hog for a large nail, or a piece of hoop iron. (P. Turner, Journal, 23 Feb. 1831)

Among the severest critics of the missionaries was the trader, Peter Dillon, and, in defending the mission against his accusations, the Reverend David Cargill (1842:29-30) wrote:

> We are informed, (page 3,) that, in 1827, the Chevalier [Dillon] 'procured an abundant supply of hogs, poultry, etc., for a few glass beads,' and that 'on his last visit it was with the greatest difficulty he could procure sufficient for his own mess, for which he had to pay dollars.' For once, I believe, the truth of any of the statements in the work which I have been examining. In 1827 the people were ignorant and poor, and would exchange their commodities for almost any article of European manufacture. In 1837 they valued 'a few glass beads' no more than their disappointed and chagrined visitor valued such trifles.

Another source of conflict was over the question of the sale 797
of liquor in Tonga. Selling 'grog' was a source of handsome
profit for the traders. The missionaries, however, objected strongly 439
to this form of trade. They were convinced that it was harmful to 273
the people and would ruin their efforts. A later missionary wrote:

797 destroyed. The half-hearted attempts to understand the customs of the people were more for personal security purposes than for their intrinsic or functional value to be exploited to the full for the purpose of winning the people to Christianity.

797 177 [829] Like many other Tongan chiefs of his day, Ata wanted Europeans to live under him and to serve him but not as his masters or rival 'chiefs'. Hence his resentment of what he regarded as Thomas's attempts to make himself chief among his people. Again like many other Tongans, Ata and the people of Hihifo were more interested in the missionaries' trade goods than their teachings. Their hopes of gaining material goods were frustrated by the attitudes of the missionaries on these matters. The missionaries expected the Tongans to look after their material needs, since they had left their own homes to come to Tonga to save the Tongans from spiritual and intellectual degradation. This outlook of the missionaries led them at times to what the Tongans must have regarded as unfair bargaining and even meanness.

797 499 On the missionaries' request, Ata got his people to build a fence for them but when he 'was told what we should give [for the job] he would not look at the things, but went away . . .' Ata was greatly annoyed by the smallness of the payment. The missionaries used to buy six chickens for a plane iron, a pig for a hatchet (Thomas, Journal, 24 July 1826), or 180 lb. of yams or more for a shilling. Apparently some of the chiefs resented this so much that the people were forbidden to bring anything to sell to Thomas. Thomas explained the reason for the veto: 'this is through Tofooa the Chief's brother . . . He is displeased with us, and says we wanted to buy a large quantity of yams for a spade' (Thomas, Calendar and Diary, 4 May 1827).

797 [685] Failing to get the material rewards they had expected from the missionaries, the people, with the full knowledge of many of the chiefs and probably their blessings, reverted to robbing the missionaries of their goods, threatening to burn down the mission premises and even to kill them. The situation had become so frustrating that Thomas was forced to arm himself day and night. He wrote:

> This last few nights we have had to keep a sharp look out on our premises. I have kept a gun loaded and have walked about with a

3 *The Breakthrough*

791 The breakthrough in the work of the Wesleyan mission in Tonga
was not an isolated dramatic occurrence but a slow process brought
about by several factors. One was certainly the increasing impact
of mission efforts on the minds of some Tongans. Before Lawry
left Tonga in 1823 a number of Tongans had been attracted by
his teaching. On the day of his departure many tears were shed
and expressions of regret were voiced by a spokesman of the
791 people who expressed the hope that he would return. One of
those favourably disposed to Lawry's teaching was Tākai who
177 came from 'Oneata in the Lau group of Fiji. On his return
home, he told the chief of Lakemba, Tu'ineau, about the new
religion and some of the things which Lawry had taught. Tu'ineau
became interested and asked Tākai to try and get him a missionary. Tākai went back to Tonga, and he and another admirer
of Lawry, named Langi, were taken to Sydney by Captain Peter
Dillon in 1824 as his interpreters (Davidson 1970:16-17), though
their intention was to search for a missionary for Tu'ineau. Dillon
left them in Sydney where they were picked up by Samuel Henry,
and taken to Tahiti. Impressed by their determination, one of
the L.M.S. missionaries, J. Davis, sent two Tahitian teachers,
Hape and Davida, with them for the Tu'i Lakemba. On their
arrival in Tongatapu in 1826 Tākai told Aleamotu'a

> that the Tahitians had found the true God and the word of life, and that the two Tahitians he saw were going with him to the Feegees to teach his countrymen the way to heaven. Tupou [Aleamotu'a] answered Takai and said. It must not be so. If the word he spoke of was really a good word it must not go . . . . (Williams and Barff, 1830:70)

Consequently the Tahitian teachers remained in Tonga at the hamlet of Nuku'alofa in order to teach Aleamotu'a and his people Christianity. Before the Wesleyan missionaries came to Nuku'alofa towards the end of 1827, a church had already been built there by the Tahitian teachers and about 300 people from the 191 area met regularly for worship. When Nathanial Turner, Cross [177] and Weiss decided to establish themselves at Nuku'alofa, they took over the little congregation, and it was here at Nuku'alofa that the Wesleyan mission began to flourish. Despite Ata's resistance at Hihifo certain chiefs of high rank from this area, such as Ulakai, son of Tuku'aho, joined the mission at Nuku'alofa.

Another important factor was the growing experience of the missionaries in dealing with the Tongans. This and the more tactful approach of some of the later missionaries contributed significantly to the breakthrough in the work of the mission. One of the outstanding personalities was the Reverend Nathaniel Turner. Unlike Lawry, Thomas and Hutchinson, Turner was a mature, well educated man with a progressive outlook. His experience with the Maoris of New Zealand, among whom he had worked for several years before he came to Tonga, seems to have given him many advantages. The experience helped him to develop a sympathetic understanding of the customs and traditions of the people, and gave him a crude familiarity with the fundamentals of the language, which enabled him to learn Tongan quickly and thoroughly. It was he who developed the Tongan [212] alphabet which, with some modification by the present King of Tonga in the 1940s, is still being used in Tonga today.

Unlike Thomas, who did not hesitate to dictate to the Tongans, Nathaniel Turner was very cautious. When he was asked questions relative to politics, shortly after arrival, he answered that because he was a stranger to their country, and consequently to their ways, he would rather say nothing (N. Turner, Journal, 29 Nov. 1827, WMMS 1818-36, item A2833). Where there were disputes among the chiefs in connection with the affairs of the mission, Turner would sit down and discuss the questions at issue with them in a manner the chiefs could understand. Williams and Barff (1830:64), the two L.M.S. missionaries who visited Tonga in 1830, spoke very highly of the love and respect which the Tongans—both Christians and heathens—showed to Turner. He was reluctantly forced to leave Tonga in 1831, for a healthier climate. However, before his departure he had the satisfaction of seeing the new arrivals, Peter Turner (no relation), James

197 214 The rapidly increasing demand for books emphasised the need for a local press. This, together with many other growing demands of the mission was alleviated by the arrival of reinforcements in 1831. William Woon, the first printer in Tonga, set up his printing press on 4 April. The first book printed in Tonga was published on 14 April 1831. It was a school book containing four pages, and there were 3.000 copies printed (Woon to Committee, 25 April 1831, WMMS 1818-36, item A2837). Printing attracted great attention and people called from all parts of the island to witness the process. Woon claimed that, through the operations of the press, 'much light had been diffused, and the people were renouncing their superstitions, and turning to God with full purpose of heart' (*W-M Mag.*, March 1833:224).

197 In his memorable work, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, William Ellis put his finger on one of the very important factors which helped the work of the missionaries in the islands of the South Seas. He wrote:

> It is generally and justly supposed that medical knowledge is one of the most valuable qualifications a missionary can possess; that its skilful and successful application is one of the best means of gaining influence among the people and predisposing them to regard with favour his endeavours to direct their minds to the heavenly Physician, and the means of healing and life to the soul. (Ellis 1844:59)

164 [177] The contact with the Europeans introduced new diseases to the islands which the Tongans were unable to cure, and which subsequently claimed many lives. However, there were also diseases which had been with the Tongans before European contact, and which they had come to accept as a matter of course, knowing neither their causes nor any way of curing them. One of these diseases the Tongans called *tona* (yaws). Everyone was expected to suffer from it at one time or another, though it was preferable to get it at an early age. Peter Bays (1831:69) gave a graphic description of this disease in 1830 when he wrote:

> In some cases which I saw, the sinews of the legs were drawn up, where the joints were affected; in others, two inches of bone were eaten entirely bare by the flies, hundreds of which were then feeding upon the corrupted flesh, while the *patient*, (a name so very appropriate in the present instance) who, either from superstition, or so callous

79: Lātūkefu H,1,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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164 and accustomed to this plague, or pest of mankind, in these parts, either does not feel them, or is so unconcerned that he walks about as indifferent as though little or nothing ailed him.

753 776 Afflicted with their traditional ailments, as well as the newly introduced ones, and lacking knowledge of either their causes or cures, the Tongans attributed these misfortunes to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the spirits of deceased kin. Accordingly, they believed that there was a direct connection between the efficacy of medicine and the power and truth of the god, whether the medicine was that provided by the missionary or by the heathen priest.

797 758 Fortunately for the cause of the mission, the missionaries at Nuku'alofa were more successful in combating disease than John Thomas had been at Hihifo. Nathaniel Turner wrote of their experience in this regard:

> I must just observe in this place that our success in this respect has been the means of bringing many over to our cause from different parts of the Island. When a cure has been wrought, the individual has gone home to his friends. and they all beholding what has been done for him, the whole family, and, in some instances, families have come over to live at Nuku'alofa, and attend to religious instruction. (N. Turner to Committee, 6 May 1831, WMMS 1818-36, item A2832)

The importance of this aspect of the missionaries' work soon became apparent, and consequently dispensary hours had become part of their regular activities.

797 439 The missionaries' goods—articles of trade—were highly prized by the Tongan people, and these also helped to turn the interest of the people towards the missionaries and their work. 'If I had good trade', wrote John Thomas, 'it would not only be a saving of time, but tend to produce a good feeling upon the minds of the natives towards us and the good cause' (Thomas, Journal, 2 June 1826). [342] [177] Even John Thomas's dwelling house was something of great wonder to the people. It was the first European house built in Tonga, having two storeys with various apartments, with panel doors in front, and glass windows, and was something which they had never seen before. These things captured their imagination and became the chief topics of conversation not only

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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trained at Tupou College, have produced outstanding church 874
leaders, ministers of the Crown, doctors, leading public servants 555
and teachers, whose impact on the religious, social, economic and
political development of Tonga has been extremely significant.

The improvement in the training of teachers effected corres-
ponding improvement in the number and standard of subjects 872
taught in the schools, as well as the efficiency of teaching. In addition to religious subjects, history, geography, arithmetic and English were taught in day schools, and philosophy, astronomy, geometry, algebra and physics were added to the syllabus of the institutions (*W-M Mag.*, Dec. 1868:1144).

Referring to Mrs Tucker's lessons in astronomy Sarah Farmer (1855:332) wrote:

> The evenings were spent in conveying to the natives, by familiar illustrations some idea of the first principles of astronomy. The lamp was made to represent the sun; a cocoa-nut the earth; some other object the moon; and as the cocoa-nut, suspended by a twisted thread, revolved round the lamp. they were taught the motions of the earth, with the cause of the change in its seasons. Lessons were also given on eclipses, gravitation, etc. Thus the views of the natives became corrected and enlarged.

Through the teaching of these subjects, the missionaries defin- 797
itely went a long way towards undermining the traditional cosmo-
logy of the Tongans, by supplying scientific explanations of some 177
of the natural phenomena which had been interpreted according 772
to traditional beliefs. For example, the Tongans believed that 813
earthquakes were caused by the deity Maui, who was supposed
to be lying, feeble and sleepy, underneath the earth, and was at 823
that time turning round. They immediately started their war-whoop 776
in order to awaken him, 'lest he should get up, and in rising,
overturn the world' (Farmer 1855:136-7).

The missionaries found that the majority of the Tongans did 214
not have a flair for English. Consequently, subjects had to be taught in Tongan. This led to a proliferation of printed materials in Tongan. Books were translated, traditions and historical information collected, and many were published in the local press. When the old press went out of action, Dr Moulton managed by trial and error to set up one in the College, and trained his

of one or the other without diffusing its influence over the whole 797
man, and over the whole frame of society.'

The traditional Tongan society with its social, economic and 182
political institutions had been closely integrated with the traditional
religious system. When the influential chiefs and their people 797
accepted Christianity, the equilibrium of the old social system
was undermined and changes and adjustments became inevitable. 177
A deliberate effort was made to reconstruct Tongan society upon 797
the new Christian beliefs and values. It was to be based only upon
those old customs and traditions which the missionaries and their 177
chiefly converts thought suitable for the new design, and it was 185
to incorporate many new and imported elements.

The immense task of social reconstruction proved to be too 797
formidable for the chiefly builders, who were often at a loss as
to the nature of the new design. During the first two or three 185
decades, they were forced to rely heavily upon the advice of the 565
missionaries. These converted chiefs were already the political [622]
leaders of their various *kāinga*, and their continued reliance on
the missionaries ensured that the missionaries had almost as much
to do with political matters as they had with religious guidance.

There was a precedent for this, in the close alliance between 797
the priests and chiefs in pre-missionary Tongan society. It was
therefore not surprising to find the converted chiefs, who wished 185
to pursue their politics according to Christian principles, as early 565
as 1827, consulting the missionaries on political matters (N. 177
Turner, Journal, 29 Nov. 1827, WMMS 1818-36, item A2833). [793]

The result was a fusion of church and state matters. Residences
for the missionaries, school buildings and churches were built and 659
maintained by the people, often not on their own initiative, but 797
rather 'in obedience to the command (*fekau*) of the King. Their
conversion was a "mea Fakafetogia"—(a matter imposed upon them by the government)' (Whewell to Eggleston, 4 Aug. 1856, WMMSA 1852-79; item 170). Peter Turner (Journal, 24 May 1841) wrote, 'I must say that the people have done much for us since we came. They have thatched our house—and the house of Bro' Kevern. And they are about to put up a house for Bro' Wilson and a house for an academy.'

The fusion of church and state matters caused some confusion [643]

advice. In 1831 Peter Turner (Journal, 26 Dec. 1831) recorded 659
that, 'The king came up this morning and wished to have some 797
laws for the regulation of his servants . . .'.

The missionaries, for their part, were not only willing to give 643
their advice, but they expected to be consulted on almost every [563]
important matter, so much so that when their advice was not sought by the chiefs they were deeply disappointed. Thomas noted in his journal, in February 1831, that in things of small importance he had been consulted by the chief, Tāufa'āhau, but it was a long time since Tāufa'āhau had taken much notice of him. Later, in the same year, Thomas was furious when Tāufa'āhau decided of his own accord to accept an invitation from Fīnau 'Ulukālala of Vava'u, who was then heathen, to a canoe race. He referred to Tāufa'āhau as 'headstrong', because he had not consulted him on the matter, 'but sent word to 'Ulukālala that at such a time he could come' (Thomas, Journal, 13 April 1831).

It is quite obvious that Tāufa'āhau's first venture into legisla- 643
tion was strongly influenced by mission teaching. He had great 779
admiration for the prominent figures of the Bible and wanted to follow their examples. He told one of the missionaries, in the course of a conversation on political matters, that, 'he wanted to imitate Abraham and those of whom the scriptures speak' (P. Turner, Journal, 26 Dec. 1831).

Although there is no documentary evidence, it seems fairly 643
certain that the missionaries told King George about the system 177
of government in their homeland and that the King of England and his Parliament ruled the people according to a written code of law. It would also be surprising if the King had not heard from the missionaries and visiting sea captains about the laws and port regulations already existing in other Pacific islands such as Hawaii and Tahiti.

It is not possible to document the degree of Tāufa'āhau's 671
familiarity with the British system of law, but it was under his rule that the first written law[1] in Tonga—the Vava'u Code (for the full Code see Appendix A)—was officially promulgated in a *fono* at Pouono, a *mala'e* at Neiafu, the capital of Vava'u, on 20 November 1839. According to Thomas (Journal, 20 Nov. 1839), these laws had, with a few exceptions, been acted upon in Vava'u

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1 [See category 671, pp. 221-225--Analyst]

643 797 As early as 1850 there was obviously some strain in the relationship between the King and John Thomas, then chairman of the Wesleyan mission in Tonga. On the day he left Tonga for England for the first time after almost twenty-four years of continual service in Tonga, Thomas (Journal, 21 Feb. 1850) painfully recorded, 'many natives now come to take leave . . . but the King and I leave in not a good state of mind . . . I regret he [648] should have so far yielded to the enemy.' Apparently one of the reasons for these strained relations was due to his suspicion that Thomas had used cunning in order to try to obtain Tonga for Great Britain 'merely because [he] advised the King at a time when they feared they should have become the slaves of the French, to apply to the English Government for protection—to offer themselves to be the friends—or subjects of the English (for England has no slaves)' (Thomas, Journal, 19 Nov. 1849). When Thomas finally left Tonga in 1859 he wrote with obviously heavy heart:

> The King is not coming, so I shall not have the privilege of bidding him farewell. He is busy, it seems, building his house . . . One of his sons, as he is called, expresses his great surprise at this part of the King's conduct—That any house building should have been so important as to detair him from seeing me before I left. (Thomas, Journal, 15 Dec. 1859)

671 177 [535] While the decrease in missionary influence was obvious in the framing of the 1862 Code, non-missionary influence was quite marked. This was partly brought about by a revival of interest in some of the old Tongan customs and forms of entertainment, which may account for the disappearance of the provisions prohibiting dancing and all heathen customs, and partly by the growing contact of the Tongan leaders, especially King George, with non-missionary Europeans.

563 The chiefs in Tonga valued the skills and services of Europeans. It had been, at one time, a matter of prestige among the chiefs 643 to have a European resident. King George himself had employed a few Europeans in the palace as early as the 1840s, including 563 an ex-convict from Australia, to the utter disgust of the missionaries. The King established close associations with the new Euro-

pean settlers in Tonga, met and received advice from friendly sea 643
captains and British Consuls.
The missionaries told Lawry that: 563

> The King has learned from the captain of the 'Meander' that he ought to hoist his flag, and the ships of war would salute the same. The King has come to us and said, 'I will fix the flagstaff in the ground, and you will please to prepare the flag'. (Lawry 1851:95)

Thomas (Journal, 27 Oct. 1849) reported:

> The Consul Pritchard has interested himself greatly in behalf of this place—he has proposed to the King a few alterations as to the Port Regulations—also will write and advise him, as to some better mode of employing persons who have to work for the government.

An intimate friendship developed between himself and Sir 643
George Grey, Governor of New Zealand, who exhibited much
interest in the affairs of Tonga. In one of his letters to the King, 648
Sir George wrote:

> This subject of the Education of your son, and of the children of some of your principal chiefs should constantly occupy your mind. The best mode of accomplishing it would be to send your son accompanied by some other children to New Zealand. I have myself no children my only little boy having died, and Lady Grey and myself would take every care of your son whilst he continued here. He could live with us whilst the other children could be sent to the Educational Establishment of the Wesleyan Missionaries. (Grey to George Tupou, 30 April 1849)

These wider ranging contacts must have had some influence on 643
the King's political thinking. They certainly coloured his estima- 177
tion of missionaries of the 'Thomas school' with their paternal-
istic attitudes, and he was further driven to seek help and advice [797]
from non-missionary sources.

By far the most penetrating non-missionary influence on the Code came as a result of the King's visit to Sydney, and his subsequent political correspondence with Charles St Julian, law reporter of the *Sydney Morning Herald,* and later Hawaiian Consul in Sydney.

King George embarked on the mission vessel *John Wesley* for 643
a trip to Sydney in 1853. The idea was originally suggested by 177
Rabone. The missionaries believed that it was a good idea for 648
[797]

643 King George to visit New South Wales to see how the people of
177 civilised countries lived and managed their affairs. The King
eagerly accepted the idea and was ready to leave Tonga on a
648 man-of-war, 'but the Missionaries, fearing that influences unfriendly
797 to his spirituality might possibly act upon him in such a vessel'
(Young 1854:213) persuaded him to wait for their own vessel,
the *John Wesley.*

The extent of the impact of this new experience on the King's
643 mind remains a matter for conjecture, but one wonders whether
177 he may not have received a similar impression to the one expressed
by his son, Tēvita 'Unga, when he visited Sydney in 1872. When
648 'Unga returned to Tonga, he told the people that he had discovered
on his trip that 'rulers' in Sydney were not all ministers
of religion but businessmen (W. T. Rabone to his father, 5 July
[671] 1872, WMMSA 1852-79). There was one experience, however,
which left a marked impression on King George, and which was
643 later reflected in the 1862 Code of Laws. In Sydney he encountered
poverty. It has been said that he saw many poorly
177 dressed people, obviously ill-fed, sleeping in the parks. He asked
735 about these people, and was told they were homeless people who
had no place to go. This state of affairs was greatly surprising to
King George, who could not understand how there could be
homeless and poverty-stricken people in a land as large and
obviously rich as Australia. His heart was so full of pity for the
plight of these people that he determined that such an appalling
situation should never be allowed to arise in Tonga (informant, Her
643 Majesty the late Queen Sālote). The King was also very impressed
177 with the leasehold system of land tenure which he saw in Sydney,
and he made up his mind that the land in Tonga should be distributed
423 among his own people along similar lines.

This appears to have been the origin of King George's idea
of legislating for the individual ownership of land—a revolutionary
change in the system of land tenure in Tonga. The prohibition
643 of the sale of land which appeared in Clause II of the 1862 Code
423 was only a legislation of customary land tenure, but the notion of
177 individual ownership of land by leasehold was something quite
new.

671 One can observe the influence of his overseas experience in

the provision of the Code which compels the chiefs to allot portions 643
of land to the people and as long as they pay their tribute and 423
rent to the chief they cannot be dispossessed (see Appendix C,
Clause XXXIV:6 and [1]). 177

Although documentary evidence is lacking, it seems highly 671
probable that King George met Charles St Julian in Sydney
towards the end of 1853 or just before his return to Tonga in 643
early 1854. At any rate, St Julian wrote several letters to King
George in 1854 and 1855. 177

The missionary, Thomas West. reported that he had received 648
an official document from St Julian towards the end of 1854, which the latter had asked him to translate for King George. According to West this document contained three main suggestions: that Hawaii and Tonga would enter into political and commercial relationships; that the King would take steps to secure a formal recognition of his independence by foreign powers; and that he should establish a constitutional government. This document, together with a copy of the constitution adopted by Hawaii at this time, was accordingly translated and presented to the King.

He appears to have given the submission careful consideration, but he thought that 'the introduction of such a movement would be inopportune' (West 1865:393). In a letter addressed to St Julian on 24 November 1854, thanking him for his letter and for his desire to help him and his people to elevate his kingdom, King George stated:

> My Kingdom is established in these days. It has its laws and the people obey them . . . I greatly desire in these days to raise my people and my land that they may become civilised like the various Kingdoms of the world . . . and this is the Book of our Laws that I send you. Do you look into it. and if there be anything that seems strange or wrong you make it known to me and I will consider respecting it. (Tupou to St Julian. 24 Nov. 1854)

St Julian followed this up with another three letters in 1855. In the first, dated 25 April, he stated the objects of his correspondence:

> I have not the slightest desire to dictate. I tender advice because Your Majesty has requested me so to do: because it is my earnest desire . . . that your Kingdom should be permanently independent;

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[1] [See category 671, p. 248--Analyst]

> 643 and because it is only by the establishment of a good and efficient
> 177 government that this permanent independence can be secured. (St
> Julian to Tupou, 26 June 1855)

648 His other letters outlined the system of government which he suggested might be adopted by King George (St Julian to Tupou, 15 Oct. 1855), and also advice on matters relating to foreign relations, military defence and public revenue.

To improve the economy of the country he suggested that Tonga could develop a cotton industry. He pointed out that the fertility and suitability of the soil for cotton growing would attract planters, who would find excuses for seizing the land, and the only way to prevent this would be to have a well organised and well administered government.

The King's apparent lack of enthusiasm or slowness to adopt the reforms which St Julian believed were needed in Tonga led the latter to publish an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 9 January 1858, alleging that King George had imperialist ambitions towards Samoa and Fiji, which were likely to create dangerous friction between the great maritime powers who had subjects living on these islands. He alleged further that King George's 'government of his own islands is totally inefficient except for the wants of the merest savages, and, with the true feeling of a semi-barbaric chief, he obstinately resists all improvement'.

When this letter was challenged in a strongly worded reply from Eggleston, the General Secretary of the Methodist Overseas Mission, St Julian wrote, defending his stand and claiming that his statement concerning the inefficiency of King George's government was fully justified:

> I am unable to deny its truth, [he wrote] when I remember that the Tonguese laws, imperfect as they are, are administered by chiefs who divide among themselves, by way of remuneration for their trouble, the fines and labour of those whom they convict and when I remember too that they have proved powerless for the enforcement of some of the simplest contracts known to civilised men—That King George having brought his governmental system to its present condition and hitherto expressed the strongest disinclination to make such further improvements as would fit his state for the duties imposed on civilised governments and justify its admission within the pale of internationality . . . I should be glad, as you well know, to see

> King George not only recognised by all the maritime powers and 643
> invested with an extended role if the conditions precedent of qualifying
> his government to fulfill international obligations were complied with. 177
> But ere this be, he must give up his canoe progress, feasting and cava
> parties, must have an organised government, and an effective code 648
> of Laws impartially administered. must relieve the lower orders from
> the exactions of chiefdom. must encourage industrial improvement,
> must give up his local preachership and stand neutral between all
> sects and classes of his subjects. (St Julian to Eggleston, 13 Jan. 1858)

In general his arguments were valid and sound. However, he failed to appreciate the fact that there were problems peculiar to each region which would inevitably influence not only the kind and degree of change to be made, but also the appropriate time for such action.

St Julian was a Roman Catholic and he was also, at this time,
seeking a government appointment in the South Pacific islands.
His attempt to offer advice to King George was resented by the 643
missionaries, for they viewed it as an encroachment upon what
they regarded as their sphere of influence. Their resentment was 648
intensified by St Julian's attack on the credibility of King George, 797
the avowed champion of their cause. Not surprisingly, when St
Julian sought an exequatur from the British government to act 648
as British Consul in Tonga, a letter was addressed on their behalf 797
to the Colonial Office, 'offering reasons against the appointment
of Charles St Julian Esq. to the Office of the Consul of the British
Government in Tonga, or the Friendly Islands' (Hoole to Lython,
27 July 1858, WMMSA 1852-79).

The missionaries saw the advantage to Tonga of adopting a
constitutional government and of being recognised as equal by all 642
the great nations of the world; yet despite their belief 'that the 797
Tonguese [had] better capabilities, and greater facilities for becoming 648
an important people, than even the Hawaiians' (West
1865:393), who, in fact, had achieved international recognition
for their independence, they felt that such sweeping reforms and
alterations in the political condition as those proposed by St
Julian ought to be brought about gradually. King George appeared [643]
to have shared their opinion for a time, but events of the following
years reveal that he was forced by circumstances to adopt many
of the measures suggested by St Julian.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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Moulton's fresh approach and wider and more liberal outlook 797
met with severe opposition from his colleagues. Most of his
opponents objected simply on the grounds that Moulton had indulged 873
himself in an expensive project which would be of little benefit to the mission. Some of them argued that the sole purpose of the college should be to train young men for the work of the mission, and the Training Institution, conducted by Amos in the fifties, was cited as the model to be followed (Greenwood to Rabone, 10 Aug. 1872, WMMSA 1852-79).

King George's greatest ambition was to preserve the independence 648
of Tonga, and he realised that one way of achieving this was to gain international recognition of his government. Accordingly there was a need to establish an efficient system of government which would be acceptable to the civilised countries of the world. The mission, although quite effective at the local level, was [797]
not equal to assisting in these ambtitions towards international politics.

In his description of the functions of a legislative council in 648
a letter written to King George, St Julian wrote: 797

> Such fundamental principles should be laid down as would form what is termed a constitution and all subsequent Legislation should be in strict accordance with these principles. In the first instance not much Legislation would be needed. But little probably beyond the Code of Laws which Your Majesty has already promulgated . . . But with the rise of the Kingdom will arise an absolute need of Legislation upon many points with which it is now unnecessary to deal. (St Julian to Tupou, 26 June 1855)

The question of acquiring a written constitution for Tonga 643
had been occupying the King's mind for some time. A number 642
of significant events had made him realise, more than ever before, the urgency of the need for Tonga to become recognised by the main powers. First there had been Consul Pritchard's serious attempts to get Britain to annex Fiji in the late fifties; then the increasing involvement of the powers in Samoa and elsewhere in the Pacific in the seventies; and finally the actual annexation of Fiji by Britain in 1874. King George fully appreciated the value of having a constitution as the basis of the laws of the country,

of the Kingdom of Tonga, but only to lease it in accordance 642
with this Constitution' (Clause 109), and only leases approved
by the Cabinet were to be recognised. Any lands which were not 423
owned by anyone, or any *tofi'a* which failed to have legitimate 427
heirs should revert to the government, and the government had
the right to lease such lands.

The Constitution of 1875 marked the culmination of a gradual 642
process by which King George had attempted to bring to Tonga
the type of legal and constitutional machinery which would enable [648]
her to gain recognition from the civilised nations and maintain
her own independent and stable government. Many of the pro- [643]
visions of this constitution departed altogether from traditional
precedents, as, for example, in the laws of succession not only to [428]
the throne but also to the hereditary titles of the whole country.

Traditionally, hereditary succession to the throne was not 643
automatic, but was decided upon by an 'electoral college' from
among several claimants. The selection of successors to the other 565
chiefly titles had been in the hands of the principal chiefs of the
ha'a to which the title belonged. Usually they chose the most cap- [613]
able candidate. This was essential at a time when the welfare of
the whole community depended almost entirely on the wisdom and
abilities of its paramount chief. However, there had been bitter [578]
rivalry among the various claimants which often resulted in open [669]
conflict and war between factions.

By the 1870s there was considerable speculation among both 643
Tongans and European settlers and British administrators in the
South Pacific, as to who would become the successor to King
George, after his long reign, extending from his rulership of
Ha'apai since 1820, of Vava'u since 1833 and of the whole of
Tonga since 1845. Many prophesied that civil war would break
out over this question if nothing were done about it. As early [197]
as the 1850s the missionaries had repeatedly requested King
George to declare a successor.[2] St Julian had also dealt with [177]

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[2] The Rev. R. Amos wrote:

> On the 9th of December 1856 I invited the King and Queen to dine with the Prince at our residence on Olobeka Hill, and on that occasion I told His Majesty that some persons blamed him for not publicly proclaiming George as his successor. His reply was 'It is

643 the matter in one of his letters of constitutional advice (St Julian
to King George, 26 June 1855). No doubt King George was well
[177] aware of the threatening political storm hovering over the kingdom
and ready to burst immediately upon his death. The law of succession
643 was a way of forestalling any such disaster. Subsequent events
642 have proved the soundness of King George and his advisers in
this matter, for Tonga was spared the factional warfare which
raged for several years in neighbouring Samoa over this issue
(Watson 1918:50-1).

Another departure from the traditional Tongan system was the
adoption of a constitutional monarchy, a departure both in its
degree of centralisation and in the acceptance of limits to the
[645 King's authority in the rule of law. Although the King's power
was still great, in that he could veto legislation and had the
646] prerogative to appoint and dismiss the ministers of the Crown,
he could no longer lawfully act on his own in matters of political importance without the approval of either the Cabinet, the Privy Council or the Legislative Assembly. In comparison with pre-constitution days, there were drastic limitations of the King's powers. Some have claimed that, in practice, King George failed to adhere strictly to this part of the constitution. This was understandable, for he was an extremely able ruler, whose subjects accepted and revered him, whether or not he acted in accordance
642 with the letter of the constitution. At the same time, the primary
purpose of the constitution was to make the Tongan government
acceptable in the eyes of other nations, and to furnish a blueprint for his successors and future generations of Tonga. In both these respects the constitution proved successful.

646 There was a vast difference in the composition and working
of the new Legislative Assembly and the traditional *fakataha,*

[643
797] unnecessary—all the Chiefs know my mind . . . he is my only legitimate son—I was never married to the mothers of my other three sons, either after Tonga or Christian fashion—he is too young to proclaim yet, a boy who is still a spider-catcher is not fit to sit with the elders of the people—I shall one day proclaim him as my successor with the title of Prince of Ha'afuluhao.'—I stated that it would be well to proclaim George that he might be acknowledged by civilised governments. (Amos to Eggleston, 26 Oct. 1857, WMMSA 1852-79)

12 Conclusion

797 In spite of the Society's official policy of 'no politics', its
missionaries participated significantly in Tonga's political de-
velopment during the period under study. They did not precipitate
178 political development as such, for the indigenous political system
had undergone a process of evolution—quite dramatic at times—
long before any Wesleyan Methodist missionary set foot in Tonga.
Similar processes of change had also occurred in Africa as well as
other Polynesian societies such as Hawaii and Tahiti where there
177 was a transition from tribal society to state. In the case of Tonga,
the growing contact with Fiji stimulated dramatic change in the
socio-economic and political arena. This process of change was
further accelerated by the arrival of the Europeans whose wealth,
797 technology and power the islanders came to covet so much. The
role played by the missionaries in this process was an integral
part of the general European impact on Tongan culture, and it
cannot therefore be viewed in isolation. However, the missionaries'
influence was crucial in deciding the direction which political
changes took subsequent to their arrival. This was a natural consequence of the task which they had undertaken and of the
circumstances in which they found themselves.

The missionaries' primary task was the conversion of the heathen. Although many of them were inadequately educated and equipped for this work, they were men of deep conviction and strong faith. They were convinced that Jehovah, in the end, would inevitably triumph, in spite of all the difficulties and occasional set-backs. Hence there could be no compromise. Working through the existing political leaders, and using every available means at their disposal, such as providing medicines, promoting education, and conducting religious revival meetings, they soon succeeded in making the majority of the population of Tonga at least nominally Christian.

As politics was so closely interwoven into the total fabric of

423 and in 1852 he told a meeting of the leading chiefs that 'No
178 person has any title to lands in these Islands except by grant
643 from the Government' (Amos 1852). This claim was strengthened
and brought into conformity with traditional Tongan feeling in
1865 when the remaining powers of the Tui Tonga were conferred
423 on Tupou by the chiefs. The sale of land to foreigners
was forbidden in 1850, although leasing was permitted under
178 government control. By 1872, if not earlier, this prohibition was
432 extended to cover sales of land to Tongans.

[609] Other developments in land tenure resulted from a combination
423 of missionary influences (particularly from the Reverend
Shirley Baker, a Wesleyan missionary who later became Premier),
178 the King's own desire to elevate Tonga into the ranks of the
651 civilized nations, and the need for government revenue. The
1862 code, which freed the commoners from forced labour and
[177] compulsory contributions to their chiefs, also stated '. . . the
chiefs shall allot portions of land to the people as they may need,
which shall be their farm, and as long as the people pay their
tribute, and their rent to the chief, it shall not be lawful for
any chief to dispossess them . . .' (West 1865:434). Baker later
claimed credit for this provision, explaining that his aim had
been to ensure that those required to pay taxes had the means
to earn the necessary money (Rutherford 1966:54-5). This may
be the origin of the later principle that each taxpayer was entitled
to an allotment, although under the traditional system the
holding of land was probably also linked with the payment of
tribute.

423 The Constitution of 1875 elaborated and refined these principles,
178 and also provided for the granting of estates to the chiefs.
Since 1852 all land had legally belonged to the King, and unoccupied
643 land had come under the control of the Crown rather
565 than the chief of the district in which it lay. Between 1875
and 1882, however, Tupou appointed a number of chiefs and
[427] *matapule* as virtual landlords of the districts, in most cases those
they had traditionally controlled, and gave them the power to
lease land to their people and, with the approval of Cabinet,
to foreigners, with the rents being paid to the holder of the
178 estate. The Constitution appears to have been the work of Baker.
Rutherford (1966:155) suggests that 'The creation of a nobility
565 was probably a move by Baker to enlist the support of the more
641 powerful chiefs . . .', and there is little doubt that political
stability was improved by giving both the King's main supporters
and the more important of his opponents secure and comfortable
positions in the new order.

276 him. These matāpule are the hereditary ceremonial attendants
574 of chiefs, their duties being to conduct their chief's kava cere-
565 mony and to give and receive gifts on his behalf. The matāpule
have never held political authority. The chiefly title holders, on the other hand, used to have political authority, though nowadays much of it has been transferred to the central government.

The rest of the main circle (*'olofi*) is composed of other chiefs and matāpule sitting alternately. There are always more matāpule than chiefs, however, so that after the first few places matāpule sit next to one another. In the part of the main circle nearest the bowl (*fasi tapu* and *fasi tou'a*) some chiefs and matāpule sit in pairs, and some minor chiefs sit on their own.

In theory the seating of the various chiefs in the main circle demonstrates the genealogical position of their titles relative to that of the presiding chief. The title of the presiding chief is supposed to be genealogically senior, and the other chiefly titles in the main circle are supposed to have been derived from
[622] his line at later points in time. Although each chiefly titleholder
sits as an individual, he also represents the village over which
[622] he has titular authority. In Tongan idiom he is more than a
representative; the title is the embodiment of the village and its history.

276
574 In a large formal ceremony all the people in the main circle
565 have to have been formally appointed to chiefly or matāpule
562 titles. Women, who do not normally hold titles or wield political
554 authority, thus do not sit in the main circle. (The Queen, who
[643] held the ruling title, Tu'i Kanokupolu, was of course an excep-
[177] tion to this general rule. In the traditional system kings and
chiefs were almost invariably men, but British rules of succession to the kingship were adopted in 1875.) In a small informal ceremony the people in the main circle do not have to have been formally appointed to titles; they can use the name of a matāpule title they are descended from, or, failing that, they can use their personal names. Women can therefore sit in the main circle on such informal occasions if they want to.

121 2. Many anthropologists, especially in Britain, do not share Audrey Richards's and my view that understanding of unconscious mental processes is relevant to the analysis of social events. They are particularly apprehensive that psychoanalysts will attempt to explain social events in terms of individual needs. Their attitude is paralleled by the psychoanalyst's conviction that the complex events of the consulting room cannot be reduced to the level of neuro-anatomy. See especially Leach (1958); Lévi-Strauss (1964), especially Chapter 3; Gluckman (1964); Turner (1964); and Fox (1967).

276 3. For discussion of the chemical constituents and physiological action of kava see especially Keller and Klohs, 1963. Dr C. R. B. Joyce, Reader in Psycho-Pharmacology at the University of London has very kindly reviewed the literature for me and reports the following conclusions: 'All in all, my impression remains firm that this substance is not remarkable for its pharmacological activity; that such active properties as it contains have not been isolated so far (there is more activity on animals in the watery or chloroform extract, for example, than in any so far identified substance); and that the whole situation is a remarkable example of the placebo phenomenon in a wide and important social setting.' Personal communication, May 1967.

276 574 554 565 4. A similar institution is found among certain Bantu tribes. A. I. Richards (1950) calls it 'positional succession'; I. Cunnison (1956) calls it 'perpetual kinship'.

276 266 177 5. Tongans say that cannibalism was not indigenous to Tonga, but that early in the nineteenth century groups of young Tongan warriors visited Fiji, adopted the practice of eating slain enemies, and continued to practise this custom when they returned home to Tonga. The new custom was not adopted with enthusiasm and was soon abandoned.

565 554 6. The analysis of these three principles of social differentiation, political authority (titles), political power, and personal rank was first worked out by my husband, James Spillius, and was presented to the Tenth Pacific Science Congress at Honolulu in 1961 in a paper entitled 'Rank and Political Structure in Tonga'.

276 574 565 554 7. This complex of ceremonies is a striking example of what Max Gluckman has called the 'ritualization' of social relations in small-scale ('tribal') societies. He attributes this 'ritualization' to '. . . the fact that each social relation in a subsistence economy tends to serve manifold purposes . . . it is from this situation that I see emerging the relatively great development of special customs and

and female potencies of the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i
276 Tonga Fefine (as in *Figure 3*, p. 261).
574
539 The last alternative is no more metaphysical then the normal
773 Christian assertion that, in the Mass, the bread and the wine
become the body and blood of Jesus Christ and, in some
mystical sense, a manifestation of his purifying potency.

276 This homology with the Christian Mass seems to me too
574 striking to be ignored, but how should we explain it? Does it
539 arise from a subliminal influence of Christian ideas working
773 on the minds of recent Tongan mythographers (*supra*, p. 242), or
177 does it represent a direct parallel between traditional Chris-
771 tianity and traditional Polynesian thought at a structural level of apprehension? As to the first of these alternatives, we have evidence that, in at least one detail, the mythology has undergone a recent modification to keep it in line with a modification of the ritual. Bott I says that the leper girl on 'Eueiki was pounded to death; it thus fits the modern procedure of pounding the kava root. But Bott tells us that the substitution of pounding for chewing in the actual ritual is a recent innovation (*supra*, p. 244).

Evidence of this kind is bound to raise doubts about how far we can regard *any* of the mythology as traditionally authentic, but my own view, for what it is worth, is that the Christian era modifications of pre-Christian materials have not been substantial. It is rather that the more or less accidental fit between certain themes in Polynesian kinship ideology and certain aspects of the Christian dogma of the Virgin Birth have provided a favourable climate for the survival of a very un-Christian body of mythology.

In my own words, the kava ceremonial reduced to its most skeletal form may be described as follows:

> A semi-poisonous food substance (the kava plant) is first identified with the Presiding Chief, then it is removed from him and ritually processed according to the instructions of the Presiding *Matāpule* so as to convert it into a sacramental drink which is then imbibed by all the principal title holders present.

82: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

There is a *direct* parallel between this ritual performance and 276
the theme of cannibalism in Bott II. The parallel is also very 574
Christian. The sacramental kava is the 'body and blood of the 773
539
sacrificed man-god'. 177

But the mythology of Bott I suggests a different pattern, for 771
in the latter case the emphasis is on paired oppositions rather 276
than assimilation, and on incestuous and non-incestuous sex 574
relations between men and women rather than on love-hate 773
relationships between men. 539

In the real life ceremonial the *'alofi* circle is in two halves and the semi-circle of the presiding chief stands in polar opposition to the semi-circle of the kava bowl (Bott, *Figure 2*, p. 209).

Considering the sequence as a whole, both in its ritual and in its mythological aspects the following paired relationships are implied, with the qualification, already noted (p. 264), that the (apparent) relative secularity of food as against drink may be a recent modification:

Ritual oppositions		*Mythological oppositions*
Chief's semi-circle	*kava bowl semi-circle*	
matāpule : chief	kava maker : kava	
secular : sacred	food : drink	sugar cane : kava
		non-poisonous : poisonous
		beautiful : leprous
		son : daughter
		male : female

This patterning of ritual and mythological ideas exists in a secular context in which there is a real life 'contradiction' by which, although titles pass from fathers to sons, sisters rank higher than brothers (*supra*, p. 246).

It is an arrangement that provides the framework for a ritual enactment of a marked ambivalence in the relationship between the presiding chief and the presiding matāpule (*supra*, p. 262). The *manifest* behaviour in the ritual is one of friendly gift-giving, but the implications of the mythical background

276 are that there is an undercurrent of jealousy and hate (*supra*,
574 p. 258) and that the assembled matāpule are only willing to
539 recognize the potency of ritual chieftainship because they are
773 concerned to assimilate that potency to themselves.

276 For those who are prepared to give any credence at all to this
574 style of analysis the general significance of the ceremony has by
539 now become very obvious, indeed it has been indicated al-
773 ready at several points during the course of this essay.[11]

● 177 When the male titleholders sitting in the *'alofi* circle drink the
771 kava and receive the distributions of sugar cane these are sacramental foods in the same sense as are the bread and wine of the Christian Mass. At a mystical level they are the equivalent of the divine potency that distinguishes the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Tonga Fefine from ordinary mortals.

Of the two substances, it is the kava rather than the sugar cane that now carries real sacramental value and the significance of this fact is to be found in the circumstance that not only are the Tu'i Tonga descended from an original incestuous relationship between a male and female Tu'i Tonga but that the matāpule are likewise so descended. 'A great aristocrat is one descended, preferably through a line of elder sisters, from the elder sister of the Tu'i Tonga' (Bott, p. 218).

By the ritual drinking of kava the titleholder concerned reaffirms his aristocratic status, he assimilates to himself once again the magical, matrilineally inherited, potency of his divine ancestors. By so doing he asserts his equality, or even his superiority, to the personal status of his presiding chief.

When one considers that in Christian theology, Jesus is divine by filiation from the Father but human and royal by an ambiguous filiation through the mother, it is not after all surprising that the kava mythology, in its modern form, despite the hints of cannibalism and incest, should make mystical sense to devout Christians.

MUSICAL ACCULTURATION IN TONGA

By Major R. Raven-Hart

533 177 121 A FEATURE which appears to have received little attention in anthropological study is that of the changes made to adapt " Western " music to the indigenous musical taste. It is suggested that a study of such changes might lead to the establishing of a musical idiom for the area concerned, in the way that the Scottish " snap " and the Maori *hianga*-slide have been established as typifying those idioms. Such a study should be of particular value where the original indigenous music has been entirely, or almost entirely lost, as is regrettably the case in most of " Trinesia " (to coin a term to embrace Poly-, Micro- and Melanesia).

It is obvious how such changes occur, and in fact must occur, where the original tunes are not readily available in printed form. Someone from a village, for example, hears on a visit to a town a new and attractive tune in church or on the street. He is unlikely to know the staff notation ; he is more likely to carry the tune, more or less correctly, in his head than to write it down then and there in the very practical numerical " sol-fa " notation used on many of the islands. On his return home he sings the tune, almost inevitably with variants to suit himself ; others pick it up from him, and in their turn introduce their own variants. Finally, a new version settles into use.

121 [128] [101] During a ten-week stay on Vava'u Island many such variants were noted ; the help given by the Rev. K. D. Grove, Chairman of the Methodist District, must be gratefully acknowledged, as also that from Mr. P. Latu, choirmaster, and Mr. L. Manu, choir member of the Methodist Church ; the Rev. Fr. Gregory and Mr. Tapueluelu, Headmaster of St. Joseph's (Roman Catholic) school ; and from many others, ranging from small boys to professional musicians.

[128] It had not been thought probable that any material could be collected during a two-week stay at Apia, but thanks to the Rev. P. Kightley of the L.M.S. there, and to the boys of his school, some interesting variants were obtained. Samoan material is enclosed in square brackets.

128 The following is a small selection from the material collected, well-known tunes having been preferred whenever possible. The author would be very grateful for any further material, especially from the less accessible islands (Cook, Nieue, Gilbert, etc.). To simplify typography, a modified sol-fa notation has been used, " x " standing for a rest, and the beats being divided by colons. Notes within the octave upwards from the keynote are in roman capitals, below that keynote in lower-case italics, and above that octave in parentheses.

[p. 110]

85: Raven-Hart G,R-3 (no date) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u

(1) There is a tendency for passing-notes to be introduced or preferred, AC becoming ABC, for example, or AGC becoming ABC.[This is also true for Samoa.] A good example is Mason's tune for " Nearer to Thee," in the Sankey and Moody hymnbook. The original is: G major, 6/4, B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:–:G:–:B | A:–:–:–:–:x | B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:G:*f*:–:A | G:–:—:–:–:x | D:–:–:E:–:D | D:–:B:D:–:– | D:–:–:E:–:D | D:–:B:A:–:–: | B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:G:*f*:–:A | G:–:–:–:–:x. This becomes: B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:G:G:A:B | A:–:–:–:–:x | B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:G:*f*:G:A | G:–:–:–:–:x | D:–:–:E:–:D | D:C:B:D:–:– | D:–:–:E:–:D | D:C:B:A:–:– | B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:G:*f*:G:A | G:–:–:–:–:x. 533 177 [171]

(2) Short phrases tend to be repeated without change where the original varies them. Sullivan's " St. Gertrude " (" Onward, Christian Soldiers ") is unchanged for the first three lines, but then substitutes for the original DCBC/DCBC/DCBA/G the perhaps more effective repetition DCBA/DCBA/DCBA/G, and continues to vary to the end of the refrain: F major, 4/4, F:*c*:F:*c* | F:*e*:F:G | G:G:F:G | A:–:–:– |A:C:(F):E | (F):–:C:– | B:A:G:–,F | F:–:–:–. Here the first bar is a theft from the bass, which, with the inevitable avoidance of unison (section 4 below) goes instead to FECE.

(3) Accidentals are disliked in Tonga [and in Samoa]. A good example is the Converse " What a Friend," perhaps better known to " When this Something War is Over," which takes the form shown in example " A." Here the second note in bar 9 shou'd be F-sharp: most sang G for it, though F-natural was also heard, with an odd effect. Passing-notes appear in bars 1, 5, 13, of which the last note in each case is F in the original; and in bars 4 and 12 where the second and third notes are added. Bars 2, 6 and 14 also introduce notes, the final F helping towards the C following in the next bars. In the original, bars 7 and 15 do not repeat bar 5, but take the form C:–,F:AG:FE (which was also heard at times). The change here exemplifies the liking for repetitions (section 2 above) and perhaps also the dislike of the " Western " ending (section 9 below). [171]

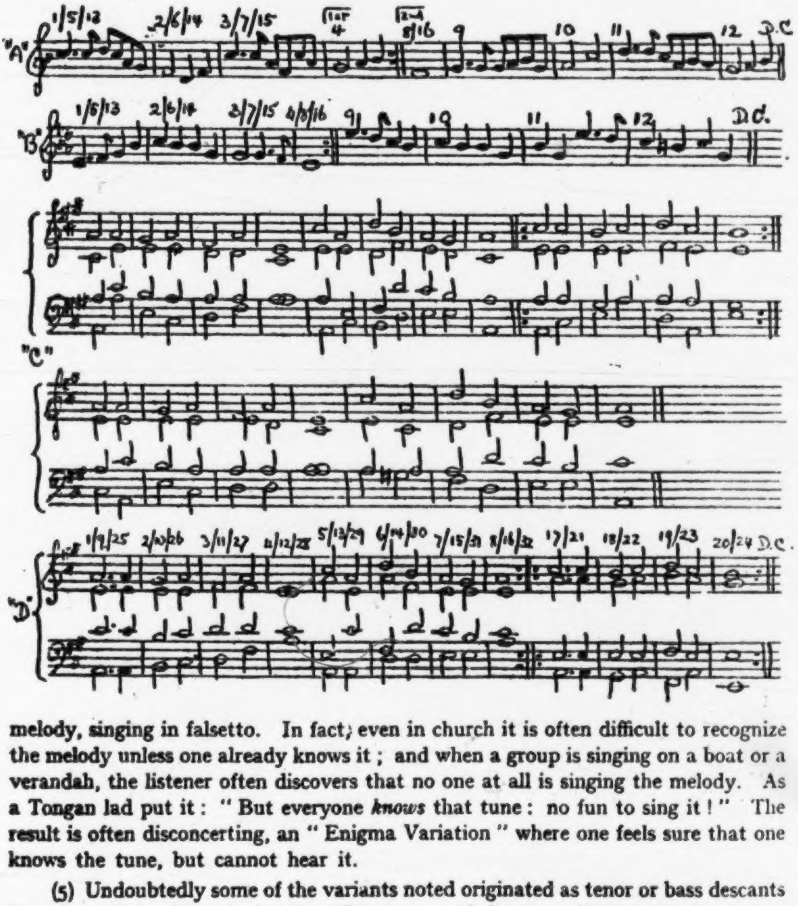
A tune which has been oddly twisted, apparently both to avoid accidentals and to gain repetitions, is Beaty's " Caritas," from the 1904 Methodist Hymnbook, of which the original form is shown in example " B." In the variant, bars 1 and 2 (and 4, 6 of the repeat) are unchanged; bars 3 (and 7) change to G:–:F:–,E to give the " level " ending referred to in section 9 below; bars 4 (and 8) are unchanged. Then for bar 9 the eleventh bar of the original is sung, for bar 10 the tenth; and for bars 11 and 12 these same two bars eleven and ten of the original are sung in that order, avoiding the B-natural of bar 12. The remainder is unchanged, except for GFE in bar 15, as in bars 3 and 7.

(4) It is obvious that the lower parts are even more likely to be altered than is the melody. Thus, for example, the bass part of Giardini's " Moscow " (" Thou whose Almighty Word "), in which the melody is unaltered, takes the form: G major, 3/4, G:B:C | D:–:D | (G):–:– | (G):F:(G) | E:–:(G) | D:–:– | B:G:B | D:–:– | D:(G):F | (G):–,D:E | D:(G):F | (G):–,D:E | C:B:A: | G:–,A:B | C:D:D | G:–:–. In the original, bars 11 and 12 do not repeat 9 and 10, but introduce accidentals, the variant thus

85: Raven-Hart G,R-3 (no date) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u

533 exemplifying sections (2) and (3) above. But the outstanding feature is that in bars 7 and 8 the unison of all parts in the original is discarded.

●177 [171] Unison is detested in Tonga [and in Samoa]. If two boys sang a tune for me, one would invariably drift off either to a second or to a descant; if three, both second and descant would probably appear. Altos often sing their part an octave higher, as a descant; even tenors and basses often take their parts above the soprano


"A"
1/5/13
2/6/14
3/7/15
4
8/16
9
10
11
12
D.C.
"B"
1/5/13
2/6/14
3/7/15
4/8/16
9
10
11
12
D.C.
"C"
"D"
1/9/25
2/10/26
3/11/27
4/12/28
5/13/29
6/14/30
7/15/31
8/16/32
17/21
18/22
19/23
20/24
D.C.

melody, singing in falsetto. In fact, even in church it is often difficult to recognize the melody unless one already knows it; and when a group is singing on a boat or a verandah, the listener often discovers that no one at all is singing the melody. As a Tongan lad put it: " But everyone *knows* that tune: no fun to sing it ! " The result is often disconcerting, an " Enigma Variation " where one feels sure that one knows the tune, but cannot hear it.

(5) Undoubtedly some of the variants noted originated as tenor or bass descants

171 (e.g. that of section (2) above). [Samoa provided an excellent example of this, Jackson's " Trentham " (A.T. 3 in the new Methodist Hymnbook), which took the

form: F major, 6/8, C:(F):E:D:–:A | C:–:–:–:x | C:C:C:D:–:D | E:–:–:–:x | 171
C:D:D:C:–:A | A:G:A:B:–:– | F:*e*:F:A:–:G | F:–:–:–:–:–. Here it will be found by reference to the original that the first four bars are stolen from the tenor (which of course goes off on a course of its own rather than accept unison with the sopranos), except that in the first bar an A replaces the accidental B-flat of the original (section 3 above). Then the next two bars are entirely new; and for the last two bars the original soprano part reappears.]

The "Trinesian" aptitude for instantly extemporizing parts to a newly-heard tune has been remarked on by many writers (e.g. King for Fiji, who tried them with classical melodies). Caillot, however, writes for Tahiti that although "harmony is innate in them" and "they never sing except in chorus," yet "they have known harmony only since they have been in contact with civilization," which, if true, is more than odd.

(6) A particularly interesting case is that of Burgoyne's "Spanish Chant," since 533
not only was the accepted variant fully noted, but a sub-variant was actually heard
in process of development. The original is given as example "C": no metronome- 177
mark is shown, but the probable speed is in the order of 80 semibreves to the minute,
at the most.

Tonga sings it about three times as fast, and changes to a dotted rhythm in 533
the first bar of each phrase, giving the really exciting tune of example "D." It
will be noted that bars 25 to 32 exactly repeat bars 1 to 8, thus avoiding the accidental 177
of bar 29 in the original (sections 2 and 3 above). The use by the bass in bars
17 to 24 of the opening melody is very attractive; the alto part in these bars
exemplifies the fondness for following the melody a third below, as mentioned later
(section 13). Some of the harmonies may seem peculiar, but were transcribed [126]
from the numerical sol-fa manuscript score lent by the choirmaster, and can therefore
be guaranteed.

After this had been recorded, a boy was heard whistling the melody. Bar 7 did not please him; after repeatedly whistling the first six bars he hit on EDCB for the seventh, and enthusiastically adopted it; and after a few repetitions altered (as was to be expected) the B of bar 6 to a D, better to lead into the run. This run suggested that something similar should occur in the next phrase, and he tried, for bar 19, the run DCBA. This was at once abandoned, and EDCB and FEDC were tried, in both cases with the C of bar 18 changed to a D as a passing-note. The attractive alternative of putting this FEDC run into bar 20 was also tried, with the C of bar 18 becoming an E to lead to it; but this did not find favour. When he broke off at a call from his house he seemed to have settled down to the form: A major, 4/4, A:–:–:A | *g*:–:A:–: | *f*:–:A:–: | *e*:–:–:– | C:–:A:–: | D:–:D:–: | E:D:C:B | A:–:–:– | repeat these eight bars, then C:–:–:C | B:–:D:– | F:E:D:C | B:–:–:– | C:–:–:C | B:–:D:– | F:E:D:C | B:–:–:– | and finally again repeat the first eight bars.

(7) Examples were also collected from secular songs (though the demarcation is not strict, "Geneviève," "Annie Laurie," and "Loch Lomond" all ranking as hymn-tunes). A singing competition for schools set "Auld Lang Syne" as one of

533 177 the test-pieces; many variants were heard, especially of the ending, when small boys sang the tune for fun after the competition: C:–,*a*:*a*:*b* | C:–:–, C:–,*a*:*g*:*b* | C:–:–, and especially C:–,C:*a*:*b* | C:–:– were the commonest, showing the preference for passing-notes.

(8) One variant recorded is too amusing to omit, although it does not illustrate any of the points under discussion: C major, 4/4, x:x:x:ED | C:–,C:(C):–,A | A(C):x:x:A | G:EC:D:ED | D:x:x:ED | C:–,C:(C):–,A | A(C):x:x:A | G:EC:D:–,C | C:x:x:G | B:–,(C):(D):G | G:x:x:G | B:–,(C):(D):G | G:x:x:ED | C:–,C:(C):–,A | A(C):x:x:A | G:EC:D:–,C | C:–:–. The tune asked for was "Annie Laurie": the obvious title for the variant is "Swannee Laurie." (Has it been suggested that Stephen Foster had the Scottish tune at the back of his mind when writing "Old Folks at Home"?)

533 177 171 (9) It is not suggested that the above characteristics—passing-notes, repetitions, the avoidance of accidentals—are typically "Trinesian." On the contrary, they might be expected wherever foreign music is introduced to a people not making full use of musical notation. One feature, however, which may prove to be typical of the musical idiom of "Trinesia" is the dislike of the common "Western" ending in keynote-semitone down-keynote, CBC for example; and a preference for a "level" ending, CCC. (This has of course nothing to do with the frequent repetition of the keynote *after* the Western melody is ended, on an unaccented beat of the bar, to allow for the fact that many words are accented on the penultimate syllable. Thus, where a Western melody may end, in a four-beat bar, with E:D:C:–, it may be necessary when singing indigenous words to make it E:D:C:C. Nor, of course, is it implied that the "level" ending is unknown in Western music, though it is there to be found chiefly in folk-songs, and not very frequently.)

171 In the Torres Strait (see the Bibliography) examples were collected where the CBC ending was deliberately levelled; examples from Fiji are included in another paper now in the press. Other examples are to be found in Andersen (see the Bibliography) for New Zealand and the South Pacific generally, on pages 114, 115, 117, 118, 159, 378, etc. The frequency of the CBC type of ending in the West, especially in church music, can be realized from the fact that random samplings of the first hundred hymn tunes in the Methodist Hymnbook gave more than one in every five with this ending, and of the first hundred chants, more than one in every three.

533 177 171 The Tongan musical tradition does not seem to be sufficiently strong to make such radical changes as in the Torres Strait, but there is a definite tendency to avoid the "Western" ending. For example, see the sub-variant in section (6) above; or the end of Dykes' "St. Bees" ("Hark, my soul"), where A:G:A:– is replaced by AG:FG:A, the G and F being of course sharps. Many other examples could be given; there seems to be a probability that the preferred alternative may prove to be the descending scale, as in the sub-variant mentioned, with which compare the Maori *hianga*-slide leading to a "level" ending; but sufficient material is not as yet available for this to be more than a suggestion.

The best examples of the " level " ending in Tongan music are to be found in 533
the popular tunes, which, although in many cases deriving from Western originals, 177
have been so adapted to the local taste that these originals cannot now be identified,
or only doubtfully. As Caillot writes : " No European tune can pass the lips of a [171]
Tahitian, for example, without being at once so changed in nature, transformed to
such an extent as to become unrecognizable except by a musician " ; and, it might be added, not always by him. When Thomson was in Tonga, such originals were chiefly " Wesleyan hymns, military-band marches and Mozart's ' Twelfth Mass ' " ; to-day they are hymns, film tunes and Handel's " Messiah."

One such popular tune is " Tui Lavoni " (the name of a ship). This, as played to me by one of the real musicians of the island, has the " Western " ending : F major, 4/4, x:x:x:AB | CB:AG:FA:CC | D:B:–:AB | CB:AG:FG:AB | A:G:–:AB | CB:AG:FA:CC | D:B:–:AB | CB:AF:GG:F*e* | F:–:–. On the other hand, as sung for me by small boys it has the " level " ending : AB | CA:FF:FA:CC | D:B:–:AB | CA:FF:FG:AB | A:G:–:AB | CA:FF:FA:CC | D:B:–:DD | CA:FF:GA:FF | F:F:–.

(10) Another popular tune which presents points of interest is " Tau mai ya " (" Would that I," a love song). Many versions of this were noted : two are given here. The first as it was first recorded : F major, 4/4, FG | A:–,G:BA:GF | F:F:x:*e*F | G:–,*d*:F*e*:*dd* | *d*:–:–:*c*F | A:–,G:BA:GF | F:–,G:BA:GF | F:–,G:BA:GF | F:F:x:*e*F | G:–,*d*:F*e*:*dd* | *d*:–:–. The second in a more repetitious, and apparently more popular form : *c*F | A:–,B:AG:FF | F:F:–,F:*e*F | G:–,B:AG:FF | F:–:–:*c*F | A:–,B:AG:FF | F:F:–,F:*e*F | G:–,B:AG:FF | F:–,B:AG:FF | F:–,B:AG:FF | F:F:x:*c*F | A:–,B:AG:FF | F:–:–. It seems probable that the second is a development of the first ; if so, a Western original for the first version has perhaps been identified, and it may amuse readers to attempt to detect this (somewhat unexpected) original before reading the postscript to this paper.

It will be noted that both versions show the " level " ending very markedly.

[(11) It should, however, be added that, in two variants collected in Samoa, far 171
from any dislike of the " Western " ending appearing, this was actually substituted for a descending scale of the FEDC type, in one case at the end of a repeated phrase, in the other at the end of the tune itself. The former is Hughes' " Cwm Rhondda " (" Guide me "), where the second and fourth lines normally end in C | B:A:G:–, but Samoa prefers the ending CA | G:F:G:–, perhaps by infection from the end of the tune. The second is the 1775 Songbook " Hursley " (" Sun of my soul "), where the original ending is D:D:D | C:–:A | B:A:G | F:–:–, but Samoa prefers D:D:C | B:F:A | G:F:*e* | F:–:–. However, much more material would be necessary before stating that the usual " Trinesian " preference for the level ending is absent, or weak, in Samoa.]

(12) As an experiment to test aural memory, the simple folk-tune " There's a 125
hole in my bucket " was sung some twelve times to a class of about 20 boys aged from 533
eight to fourteen. After ten days no one had enough idea of the tune to attempt it ;
it was again repeated some twelve times, but after another week only one boy earned 177
the sixpence promised for a recognizable version, curiously condensing the tune into five notes instead of the original six, and levelling the ending : C major, 3/4.

125 c(D) | (E):A:A | B:C:A | B:C:A | B:C:C(D) | (E):A:A | B:C:A | B:C:C | C:–. It should
however be added that no words were given with the tune, and that a wordless
533 tune is a mere ghost of a melody for most "Trinesians," so that the test was hardly
177 a fair one. A similar test made in Fiji, with words extemporized, was far more
[171] successful, and is dealt with in the paper mentioned in the Bibliography.

(13) A considerable amount of music is being composed in Tonga to-day, showing
533 strong Western influence. In Thomson's time, their songs were "boating-songs,
177 odes to Nature or to flowers, or laments, but never love-songs." To-day the favoured
subjects are patriotic ditties, love-songs, and songs to Nature, in that order.

When harmonized by the composer, as a rule the alto and tenor parts tend to follow the melody, rarely striking out any melodic line of their own: very frequently the alto is merely a succession of thirds below the melody, as in the example D, and, as Thomson wrote, "A procession of consecutive fifths seems to afford them peculiar delight." The bass is the important part, and is often given a series of duologues with the other three parts combined. These points were well illustrated in a recent choral composition set as a test-piece (far more suitably than foreign music) for the singing competition already mentioned.

The favouritism shown to the basses is justified by their excellence, both in quality and range; one bass complained to me that he could sing "only" two octaves really well, from middle C down; another happily produced *four* octaves, from A below the bass clef upwards, with a very smooth transition to a strikingly pure
[534] falsetto. Favouritism is also shown in the hymn-singing, many of the tunes being
pitched somewhat high for the sake of the basses; there are, Heaven be praised, no organs or other instruments in Tongan churches, and the choirmaster has merely a pitch-pipe to guide him. It is most sincerely to be hoped that no false ideas of progress, no pseudo-sophistication, may bring in organs or bands to spoil what is undoubtedly the best part-singing in the Pacific.

Another "progress" threatened is the production of a tune-book in the numerical sol-fa notation, especially undesirable should it merely transcribe from the Western hymn books the "correct" tunes and harmonies; if so, it is to be hoped that Tongan musical obstinacy will be able to ignore these in favour of their own traditional variants.

Postscript.—The suspected original for the first tune to "Tau mai ya" is the plainsong "Tonus Peregrinus," used for Psalm 114 ("In exitu Israel") only, and
[795] adapted also as an Anglican chant for this psalm. But there is no Anglican church
on Vava'u, nor is this plainsong used in the Roman Catholic church there—and at most it could be heard once a month only.

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Famous Maori Songs. (Beggs, Auckland 1940.) The accompaniments are purely Western, and there is a strong Western Influence in the melodies, but some "level" endings occur, and several with the descending scale.

Burrows, E. G.: *Native Music of the Tuamotus* (Bishop Museum Bulletin 109), Honolulu 1933; and "Songs of Uvea and Futuna," *op. cit.* 183, Honolulu 1945. Of exceptional value in that not only are primitive tunes given but also "hybrids" showing Western influence.

433 241 village- and town-dwelling small-holding farmers of a variety of root crops for
subsistence and of copra and bananas for cash.[3]

643 The pre-contact Tongan political and social system was a highly stratified
565 kingship, which was an extreme case of the hierarchical social organization for
175 which Polynesia has been culturally typed (see Gifford, 1929; Goldman, 1970;
171 Sahlins, 1958). The pre-contact sacred kingship of the Tu'i Tonga had been
177 increasingly challenged by the political competition among ruling chiefs for
797 over two centuries, when Wesleyan missionaries, arriving in 1826, began a
process of thorough westernization of indigenous institutions. Enthusiastically
643 accepting Christianity and the advantages of western ideas of law, government,
178 and education, the powerful chiefly leader, Tāufa'āhau,[4] as the Christian king
George Tupou I, united the islands under a constitutional monarchy and a
178 strong Wesleyan church organization. Although later a British protectorate
177 (1900-1970), Tonga was the only polity in Polynesia to maintain indigenous
642 sovereignty and remains the only surviving Polynesian kingship.[5]

[648] The institutional and legal framework for the new order has remained
[170] virtually intact during the reigns of the four monarchs of the Tupou dynasty
(Tupou I, 1875-1893; Tupou II, 1893-1918; Queen Sālote, 1918-1965; and
Tupou IV, 1965-). The major pre-contact social and political institutions
were replaced by a monarchical state (with the kingship defined as part of the
conventional executive, legislative, and judicial branches of western government)
177 and Christian church organizations. On the other hand, a number of indigenous
customs and values were assimilated to the innovations and persisted, particularly
178 in the important everyday-life contexts of kin relations and of the production
and exchange of traditional foodstuffs and goods such as barkcloth and mats.
This early, stable complex of institutions, ideas, and practices, which integrated
Tongan culture with a version of European culture, remained isolated during
the early twentieth century as a neo-traditional or compromise culture and is
only now being challenged by increasing political and economic contacts with
other regional and world nations.

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[3] The following are major sources on recent Tongan demography and economics: Bollard (1974), deBres (1974), Maude (1965, 1971), Sevele (1973), and Walsh (1964). The following are sources on modern Tongan society and culture: Aoyagi (1966); Beaglehole (1941), Kaeppler (1971), Korn (1974) Marcus (1975a, 1975b), Morton (1972), and Rogers (1968, 1975).

[175] [4] There were actually three kingships in Tonga in the century before the Constitution. In the 15th century, the 24th incumbent Tu'i Tonga conferred supreme secular power on his younger brother, while retaining for himself the highest sacred status, thus initiating a collateral line of kings called the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. The 6th Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, repeating the earlier split in authority, conferred considerable authority on one of his sons, thus creating a second line of major societal chiefs or kings, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, collateral to the sacred Tu'i Tonga kingship. Tāufa'āhau was the 19th Tu'i Kanokupolu.

[5] Major secondary sources on Tonga's transformation and recent history are Lātūkefu (1974); Rutherford (1971), and Wood (1932, 1975).

423 and modified the directions of change in patterns of land-holding and
[178 consequently in social structure. As such, the land at the very least has
[554 served as the ideological basis of male social status and respectability in the
new order and as the social foundation for the broader definition of individual
[641] rights in the Tongan Constitution.

565 Impressions of Europeans concerning contemporary Tongan society inevitably focus on the noble-commoner division as defining the major lines
565 of class in the monarchy. Undoubtedly, the decision to preserve a limited
number of major traditional chiefs in the form of western-styled noble landlords
177 in the nineteenth century was partially motivated by a need to conform to
648 European views of what the basis of a modern constitutional monarchy should
be, since it appears that the independence of Tonga at the time was dependent
on a self-transformation which courted Western views of 'civilized' institutions.
565 However, Tongans themselves have never entirely accustomed themselves to
the view that the *kau nopele* ('the noble title-holders') alone encompass the
hou'eiki (broadly, chiefs and aristocrats) of modern Tonga. The modern
nobility is not isomorphic with the blood aristocrats of Tonga. In fact, several
of the nobles, although formally recognized or equated as *hou'eiki* by law,
are not considered aristocrats by Tongans in general or by the residents of the
estates of these nobles in particular. The use of the concept *'eiki*, the
traditional 'cover' term denoting chiefly status, has been widely expanded in
modern Tonga to apply to a great number of contexts beyond its traditional
meanings (for example, ministerial posts, some held by commoners, are
referred to as *'eiki minisitā*).

[114] Elizabeth Spillius, in her excellent intensive work at the court of the
late Queen Sālote (1960), defined the traditional principles of Tongan *'eiki*
565 classification. In pre-contact times, the concept of *sino'i 'eiki* (literally, 'chiefly
body') meant broadly 'aristocrat by blood' and had both loose and restricted
175 meanings. The *'eiki* were strictly the Tu'i Tonga and his major wife and
643 children, while loosely the term applied to all people who could trace a fairly
close blood connection with the Tu'i Tonga. Furthermore, aside from this
565 loose and restricted meaning of *'eiki*, which definitely classed certain individuals
175 at the apex of society as either *'eiki* or not, the term had completely contextual
554 application where a man might be called *'eiki* in his own village, but when
he was in the presence of outsiders of higher rank he might be referred to
by a demeaning term such as *motu'a* ('old one'). The English word chief
565 connotes authority over territory and a group of subjects, but there is no
175 exact Tongan linguistic equivalent. There were chiefs without title and without
'eiki blood, and they would be referred to, depending on occasion, as *tauhi
fonua* ('keepers of the land') or *ivilahi* ('men of personal skill and power').
Some chiefs held titles and some not, some were blood *'eiki* (*sino'i 'eiki*) and
565 some not. With the establishment of the nobility, *'eiki* status in a legal or
641

SUCCESSION DISPUTES AND THE POSITION OF THE NOBILITY IN MODERN TONGA

By George E. Marcus

(Continued from Volume 47 No. 3 March 1977)

General Issues Raised by Title Successsion Cases

565 643 The backgrounds of the succession cases raise important issues concerning the modern nobility under three main categories: the relationship of the monarch to law and legal process; relationships within noble kin groups; and the overall status of the nobility in contemporary society.

643 (1) *The Monarch and Legal Process*

565 692 428 [554] In 1926, Queen Sālote wrote a long letter to Privy Council complaining of the Land Court's right to hear cases concerning hereditary title succession. Contrary to the Land Court Judge's opinion, the Queen felt that it was the monarch's appointment in the context of the succession law that was primary, far from being superfluous. She objected to the legal classification of succession to positions of *'eiki* honour as matters of succession to land, recognizing the tarnishing effect of this on the aura of chiefly prestige, a factor which was important to her in the survival of a chiefly tradition. In addition, she specifically focussed on the Land Court's decision in the first Vakalā case (reversing the Queen's appointment of C in favor of Y) in raising her objection.

643 565 692 428 177 554 643 565 In her letter, Queen Sālote suggested the establishment of a special "Court or Committee of Privileges" to hear title disputes. This suggestion was not extraordinary even in the context of Tonga's early modernization. After all, the English monarchy, on which Tonga's was partially modelled, provides for the special adjudication of titles of honour. Queen Sālote's suggestion can be seen both in the context of further emulating a western practice regarding monarchical systems and of separating the concept of chiefly honour and privilege from mere legal land-holding (which is the same privilege granted commoners) in the interests of preserving the traditional status of Tongan chiefs. For whatever reason, Queen Sālote's objection did not succeed, and the Land Court continued to have the power to review, and if necessary, reverse the monarch's appointments of hereditary title-holders.

428 [692] [661] Queen Sālote (and her Prince Consort, Tungī) apparently accepted this situation, respecting the application of the succession law as adjudicated through the Land Court. I have no evidence of any background interference or intrigue by the monarch, during the reign of Queen Sālote, in an attempt to influence the outcome of succession cases. Rather, when a more legitimate or favoured

132 The prevailing winds, which considerably temper the heat, are the
South-East Trade Winds. The ocean-currents are also from the south-
133 east; interesting proof is found in the fact that wreckage from the steamer
"Tahiti," which foundered about 500 miles south-east of Togatabu in August, 1930, had drifted to the east coasts of Vava'u and the Ha'abai islands by the following December.

132 Hurricanes are seldom experienced in Togatabu, but they sometimes occur in the northern islands where they work great havoc to plan-
731 tations and buildings. The most disastrous hurricanes of recent years happened in 1912 and 1913 in Vava'u and Ha'abai. Niua Fo'ou was ravaged by successive blows in December, 1930, February, 1931, and March, 1932, and the hurricane of December, 1930, destroyed almost every house in Niua Tobutabu.

731 Earthquakes are fairly common but are not severe, as a rule.
133 Instances of damage caused by tidal waves accompanying shakes are recorded in some places such as Lifuka and 'Uiha, low islands of Ha'abai.

136

ANIMALS AND PLANTS.

231 Pigs, fowls and rats seem to have been brought to Tonga many
[439] centuries ago; as already noticed, Tasman, Cook and other voyagers
[175] exchanged iron goods for pigs and fowls. Hunting rats was a favourite
[224] sport of the chiefly archers in former times. Pigs and fowls still form the
[262] only meat-diet of the village-people. Their gardens are often spoiled by roving pigs; and these creatures infest some uninhabited islands such as Tofua, while the distant island of 'Ata swarms with fowls. Snakes
136 are unknown, but there are several varieties of lizard, including a green lizard (fokai). There are numerous insect pests, such as centipedes and mosquitoes.

231 Europeans have introduced horses, cows, goats, turkeys, etc.
[175] Cook presented the first horses, cows and sheep to Bau, Maealiuaki and
[177] Finau in 1777; the cattle were called Cook's "pigs" (buaka Tute) by the natives, a circumstance which has given rise to the fiction that Cook brought pigs to Tonga. These islands are not very suitable for sheep.

Government statistics show the following animals in Tonga in 1931:—7,467 horses, 1,661 cattle, 7 sheep, 18,231 pigs, 4,028 dogs, and 2,148 goats.

136 In 'Eua there is a green parrot which will not breed if taken elsewhere. Probably the strangest bird in the group is the megapodius (malau) at Niua Fo'ou which flies badly and leaves unusually large eggs to be hatched in the sand; this bird is also found in the Solomon Islands
[237] but nowhere between that group and Niua Fo'ou. The tavake is a bird
[566] whose blood-red tail-feathers were worn only by chiefs. As previously stated, the absence of running water accounts for the rather small number of birds in the group.

Reference has already been made to the large number of flying-foxes which find sanctuary at Kolovai, in Western Togatabu.

The sea everywhere abounds in fish, and sharks are plentiful.
226 The people are expert fishermen, but of all their methods none is stranger

000 ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Tongan Agricultural System: With Special Emphasis on Plant Assemblages

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Geography
University of California, Los Angeles, 1975
Professor Jonathan D. Sauer, Chairman

105 Despite continued exposure to foreign technologies and
241 value systems, the Tongan agricultural system is still
178 characterized by bush-fallow cultivation and a dependence
177 on root crops grown in association with a great variety of
traditional and some recently introduced cultivated and
wild plants. The system, however, seems to be undergoing
rapid change due to a number of factors, including increasing population pressure on land, increasing dependence on
the cash economy and commercial agriculture, and introduced
121 technology. This dissertation attempts to examine the
system as it existed in 1971-1972 in order to gain a better
understanding of the nature of the plant assemblages, their
importance to the Tongan society and present and future

241 The present Tongan farmers have a wealth of empirical
433 knowledge about their environment and traditional crops and
cropping practices. Unfortunately, as suggested by
Schultz, new forms of capital are needed to provide for the
241 future. Foreign degrees in agricultural science, agri-
433 cultural machinery, pesticides and fertilizers, breeding
178 stock and planting material from overseas, and technical
●177 and financial aid are already beginning to bring about
242 changes in the traditional agricultural system.

Nature of Study

128 It is the primary aim of this dissertation to look
at the Tongan agricultural system as it existed in 1971-
1972. Particular emphasis will be placed on plant species,
plant associations and selected agricultural practices.
121 There are two major reasons for conducting an investigation
of this nature. The first is the general concern which
geographers have for man's relationship with and effect on
the earth. A much more immediate reason, however, is
that because steadily increasing population pressure is
forcing agricultural systems to change dramatically, better
understanding of traditional agricultural systems can help
effect change with minimum cultural disruption and shock.

Studies which have dealt with some aspects of traditional Pacific Island agricultural systems are numerous. Most of these fall into four general categories:

1) general descriptions of the agricultural landscape and

642
648 appointment of Europeans to high Tongan government positions (Wood, 1945:62).

643 Since 1905, the Tongan government has, with British guidance, functioned without major problems. After the death of Tupou II, his daughter, Queen Salote Tupou III, reigned from 1918 to 1967, at which time she was succeeded
642
648 by her son, the present king, Taufa'ahau Tupou IV. In 1958, a new "Treaty of Friendship" with Great Britain (ratified in 1959) gave the Tongan government increased freedom and, finally, in June 1970, Tonga obtained complete independence, at the same time becoming a member of the British Commonwealth.

177
241 Throughout Tonga's history, the exposure to other cultures and their technologies has had considerable effect on the agricultural system. Contacts with other Pacific Island cultures such as the Fijians and Samoans encouraged trade, which put both social and economic value on Tongan products. These contacts also led to the introduction of various cultigens and animals that are now important components of the agricultural system.

[231] The early European navigators and explorers exposed Tongans to firearms and other European technology, and Cook introduced new cultigens and domesticated animals: melons, pineapples, pulses, cattle, sheep, horses, rabbits and deer
177 (Beaglehole, 1967:120 and 1969:262). Further contact with whalers, trading vessels, runaway sailors, and escaped

177 convicts also increased the Tongans' knowledge of the
European culture. These visitors searching for whales,
sandalwood, turtle shell, bêche-de-mer, cheap labor, and
adventure, introduced new diseases, alcohol, and firearms.

177 The impact of missionary societies effectively began in
797 1826 and was dominated by the Methodist or Wesleyan Mission
[795] although Catholic, Anglican, Seventh Day Adventist and,
more recently, the Morman missions have also had consider-
[241] able influence. Tongans have been nominally converted to
Christianity; an education system was founded; there has
been considerable missionary influence politically; and new
agricultural technology such as sprinkler irrigation and new
varieties of peanuts, bananas, garden vegetables, and other
crops have been introduced through missionary societies.

177 During the latter half of the nineteenth century, resi-
439 dent traders and large trading concerns, such as J.C.
Godeffroy and Son, came to Tonga for such products as coco-
177 nut oil and bêche-de-mer (Robson, 1946:63). European
241 settlers and trading companies, such as the successor to
439 Godeffroy and Son, the D.H.P.G. (Deutsche, Handels-und
[423] Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Sudsee-Inseln zu Hamburg),
obtained leasehold rights to land and developed plantation
agriculture around copra, cotton, coffee, and livestock. A
number of these large-scale plantations still exist, and
European technology and the cultivation of export crops have
remained an integral part of Tongan agriculture.

178 After the supplementary Treaty of Friendship with Great
241 Britain in 1905, the mercantile functions of the traders
654 were reduced gradually and the Tongan government, with
[177] British guidance, assumed greater responsibility for
[647] economic and agricultural activities. Major moves to
"Tonganize" or localize the commercial agricultural economy
included: the appointment of an agricultural advisor in 1901
and a Director of Agriculture in 1939 (Maude, 1965:43-44);
the formation of the Tonga Copra Board in 1942; and the
formation of the Tonga Banana Board (now the Tonga Produce
Board) in 1949.

177 The Tongan culture was strongly affected by the Second
World War when Tongatapu became a staging area for shipping
[368] wartime supplies. Roads, wharves, a railroad, and the
present airport at Fua'amotu were constructed. Of even
greater consequence, the Tongan people received additional
exposure to the workings of the cash economy as well as an
introduction to an almost entirely new set of values, which
differed radically from those of the missionaries and the
elitist colonial administrators.

177 There continues to be a steady stream of temporary non-
167 Tongan administrators, teachers, technical experts and
volunteers primarily from Britain, New Zealand, Australia,
and, more recently, the United States of America, who
continue to have an effect on the Tongan culture in spite
of the current wave of Pacific Island nationalism and search
for self-identity.

361 As late as the first decade of the nineteenth century,
Mariner reported that "the common men live entirely in the
country with their wives and families, and occupy themselves
361 cultivating the land" (Maude, 1965:27). Kennedy believes
621 that:

> These apparently dispersed dwellings may have been in groups covering a proportion of the land held by each chief . . . . This being a comparatively small area, the settlement pattern would in effect represent a village, though quite different in form from its modern counterpart in Tonga. (Kennedy, 1958:162-163; Walsh, 1970:29).

361 In the early nineteenth century "Dark Age" of civil
712 disorder, Tongans were forced to seek protection in fort-
[722] resses known as kolo (the name used today for villages and
towns). Such fortresses, all of which had walls, moats, pits, and other means of defense, were established throughout Tongatapu in such places as Nuku'alofa, Pea, Te'ekiu, Kolovai, Nukunuku, Fatai, Longoteme, Kolonga, and Lapaha (McKern, 1929:80-89)... the sites of present day villages or towns.

361 Since the period of the civil wars, the predominant
178 settlement pattern has remained one of nucleated settlements
from which the inhabitants commute to the surrounding garden
●[177] areas. The evolution of well-defined towns was no doubt
encouraged by the establishment of religious missions and
schools, trading companies, and government offices in towns
[423] and villages. The distinction between the 'api kolo (place
to reside in town) and the 'api 'uta (place to cultivate in

602 612 tution of 1875, the household has assumed greater impor-
178 tance than the *kainga* with respect to land tenure and eco-
[592] nomic activity. Weakening of the *kainga* has also been
[554] brought about by European contact and increased focus on
[177] individualism, strength of personality, resourcefulness, and
education or wealth in the determination of social ranking.

602 Nevertheless, kinship ties provide a major impetus for
437 the redistribution of products from the agricultural system
602 within the kin group. The most salient exchanges are those
437 which take place during ceremonial occasions, such as
476 births, baptisms, marriages, and funerals, where different
[431] kinsmen contribute labor, food, or make presentations of
fine mats, tapa, kava, and other traditional goods of high
social value. Apart from ceremonial exchanges, there is
also a constant flow of labor, food, and other commodities
602 throughout the kin group. Although the direction is often
437 from lower ranking members to higher ranking members, there
554 is also considerable flow in the opposite direction.

Social Ties

571 Ties which help define the role of the individual with-
554 in the broader context of Tongan society include some
pertaining to the traditional system of rank and status and
other more contermporary ties related to the church, the
government, and the village.

565 Tongan society is traditionally a stratified hierarchy
554 of royalty and commoners. The royalty or high chiefs (*eiki*,

423 schools, egalitarian principles are gaining wider acceptance
427 and if presentations are to be made to the nobles,
565 they are generally made during ceremonial occasions. However,
178 there are a number of nobles who have as yet not
651 granted permanent tenure to tenants on their land and continue
to exact tribute in the form of cash or produce for
the privilege of tenure.

554 Apart from the nobility, the positions of matapule,
town officers and district officers, artisans, ministers,
schoolteachers, and successful entrepreneurs, all demand
[437] certain respect. In order to maintain a favourable social
atmosphere, reciprocal exchanges of money, food, or labor
are made between these individuals and their constituencies.

182 In summary, it must be stressed that these social ties,
571 as well as the previously described kinship ties, provide
602 the basis for cohesion in the Tongan society. Not only do
these set up vast networks of both unilateral and bilateral
exchanges of cash, food, and rervices, but they also provide
the basis for the political system, land tenure, and the
565 organization of labor. At the present time, the titles of
178 chiefs, particularly nobles, still carry great social,
178 economic, and political power. Similarly, the nuclear
602 family, the broader kin group, and the village still play a
571 major role with the social and economic life of the average
[177] Tongan. However, with increasing exposure to other
[182] cultures, a continuing influence of the church, and an

178
177 increased dependence on the cash economy, the traditional
182 forms of social organization are changing to allow more
602 individualism, egalitarianism, and personal freedom and
571 consequent modification of the traditional Tongan agricultural system.

Land Tenure

175 Traditional Land Tenure

423 Of the limited information concerning Tongan land tenure before European contact, the most comprehensive survey is that by Maude (1971). According to Maude, the pre-contact system probably consisted of sets of overlapping stewardships, in contrast to the more individua-
175 listic present system. The basic landholding group was a
423 patrilineal known as a fa'ahinga or matakali. Each
565 fa'ahinga was headed by an ulumotu'a, who usually held a
631 hereditary title such as matapule (Ceremonial attendant) or
613 foha to the chief.

[621] A number of these fa'ahinga were grouped under the authority of a chief, the highest ranking fa'ahinga with-
175 in this group being the chief's own. A number of related
423 chiefs, and their fa'ahinga, were grouped into ha'a, which
613 had rights over large tracts of land which "formed rough
631 but not completely exclusive territorial units" (Maude,
565 1971:107). The ultimate title to all land was probably
613 vested nominally in the Tu'i Tonga, who represented the
[643] highest ranking ha'a.

000 613 highest ranking *ha'a*.

423 At the lowest level of this system of overlapping
175 stewardships, the *'ulumotu'a* had authority to allot parcels
621 [565] of land to members and households within his *fa'ahinga*
(Morton, 1972:50). Once a *fa'ahinga* had tenure on a given
parcel of land, their rights to it generally continued
[565] indefinitely, unless lost in war. Their rights, however,
[643] were also probably subject to acceptable behaviour and
[631] conformity to norms and could be overruled by the chief, the
head of the *ha'a*, or the Tu'i Tonga in extreme circumstances
(Maude, 1965:107-109).

423 The system was feudalistic and there were reportedly
175 many exactions by the chiefs on the land holder. These
631 included the provision of labor, first fruits, and food for
565 651 important occasions. The landholders's position was subservient to the higher chiefs, and ultimatly to the Tu'i
Tonga, with little security in land or its produce (West,
1865"261-263; Rutherford, 1971:58).

423 Development of the Present System

178 Major changes in the traditional system followed the
accession to power of Tupou I in 1845. The central govern-
423 ment assumed sole authority to grant titles to land (1850)
178 with the prohibition of the sale of land to anyone, non-
656 Tongans (1850) or Tongans (1872) (Maude, 1971:109-110).
[177] According to most accounts, many of these early changes
were attempts, brought about with the help of Wesleyan

423 missionaries to emancipate the Tongan commoner from
178 serfdom, forced labor, and obligatory contributions to
656 traditional chiefs (Wood, 1945:56-57; Rutherford, 1971:58;
177 Maude, 1971:110). Further changes were brought about by
423 the Constitution of 1875. One of the major provisions of
178 the Constitution was the granting of "legal" estates or
565 *tofi'a* to a number of the traditional chiefs. This provided
641 for the re-establishment of a landed nobility, which had
been, in law but not in practice, eliminated in 1852.
423 Accordingly, by 1882, Tupou I had appointed 30 traditional
565 chiefs and six *matapules* as virtual landlords of hereditary
641 estates thoughout Tonga. The nobles thus created had the
[427] right to lease land in their districts to Tongans and, with
423 the Cabinet's approval to foreigners. The balance of the
land not included in the 36 grants remained under the
control of the Crown. The Act of 1882 established the right
423 of each Tongan male sixteen years of age or older to both
641 a town allotment ('*api* *kolo*) and a bush or garden allotment
659 ('*api* '*uta*) to be granted to him by the holder of the estate
on which he resided; in 1891, the government assumed responsibility for granting allotments (although estate holders continued to receive the rent); and in 1915, estate holders were given the right to be consulted before the government (through the Minister of Lands) granted allotments from their estates (Maude, 1971:111).

423 The primary basis for the present system is the Land

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Item	Days/Year	Item	Days/Year
Carrots	16.7	Cucumber	3.6
Pumpkin	16.0	Dog	2.8
Green *pata* banana	13.5	*Sonchus oleraceus* leaves	2.7
Goa yam	13.4	*Ochrosia oppositifolia* fruit	2.4
Bell pepper	13.4	Duck	2.2
Lettuce	13.3	Goat	2.0
Solanum nigrum leaves	12.2	Ripe plantain	1.4
Ripe plantain	11.2	Sweet potato leaves	1.1
Swamp taro	8.6	*Cordyline terminalis* tuber	0.8
Chinese cabbage	6.5	*Misapeka* banana	0.8
Horsemeat	6.1	Cat	0.3
Ripe *mamae* banana	6.0	Pandanus fruit	0.3
Sausage (I)	5.6	Polynesian arrowroot	0.2
		Manioc leaves	0.2

291
178
[177]
[439]

Except for ceremonial occasions, European dress and imported material have replaced the tapa cloth worn prior to European contact. However, the traditional *ta'ovala*, a woven or plaited mat-like garment which is tied around the waist by a cord, is still worn formally and informally by Tongan men and women.

Tongans gave honour to women of high chiefly rank. The eldest daughter 644
of the Tu'i Tonga was the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (= female) who received greater [562]
respect than even her father or brother. Her daughter was called the Tamaha
(= Sacred Child) to whom even the Tu'i Tonga made obeisance. The first Tamaha
was the daughter of a Fijian chief from Lakeba, in the Lau group, who married
the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, in the early 17th Century; the last Tamaha died in
1852.(7)

Through careful inter-marriage the chiefs preserved physical and mental 565
superiority over the commoners. Though the chiefs had unlimited power and 622
were often oppressive they received from their people a loyalty that has remained
a characteristic feature of Tongan society. Tongans were industrious to the extent 181
that life in their fertile islands required and their service to the chiefs necessitated. 461
They, however, were regarded as rather indolent in contrast with their neighbours
in Fiji. The Tongans' pride was not only a relic of past domination over other 181
island groups. They had abilities that marked them as an outstanding race.
Ingenious, enterprising, self-reliant, they have been able to extricate themselves
from difficulties that would daunt most Europeans.(8)

The most important of the early voyagers who visited Tonga, Tasman (1643) [177]
and Cook (1773-4-7), gave testimony to the Tongans' peaceful and prosperous
state. They noted the gardens, carefully cultivated and surrounded with reed 361
fences, and the trim tree-lined paths connecting plantations. The people did not
live in villages and there was no sign of political unrest or dissension. It was
boasted that proclamations could be shouted from one household to another and
taken across the island of Tongatapu in a very short time.

Captain Cook's eulogies gave "The Friendly Islands" the attraction of a 181
tropical paradise that aroused false expectations in the minds of many ship
captains afterwards. Attacks on ships were due to a desire for the treasures [609]
suddenly brought into their remote islands rather than to any latent savagery in
the Tongans' nature. Normally the people were friendly and hospitable, with
genuine affection in their own domestic relationships and a prevailing gaiety
and good humour. Their natural buoyancy of spirit was displaced only by fears
of death or other impending disasters and, when faced with these, they had
recourse to their religion.

Tongans sat lightly by their religion except in times of distress and danger.(9) 771
Then they brought offerings to the priests' houses, sitting outside and making 782
supplication through the priests to the spirits in Pulotu, the paradise beyond the 773
ocean; these spirits, it was believed, had power over life and death. There was 776
no public worship. Music, of which Tongans were very fond, was not associated
with religion. The fear in which the gods were held made music inappropriate. 533
Tongans sang only in festival dances which gave the setting for their treasured [776]
lyrics, and in canoe journeys and working parties on shore.

Religion was bound up with the social system. Because the Tu'i Tonga was 771
believed to be divinely descended the chiefs who were related to his line by [643]
marriage shared in the reverence accorded to him. So many chiefs were closely [565]
related to the Tu'i Tonga that a visitor like Cook was easily puzzled by the
many who received quasi-royal honours. The chiefs received offerings for both 565
religious and social reasons. Pulotu was reserved for them; commoners, it was 775
held, had no souls and were not entitled to an after-life.

There were three divisions in the Tongan Pantheon — the Tangaloa, gods 776
in the sky, the Maui in the underworld (who caused earthquakes and gave other
evidence of their power), and Hikule'o, who presided over Pulotu, the paradise
in the west. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as the high priest of Hikule'o and 776
his wife, the Moheofo, was priestess or servant *(kaunanga)* of Hikule'o. The 793
priests of the various deities professed to receive and utter oracles from the gods 643
in trance-like experiences. Only the priests entered the gods' houses; the suppliants
sat humbly outside. The priests were not always respected, especially when their 644
statements did not suit influential interrogators. Tongans believed also in gods 787
of natural forces (the winds, the sea, the harvest), gods of sacred places, and
even creatures which frequented these places and were thought to embody the
spirit of the ancestral chief of a neighbouring tribe.(10)

The offering of human sacrifice by strangulation, when a chief or a member 782
of his family was threatened with death, was never practised as frequently as 171
in Fiji and became less common as time went on; instances, however, were
recorded by Mariner during his sojourn in Tonga (1806-10) and by missionaries
later. The victim was generally a youth, the child of one of the chief's secondary
wives. Instead of a life it became customary to amputate fingers and offer these 782
as substitute sacrifices. Cook wrote, 304

> "There was scarcely one in ten I did not find mutilated in one or more hands." (11)

George Tupou I (c. 1797-1893) had lost two little fingers in his youth. When
a chief died, women cut their hair and beat their cheeks until they were covered
with blood, and men wounded themselves with clubs and spears, to show their
sorrow and their devotion to the deceased. The more savage practices found in 171
Fiji, such as cannibalism, infanticide, and the premature burying of the very old, 266
were practically unknown in Tonga. There was indeed a great respect for the 947 188
aged and a strong affection for children. Cannibalism, in imitation of Fijian 888
customs, was practised in the Civil Wars which began in 1799, but it was 858
regarded with utter abhorrence in normal times. 266

* * * *

Tonga's usually orderly and pleasant existence continued through the 177
centuries until the early 17th Century when the first contact was made with Europeans who, in the people's phrase, burst through the skies with their tall ships; hence the word for Europeans, *Papālangi*, or sky-bursters. This happened first in the distant northern islands of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou. Jan Schouten and Jacob Lemaire came in two ships around Cape Horn searching for what was expected to be a great southern continent in the vast expanse of the South Pacific Ocean. On 9 May 1616 the Dutchmen saw a canoe with about twenty-five people; these were Tongans whose first knowledge of the outside world was the firing of warning shots. The Dutchmen followed the canoe to Tafahi and the adjacent island, Niua Toputapu. The visitors did not land on either. Surprised at the appearance of human beings so different from themselves and ships so unlike their canoes, the people attempted to steal one of the ships' boats during the trading for vegetables and other supplies. When the vessels were going across from Tafahi to Niua Toputapu, a large fleet of canoes attacked the ships with stones. No fatalities occurred then, but, during the subsequent visit of the Dutchmen to Niua Fo'ou, the island to the west, two Tongans were killed when trying to capture one of the ships' boats. It was an unhappy introduction to the Tongans' contact with Europeans.

177 Tasman's visit was more important. After discovering Van Dieman's Land and New Zealand, he sighted 'Ata, the lonely southernmost island of the Tongan group, at the foot of the western volcanic chain. This occurred on 21 January 1643. The name Pylstaart was given to this island. Tasman visited 'Eua which he called Middelburg; Tongatapu, named Amsterdam; and Nomuka, in the southern part of the Ha'apai group, which he called Rotterdam. The news of the Dutchmen's firearms in the Niuas in 1616 had taught the people in the southern islands the necessity for caution and dissuaded them from any hostile acts. Tasman recorded that he saw no weapons. He also thought the Tongans had no religion because he did not see any temples. The people impressed him as friendly and willing to barter food.

The visits of Captain Cook were of considerable significance. Except for the Englishman, Wallis, who called at Niua Toputapu for one day, in 1767, no European had visited any of the Tongan islands for 130 years, that is, since Tasman.

Cook first visited Tonga on 2 October 1773. He spent five days at 'Eua and Tongatapu. His second visit was even briefer, when he called at Nomuka to obtain fresh water on 26 June 1774. The third visit was prolonged and closely-reported; it lasted from 30 April to 17 July 1777. At Nomuka and afterwards at Lifuka, the main island of the Ha'apai group, Cook was entertained by Finau 'Ulukalala, who pretended to be the highest chief in Tonga. The name "Friendly Island" was given by Cook to Lifuka because of the overflowing hospitality he received there.(12) The name was later applied to Tonga as a whole.

It was ironical that, at the original "Friendly Island", Cook narrowly escaped an organized attack upon his two ships and their crews. The treacherous Finau 'Ulukalala had made a plot which fell through only because of a disagreement among the chiefs about the time for the attack. It was from William Mariner, who was told about the plot by the Tongans thirty years later, that Cook's escape become known.

175 181 Cook's flattering opinion of the Tongans supported his belief that they were indeed "Friendly Islanders":—

> "Their countenances very remarkably express the abundant mildness, or good nature, which they possess, and are entirely free from that savage keenness which marks nations in a barbarous state. They are frank, cheerful, and good-humoured . . . Their peaceable disposition is sufficiently evinced from the friendly reception all strangers have met with who have visited them. Instead of offering to attack them openly or clandestinely, as has been the case with most of the inhabitants of these seas, they have never appeared in the smallest degree hostile . . . Upon the whole, they seem possessed of many of the most excellent qualities that adorn the human mind — such as industry, ingenuity, perseverance, affability, and perhaps other virtues which our short stay with them might prevent our observing. The only defect sullying their character that we know of, is a propensity to thieving." (13)

177 The Tongans knew how to dissemble as well as how to make favourable impressions, particularly through their greatest ceremonial which Cook witnessed — the presentation of the tribute to the Tu'i Tonga, at the lagoon at Tongatapu, near Alaki, a place now marked by a commemorative plaque in Cook's honour. They also entertained the visitors with massed exhibitions of Tongan dancing. Of one of the many exhibitions at Lifuka and Tongatapu, a dance given by three rows of men with 105 in each, Cook wrote —

> "Such a performance would have met with universal applause on a European theatre,

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

> and it so far exceeded any attempt we had made to entertain them that they seemed to pique themselves upon the superiority they had over us." (14) 177

Only the ships' fireworks display left the Tongans in stupefied amazement; some who witnessed this still recalled their feelings to missionaries half a century later.(15)

Other visits, though less important than Cook's, should be mentioned. Maurelle, a Spaniard, discovered Vava'u on 4 March 1781 and named its spacious anchorage Port Refuge. When Cook was in Ha'apai he had been dissuaded from sailing to Vava'u by the crafty Finau 'Ulukalala who said that Vava'u had a very poor harbour! On 30 May 1793 another Spaniard, Malaspina, arrived at Vava'u; during his stay of eleven days he claimed Vava'u for the king of Spain but this was little more than an empty gesture. Malaspina compiled a Tongan vocabulary.(16) [113]

La Perouse, the gallant but unfortunate French explorer, called at Vava'u and Tongatapu in December 1787 after visiting Samoa.

Bligh's connection with Tonga was the result of the notorious mutiny on the *Bounty*. He had been a lieutenant in Cook's expedition that visited Tonga in 1777. On 28 April 1789, after calling at Nomuka (as others had done because of the fresh water available there), Bligh was put into an open boat with eighteen loyalists. Soon afterwards the dauntless captain landed at Tofua, the volcanic island in the west of the Ha'apai group, to get water and fruit. His quartermaster, John Norton, was killed on shore at Tofua before Bligh set out on his incredible voyage of 3000 miles to Timor. Norton evidently was the first European killed in Tonga.

Edwards, in the *Pandora*, was searching for the *Bounty* and its mutineers in 1791, when he called at Tofua, Vava'u, Niua Fo'ou, and, lastly, Nomuka. The sight of the volcano on Tofua burning at night was regarded as "a very grand spectacle" (17), the surgeon, Hamilton, noted. The crew of the *Pandora* introduced venereal disease into Nomuka when women brought their daughters to the decks in exchange for knives and other presents.(18) Hamilton's summary reflected the opinion that ships' captains had begun to form about the "Friendly Islanders":— [164]

> "The people of Nomuka are the most daring set of robbers in the South Seas and, with the greatest respect and submission to Capt. Cook, I think the name of Friendly Islands is a perfect misnomer." (19)

Labillardiare and D'Entrecasteaux called at Tongatapu in 1793. So high was the esteem felt for La Perouse in France that, even during the Revolutionary Wars in which it was facing the armed might of many European Powers, the French Government sent this expedition to the South Seas to search for the lost explorer. Several Tongans were killed in a quarrel with sailors from these French ships.

The contacts of Tongans with European visitors thus far had not shown uniformly beneficial results. The next contacts were with missionaries of the London Missionary Society who came, not as visitors, but as intending residents and advocates of change. [797]

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Chapter II.

THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY IN TONGATAPU

(1797-1800)

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These pioneer missionaries came to the South Seas with little knowledge of the situation of the inhabitants. Cook's *Voyages* had given its readers a picture of amiable people in idyllic settings, and it was thought that they might readily be converted to Christianity. Missionaries were inspired by the Evangelical Revival and the upsurge of proselytizing zeal that it had aroused in England. The London Missionary Society, founded in 1795, was organized at first on an inter-denominational basis, with Evangelical Anglicans such as Dr. Thomas Haweis prominent among the Directors; it was supported mainly by the Congregational Churches in later years.

The missionary ship *Duff* which sailed from London on 10 August 1796 brought a company of men whose willingness to make sacrifices was unquestionable. Captain James Wilson, master of the vessel, gave his services without salary. Nor should the generosity of the Directors of the Society and their supporters be overlooked; the equipping of the *Duff*, the initial supply of stores and tools, and the continued provision of such necessary goods meant very heavy expenditure. The gallantry of the enterprise was the greater when it was launched in a time of war between England and France. The *Duff* had to sail in a convoy. Attacks by French privateers were expected and, in actual fact, the *Duff* on its second voyage to the Pacific, in 1799, was captured while still in the Atlantic. When the mission party reached its distant destination communications were likely to be uncertain and the missionaries might well be left stranded for many months.

Tahiti and Tongatapu were chosen as suitable fields because it was thought that the language in each case would be easily acquired, that the climate and food would be congenial, and that the absence of European governments would facilitate missionary work. Cook's *Voyages* had stated that the Tongans knew the names of 150 other islands, and it was therefore supposed that Tongatapu had some influence over other groups. Thus Tongatapu as well as Tahiti was regarded as a testing-ground for a general mission to the South Seas. Optimistic prospects were strengthened by Cook's commendation of Tongatapu as a peaceful land. The events that followed completely falsified this expectation.

Insufficient honour has been paid to the L.M.S. pioneers in Tonga. That three of them were killed in a civil war in which the missionaries were helpless spectators heightens respect for their devotion. Their failure to win a convert among people who, in fact, did not understand why they had come, does not detract from the credit they deserve.

The obstacles which the missionaries found were largely due to the volatile moods of the chiefs and the unsettlement of the country at that time. To their [177] dismay they soon realized that the people's sole aim in dealing with Europeans was to get tools and other goods, by begging or stealing or by wrecking the

[1797]

white men's ships. The Tongans did not show the least interest in Christian 797
teaching and, under the circumstances, this was hardly surprising. 175

It is easy now to find grave errors in this venture. To teach the Tahitians [177]
and Tongans trades and to endeavour to set up a model society along English lines was idealistic but impracticable. The uneven quality of the members of the mission party was a serious handicap. They had been selected mainly for their knowledge of trades, and some of these trades were inapplicable to the islands (for example, bricklayer, butcher, draper, hatter). Some of the men were not sufficiently grounded in their faith and were liable to succumb to the temptations of a strange and enervating environment. Only six of the thirty missionaries on the *Duff* were married; twenty-two were under thirty years of age. Dr. Haweis had actually favoured using single men, with the hope, he said, that they might marry converts from the families of high chiefs in the interests of further conversions.(1) Of the thirty, twenty proved unfaithful or unequal to the work.(2) Five of the original party in Tahiti remained faithful and were rewarded with eventual success. It was this minority who finally justified the Society's enterprise in Tahiti. The record of most of the L.M.S. survivors in Tongatapu indicates that they also were loyal to their commission.

The *Duff* reached Tahiti, after its long voyage, on 5 March 1797, a Sunday; and on that day the Gospel was first preached in the South Seas by Evangelicals. Those who had come to work in Tahiti had brought a rough vocabulary compiled by one of the crew of the *Pandora* which had called there six years before. On the other hand, there was nothing whatever prepared for the ten men who elected to go to Tongatapu; they had to depend for interpreters upon several castaway whites who generally were hostile. If civil war had not occurred the missionaries might have learnt the Tongan language in the same way as their nondescript interpreters had done. Without knowing the language, without any reliable authority to support them, living among a thieving population and a few whites who became treacherous opponents, and with their own indifferent intellectual equipment, the L.M.S. had insuperable obstacles from the outset.

Before leaving Tahiti the ten missionaries designated for Tongatapu chose Seth Kelso as their leader. On 19 March Kelso was ordained by the four ministers in the party who themselves had been ordained before leaving England.

On 10 April 1797 the *Duff* anchored off the small island of Pangaimotu, Tongatapu. Two days later the men landed and met chiefs including Mumui, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, who expressed his desire to be taught how to make the kind of furniture he had seen on the ship. The missionaries decided to fix their residence in Hihifo, the western district, under the patronage of Tuku'aho, the son of Mumui. On 17 April the first sermon in Tonga was preached by John Buchanan; and the party observed the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on 7 May.

Very soon after their arrival the missionaries witnessed the "paroxysms of
grief" which marked the funeral of Mumui who died on 27 April. Two of the 643
king's wives and a grandson had been strangled before his death. The funeral 764
ceremonies were attended by about 4,000 people. Hundreds of men used clubs 175
and spears to injure themselves. The missionaries were sickened by the daily 768
scenes of self-inflicted blood-shedding. [304]

Before the *Duff* left Tongatapu a runaway sailor more friendly than the 797
others on the island informed Captain Wilson of a plot to capture the ship. Eight 609
large double-canoes and hundreds of men surrounded the ship; they had to be 175

[1797-1799]

another time Tuku'aho condemned a woman to be sawn asunder lengthwise after 643
she fell under his displeasure. Such acts were bound to provoke reaction. In the 175
Civil War that soon ensued the barbaric practices that young Tongans had found [177]
in Fiji were repeated in their own country, with gross disregard for the nobler
principles of Tongan society.

For centuries there had been intercourse between Tonga and the islands 175
of Lau, the eastern group of Fiji. Many Tongans chose to live there. Other parts 177
of Fiji were visited by the Tongans who traded for the sandalwood of Macuata [167]
and the coveted red feathers of Kadavu parrots. The Fijians were renowned [439]
canoe-builders and they had the timber needed for this work. The making of
large canoes occupied from five to seven years and Tongans who came for these
often stayed in Fiji for that period. In the latter part of the 19th Century also
young Tongans went to study Fijian methods of warfare and the fortifications
they used.

> "Fiji became the war college of Tonga, whose young men were sent to this distant seat of interminable quarrels and petty wars, to acquire experience in the war parties of Fijian chieftains." (3)

The historian of Fiji, R. A. Derrick, has vividly described the experiences of young Tongans in Fiji in this period:

> "The young bloods of Tonga who thirsted for excitement and renown went to Fiji where there were alarums and excursions in plenty, war and rapine, easy living at the expense of their Fijian hosts, and freedom from the restraints of their elders. The islands of Eastern Fiji were to the Tongan warriors what the fields of France were to the knights and esquires of Plantaganet England. The Tongan youth had only to join a party going to Fiji for canoes to place himself in the way of gaining honour and fame to satisfy the most ambitious." (4)

Fiji had long been notorious for savage fighting and also for its disunity.
Tonga now adopted the same pattern of internecine strife. For a time the 175
authority of the Tu'i Kanokupolu hardly existed. Had such rebellions and disorder 669
continued, and had Taufa'ahau (the future George Tupou I) not appeared as the
leader of Tonga, the nation would probably have lost its independence eventually
as Fiji did for similar reasons.

That Tuku'aho met a rival chief of equally savage disposition was not only 175
a misfortune for him; it was a calamity for the whole country. Finau 'Ulukalala II, 669
son of Cook's host, showed ambition and ferocity that matched Tuku'aho's. The 643
nation paid a woeful penalty in the Civil War for the rivalry of these unprincipled 634
leaders.

Tuku'aho was treacherously murdered on 21 April 1799, after being Tu'i Kanokupolu for barely two years. Chiefs and people from all parts of Tonga had gathered in the ancient capital, Mu'a, for the presentation of tribute to the Tu'i Tonga. This was expected to be a time of peace with the sanctions of the religious festival. The arch-conspirators, Finau 'Ulukalala and his half-brother, Tupouniua, had a large body of men ready to carry out their designs against Tuku'aho. Immediately after the festival ended the two chiefs crept under cover of darkness into the house of the sleeping Tu'i Kanokupolu, guided by the smell of his sandalwood oil. After Tupouniua clubbed Tuku'aho to death Finau's men rushed in and killed the king's wives and other occupants of the dwelling.

The Civil War broke out as a campaign of revenge on the part of the royalists, the men of Hihifo, who were enraged by the murder of the Tu'i Kanokupolu whose residence was in their district. The Hihifo army fought not

[1802-1824]

Chapter III.

"A NATION OF WRECKERS"

Far from being a nation of friendly islanders, the Tongans of this period had 175
become "a nation of wreckers".(1) The tools and other treasures from the outside 181
world which the Tongans stole from strangers on their shores only whetted their appetites for ships and their contents, including the guns which would give victory in the Civil War. Tonga soon gained a new and evil reputation for cunning 175
attacks on vessels, such as the following:— 177

Duke of Portland, a Boston whaler, which called at Tongatapu in June 609
1802. A white man helped the Tongans to attack the ship after the usual professions of friendship had been given by a chief. Many of the crew were killed and their bodies thrown overboard. A woman, Elizabeth Morey, was taken to be the servant of the chief's wife. After the cargo had been taken ashore the four remaining crewmen surprisingly drove off the natives, killed the treacherous white man, and took the ship out to sea.

Union, another American ship, which reached Tongatapu on 30 September 1804. Again Tongans swarmed over the ship but were ordered off. In one of the canoes surrounding the ship was the white woman, Elizabeth Morey, who made signs to the crew not to accept an invitation to go ashore. She then swam to the ship under cover of the sailors' muskets. Those sailors who had gone ashore were murdered and eaten.

Port-au-Prince, in 1806, with 26 of its crew killed and 34 spared to work the captured guns.

Mercury, 1809, which would have been captured but for the warning given by an Englishman who had been on *Port-au-Prince* and was still living in Tonga.

Supply, at 'Eua in 1822, attacked after a boat had gone ashore to get water. Three of the ship's company and several Tongans were killed in the fight on board.

Elizabeth, at Vava'u in 1823, which escaped after an attack led by an Englishman who had been on *Port-au-Prince*; four of the crew were killed.

In some instances sailors were guilty of shameful acts against the people on shore. Reprisals could then be expected against the next ship that called. *Rambler*, at Vava'u in 1824, was one that suffered because of the misconduct of a previous vessel; its captain was among those killed. Other ships would have been attacked but for the watchfulness of their captains.

The attack on *Port-au-Prince* was the most famous incident, not only because of the effect of the guns that Finau 'Ulukalala used afterwards, but because of the classic account of Tonga given by William Mariner, who lived with his captors for four years.

Port-au-Prince, English whaling ship and privateer, 466 tons, with 28 guns, 175
had despoiled Spanish shipping and towns along the western coast of South 177
609
721

[1806]

America before it visited Lifuka, Ha'apai. The ship's company included the lad 175
Mariner, the captain's clerk, only 13 years of age when the ship left England 177
and 15 when *Port-au-Prince* was attacked. The captain had expected from Cook's 609
account that he would find a favourable place in Ha'apai for repairing his leaking 721
vessel. The spot where Cook's ships had anchored and had escaped from the plot in 1777 was the scene of the tragic destruction of *Port-au-Prince* on 1 December 1806. With extraordinary imprudence the captain allowed Tongans with their weapons to wander about his ship. They were under orders from the wily Finau 'Ulukalala who had professed friendliness towards the captain. At a given signal the sailors were attacked by 300 Tongans; twenty-two were killed and their bodies cast into the sea. The captain and three others on shore also were killed. The rest, thirty-four, were spared to work the guns which Finau had especially coveted. He took a fancy to young Mariner, who became attached to his entourage and was given a Tongan name, Toki 'Ukamea (= Iron Axe). While the ship was being broken up to get the iron the barrels of whale-oil in the hold burst; eight Tongans were drowned. Taufa'ahau, the future king, then a boy about nine years old, was pulled out of the oil just in time. The ship was burnt and the silver coins and plate which had been taken from the Spaniards were melted and lost in the fire.(2)

Finau 'Ulukalala took eight cannons to conduct the war on a new scale in 175
Tongatapu. In this invasion he first made an assault on the fort at Nuku'alofa.
This fort, the largest of twelve then existing in Tongatapu, stood on the hill 669
afterwards called Zion because of the Wesleyan chapel there. The fort was more 713
than four acres in extent, surrounded by a reed fence nine feet high and two 634
ditches, each twelve feet in width and of the same depth. While the bombardment 712
was being made from the beach, Finau observed the effect from the reef where he sat on a chair taken from the *Port-au-Prince*. After one hour the fort seemed to show little sign of damage but, when Finau's men had gone closer and burnt the fort, they were able to enter it without any opposition. The havoc resulting from the bombardment was then evident, and Finau felt satisfied with the success of his new style of warfare. The bodies of 350 defenders who had been killed by the guns were thrown into the sea.

Finau's treachery and insatiable ambition were further revealed in the murder 175
of his half-brother, Tupouniua. The plot was carried out, with Finau's connivance, 669
by Tupouto'a, son of Tuku'aho, the Tu'i Kanokupolu whom Tupouniua had killed 634
in 1799. After Tupouto'a had taken his revenge the chiefs in Vava'u retaliated against the murderer of their governor Tupouniua, and his accomplice, the lord of Vava'u and Ha'apai, Finau himself. The Vava'u chiefs built a fort on the hill-top 175
at Feletoa, an inland village. It was so large that it included the cave on the 669
hillside with the entrance to an underground stream, and it was capable of holding 634
all the inhabitants of Vava'u, estimated at 8,000. Its area and the dimensions of 712
its walls and ditches exceeded those at Nuku'alofa. Shrewdly the defenders of Feletoa had built the outside earth-walls of their fort so high that cannon-balls would strike them but not penetrate the interior of the fort. When Finau brought his army and his much-vaunted guns from Ha'apai he found that, after six hours' bombardment, his guns were useless against the Feletoa fort. As his weary men 175
dragged the guns back to Finau's base on the shore at Neiafu, they freely cursed 669
the Englishmen who could make guns fire cannon-balls but were not clever 634
enough to make them walk! A peace settlement followed, but Finau, deceitful as

[1806 - 1822]

ever, arrested the Vava'u chiefs who had fought against him; those who were 175
not clubbed were drowned outside the harbour in old leaky canoes. Finau was 669
now at the height of his power. He felt so confident that he even defied the gods. 634

Finau was not alone in the new spirit of scepticism about religion that had 175
accompanied the general attitude of rebellion and unrest. Collocott, with his years 634
of residence and research in Tonga, has written — 771

> "By the close of the 18th Century there was working a leaven of rationalism which recognized, however sporadically, the weakness of a king who did not govern, and of a god who did not influence the harvest."

Collocott believed that there would have been a revolution in Tongan society even without missionary influence, but the change was hastened by the coming of Europeans and the new religion.(8)

For some time Finau had been notorious for his irreverence towards the gods. His beloved daughter died soon after the end of the rebellion in Vava'u. Instead of mourning he ordered sports and mass fights, an unheard-of reversal of custom. The mass fights included a grim combat with 1,500 women in each party, representing the two sides of the island of Vava'u. He himself joined in the men's fight and was much exhausted by his exertions. The night following he showed sudden and alarming signs of illness. Fearing the worst, his attendants strangled one of his children to appease the gods, and then carried off Finau's body to the houses of various priests; these visits of intercession continued even after the chief had expired. Then it became known that Finau had sent two men with a rope to strangle the priest of one of the gods, and the horrified people firmly concluded that his death was the result of the gods' rage at this gross act of impiety. Thus perished the man who, more than any other, was responsible for the sufferings of these turbulent years. Unfortunately, the spirit of rebellion and unsettlement did not die with him.

Young Mariner was witness and chronicler of the events of the four years, 175
1806-10. Well educated, he was also most observant and blessed with a retentive 177
memory. After Finau's death, Mariner was befriended by the son, Moengangongo, whose amiable disposition was in complete contrast to his father's character, and who encouraged peace and the cultivation of the country that had been ravaged by years of war and plundering. To Moengangongo's genuine sorrow Mariner took advantage of a ship calling at Vava'u in December 1810 to return to England. He communicated his extensive knowledge of Tongan customs and the history of the period, together with a considerable vocabulary and a grammar, to a London surgeon, Dr. John Martin. *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands,*‸published in two volumes in 1817, was the most detailed and reliable description of any Pacific Islands group in the early 19th Century.

No European recorded the events of the twelve years between Mariner's [797]
departure and the coming of the first Wesleyan missionary in 1822. It was during 175
this period that there emerged the figure of Taufa'ahau who was to have by far 643
the strongest influence on the future fortunes of Tonga and to deserve the unique respect in which the people still hold him.

Taufa'ahau was the grandson of Tuku'aho who had been murdered in 1799, and the son of Tupouto'a who became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1812. Tupouto'a waged war to enforce his authority, especially in rebellious Tongatapu, and this continued the country's misery.

A‸ /see 2 and 3: Mariner, this file -- Analyst/

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[1823-1827]

reproaching him for going to Tonga at all, even though the British Conference 797
had appointed him and the Sydney Committee had unanimously directed him to go alone. He was charged with incurring excessive expense in the enterprise. Old allegations of his clashing with the Anglican clergy's hours of worship in New South Wales were revived. He was, finally, told by the Committee in London that he was appointed to Van Diemen's Land although, in actual fact, his name still stood on the appointments of the British Conference for Tonga in 1822-23-24.

Lawry did not desert his post as some have imagined. He was ordered away to Van Diemen's Land without anyone being appointed to succeed him in Tonga
at that time. On 3 October 1823 he left, amid professions of sorrow from Palau 797
and the people. Just before he went there had been a strong reaction in his favour 609
because of the glowing reports brought back from Sydney by Futakava and his 177
friend, the two "handsome and ponderous" Tongans who had left on *St. Michael* twelve months before and who returned on that vessel. Their statements had "an electrifying effect", Lawry said. They recounted the many acts of kindness shown them by Governor Brisbane and the people of Sydney, the size and variety of the buildings, and especially the attendances at the churches and Sunday schools and the observance of the Sabbath.

Notwithstanding this reaction, Lawry felt obliged to leave for his wife's 797
sake. They reached Sydney only four days before the birth of her child. Lawry left behind the artisans, Tindall and Lilly, with instructions to look after the house and property and to await the arrival of another missionary in his place. He reposed every confidence in their dependability and also believed that the
chiefs would not interfere with them. In January 1825 Lilly returned to Australia; [609]
he had found it almost impossible to prevent the Tongans taking possession of goods and he brought with him as much of the property as he could remove.
Lilly was afterwards a useful church-worker in Australia. Tindall left Mu'a and [563]
went to Hihifo, in the west of the island, under the protection of the chief Ata; and the next missionary, John Thomas, found him there in 1826.

If Lawry had been able to continue at Mu'a, or if his successors had concentrated on the eastern and central districts of Tongatapu instead of attempting the intractable western district of Hihifo (as John Thomas did), there might have been eventual success in these important areas where the Tu'i Tonga and the Ha'a Havea chiefs lived. If Wesleyan missionaries had succeeded at Mu'a, Vaini, Pea and adjacent towns, the rebellions against the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Aleamotu'a, and, later, Taufa'ahau — rebellions which always emanated from these districts — might conceivably not have occurred.

Lawry spoke of his work as "preparatory". It seems doubtful whether he would have continued, even if he had not met with so many difficulties in his fourteen months. Nevertheless, Lawry is the true Wesleyan pioneer in Tonga.

Lawry's immediate successors, however, were critical. John Thomas complained,

> "Why did he not remain himself if it is a proper place for a missionary? Why did he return?" (13)

Nathaniel Turner, not long after his arrival in 1827, condemned Lawry's work in these drastic terms —

> "Not a vestige of real missionary fruit, no vocabulary of the language, no school, no house of prayer — in fact, a perfect failure." (14)

[1825-1830]

Haepe and Tafeta reached Nuku'alofa on the ship *Minerva*. They had been designated by the L.M.S. missionaries in Tahiti for work in Lakeba, in the Lau group of Fiji. They came in company with a Fijian named Takai who had begged the L.M.S. missionaries to send teachers to his own land. With Takai was a Tongan, Langi. Both of these men had accepted Christianity in Tahiti and had acquired a certain familiarity with the Tahitian language. The *Minerva* had sprung a leak and needed repairs at Nuku'alofa, but it was not intended that the Tahitian teachers should stay there. They had brought with them a small spelling book in Fijian which had been compiled with the help of the Fijian, Takai. It was printed in Tahiti in 1825, the first printing in the Fijian language; but it does not seem to have been used either by these two Tahitians nor by the L.M.S. teachers who followed them and went on to Lakeba in 1830. 797

As a matter of courtesy Haepe and Tafeta had been provided with presents for Aleamotu'a, the chief at Nuku'alofa, as well as the ruling chief of Lakeba, Tui Nayau, whom they expected to meet there. The L.M.S. missionaries had instructed them not to stay in Nuku'alofa because it was thought that Walter Lawry was still in Tongatapu and the L.M.S. did not wish to encroach on what it regarded as a Wesleyan field. Aleamotu'a, however, had heard that the Christian message had been accepted in Tahiti, and he insisted that Haepe and Tafeta should remain at Nuku'alofa and teach him and his people. The recommendation of Langi, the Tongan accompanying them, also carried weight with Aleamotu'a. The Tongan chief contended that it was reversing the order of precedence for the teachers to go to Fiji and leave Tonga; Tonga was the head, he said, and Fiji only the tail! (7)

Aleamotu'a provided for the Tahitian teachers' material wants, and he built them a chapel, the first used by Tongans for worship. With nearly 300 of his people, he began to worship regularly in this chapel. It was built in the style adopted by the L.M.S. in Tahiti, with white-washed walls and a floor of "grass" (Peter Vi's narrative), with the pulpit on one side, and with the sexes segregated in the congregation. The Tahitians always used their own language and evidently Langi interpreted for them. In addition to regular services these men conducted a school at Nuku'alofa. [346 / 177]

Although the Tahitians did not learn Tongan their faithfulness had greater results than they could have expected. Not only had they a congregation but some of the worshippers professed conversion, one being a chief named 'Ulakai (an uncle of Taufa'ahau), who may be regarded as the first Tongan to become a Christian in Tonga. Also, Taufa'ahau came from Ha'apai and found that the new religion was taking root. He was impressed by what he saw and discussed the question with Aleamotu'a before returning to Ha'apai; it was the beginning of the momentous change in this influential chief.

The Fijian, Takai, had gone back to Tahiti to secure other teachers for Lakeba. When the L.M.S. missionary, John Davies, knew that Haepe and Tafeta were teaching at Nuku'alofa and not Lakeba, he was sensitive to what he felt was trespassing on Wesleyan territory. He sent a message to Haepe and Tafeta to proceed to Fiji or else to return to Tahiti. By this time it was known in Tahiti that the Wesleyans, Thomas and Hutchinson, were on their way to Tonga, and Davies wrote to Thomas to clarify the position of the L.M.S. As it happened, the success of the two Tahitians made it impossible for them to leave Nuku'alofa at that time.

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[1826-1828]

was upset about this.(7) Lawry's failure had been largely attributable to his having 797
no colleague. Thomas found an unco-operative colleague worse than none. At
the end of the year, 31 December 1826, he kept the watchnight vigil — alone.
Even more poignant was the revelation in his journal for Easter Day 1827 —

> "Mr. Hutchinson did not attend the table of the Lord nor has he ever done so since we came here."

This unpardonable action was evidently due to Hutchinson believing that Thomas was his inferior! On the other hand, Thomas recorded that he received the Sacrament at Hutchinson's hands on 13 February 1828, not long before Hutchinson left Tonga. Also, Thomas was asked to baptize Hutchinson's infant son soon after he was born, evidently in June 1827; no record of the dates of birth and baptism is traceable but this was the first infant baptism in Tonga.

Aleamotu'a, of Nuku'alofa, patron of the two Tahitian teachers, visited Thomas and asked for an English missionary because, he said, he wanted to learn the English language.(8) 'Ulakai, the Christian chief from Nuku'alofa, also offered friendship. In his journal Thomas gave his opinion that Nuku'alofa would have been a better place for the Wesleyan Mission, but "our way has been shut up", meaning by this that the Tahitians were already labouring there.

The French ship *Astrolabe* brought the first letters for the missionaries after ten months, on 21 April 1827. The commander, Dumont D'Urville, was searching for *La Perouse*. Thomas sent a letter with this ship informing the Sydney Committee that Hutchinson had decided to leave and asking them to send another missionary in his place. There may have been a touch of English prejudice that induced him to express the hope that the replacement would not be another "colonial"! When he asked for a substitute for Hutchinson he urged the Committee not to send more than one because, the larger the party and the greater the property, the worse would be the stealing.

Thomas recorded, on 11 May 1827, the troubles that occurred during the 797
visit of the *Astrolabe*. Quarrels arose during the bartering of goods for pigs and 609
yams; the Tongans felt that they were being unfairly treated. The dispute came 648
to a head when three sailors went ashore to live with the Tongans. The boat sent 177
by the captain to recapture these sailors was attacked and its occupants were
captured. Other Frenchmen were then ordered ashore to burn the Tongans' houses.
In a fight that followed one sailor was killed and three Tongans wounded.
D'Urville then bombarded the village of Ma'ofanga and nearby places for two
days. While the *Astrolabe* was at anchor, Thomas met the captain. He remarked
afterwards on "the reckless immorality of the crew on shore".

Before long the French deserters showed hostility towards the missionaries 797
and began to circulate stories like those used against the L.M.S. missionaries in 563
1797, namely, that Thomas and Hutchinson were "praying the Tongans to death";
they told the people that the missioaries were plotting to take away their country
and give it to the King of England.(9) (One of the French deserters was Charles
Simonet who was responsible for calumnies against the Wesleyan missionaries
during the wars of 1837.)

By 11 June 1827 John Thomas had reached the conclusion that the Mission 797
had failed. On the anniversary of his arrival in Tonga (28 June 1827) he noted
in his journal:

> "We hope the time is drawing nigh when we shall depart from its unfriendly inhabitants."

[1826-1827]

He also recorded that the abandonment of the Mission was unanimously 797
approved, by the misionaries, their wives, and Tindall, and he added:

> "I believe it is the will of God and I always make that my rule." (10)

On 15 August 1827, the Irish sea-captain, Peter Dillon, called at Tongatapu, 797
in the ship *Research*, also seeking La Perouse. During this visit Aleamotu'a and 177
the Tahitian teachers visited the ship and the Tahitians conducted prayers. Thomas
also met Dillon and reported that he took away a Tongatapu woman "for his
base purposes" in exchange for two muskets given to a chief.(11) Thomas was
most critical of both Dillon and his crew who bought the native women "for their
beastly purposes". This antipathy between Thomas and Dillon was a prelude to
the controversy that flamed in 1838.(12) During Dillon's visit he was told by
Thomas about Ata's obstructive attitude and Dillon mentioned this in his book,
Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas.(13)

Meanwhile, other developments were taking place. In July 1827, a brig.
Governor Darling, arrived unexpectedly, bringing William Weiss, a lay preacher
sent by the Sydney Committee, accompanied by his wife and family, together
with supplies for the missionaries. Weiss was a recruit of indifferent quality; he 797
had impressed the Sydney Committee with the emotional account of his conversion
while a midshipman in the navy. He proved unsuitable in Tonga and soon retired.
Weiss noted Hutchinson's "shattered and debilitated frame" and the despondency
of both missionaries.(14) The brig's arrival seemed to give the opportunity Thomas
and Hutchinson had been waiting for. They had been packing their goods,
secretly, lest Ata should try to prevent them going and removing their possessions.
The brig was too small for both missionaries and their families (it was only 40
tons burthen, with one cabin 7 feet square), but it took away their luggage. Ata,
as it hapened, was not unco-operative and even told his people to help load the
goods. Thomas sent a letter with Weiss asking for a larger ship to come for the
removal of the mission party.

An incident that did not seem important to Thomas at the time occurred on 797
the Sunday before he expected to leave Tonga. Taufa'ahau, the ruling chief of 643
Ha'apai, visited Thomas at Hihifo. It was the first contact between these two
men in a relationship that continued until Thomas finally left Tonga in 1859.

* * * *

Sixteen weeks after *Governor Darling* left, another ship came, but not to 797
close down the Mission. Instead of this, to the astonishment of Thomas, it
brought Nathaniel Turner and William Cross. The British Conference Minutes
for 1826 had placed Tongatapu under the direction of the New Zealand District
and had made Nathaniel Turner responsible for the Missions in both districts;
the British Conference, of course, had not expected that Thomas would leave or
that Turner would remove from New Zealand to Tonga. The coming of Turner,
with his experience and his enterprising spirit, aroused, at least temporarily, a
new hopefulness in John Thomas. Even so, after a few days in Turner's company,
he relapsed into depression in his frustrating tasks at Hihifo.

The newcomer, Nathaniel Turner, was a missionary of complete dedication and proven ability. He was born in 1793 at Wybunbury, Cheshire. While serving as a local preacher he offered for foreign missions and began to prepare diligently by reading. When accepted, he went to London, after giving a farewell address from the box of the coach to a large company of friends in the village street

[1828-1830]

Aleamotu'a was baptized on 10 January 1830 in the presence of a congregation of 600. He took the name of Josiah, and the missionaries generally referred to him afterwards as Josiah Tupou or King Josiah. He had supported, first the Tahitian teachers and then the Wesleyan missionaries, wavering only temporarily and under strong pressure. His three sons and two daughters were baptized at the same service. On the afternoon of that day, Turner wrote, 797 643 [795] [794]

> "A man who had been a magician or a kind of god and of so high a rank that the king used to pray to him was baptized; so in the same day we have baptized both the king and his god."(28)

After Aleamotu'a was baptized he was married to his chosen wife, Mary, who had become a class-leader and had taken charge of the Sunday School in Nuku'alofa.(29)

Nuku'alofa, with its daily teaching and well-attended regular worship, had become an orderly Christian community. Every Sunday was filled with services and teaching: 5 a.m., prayer meeting; 8 a.m., children's catechizing; 9 a.m., worship; 3 p.m., worship; evening, English service (for mission families and any visiting sailors). During the week the missionaries supervised the day schools, conducted classes for catechumens and others for full members, and held a mid-week service (Wednesday) and prayer-meeting (Friday). They were also occupied with translation work, dispensing medicine, making pastoral visits to the sick and to outlying villages. On 31 March 1830 Cross sent to the Committee in London specimens of the handwriting and composition of Mary, wife of Aleamotu'a. and others. These may be the first sentences in Tongan still in existence; they are preserved in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.(30) 797 [796] [212]

The change in the people's attitude was receiving favourable comments from visiting sea-captains. Captain Hardy, *Snapper*, who used to avoid Tongan anchorages because of the people's reputation for deceit, robbery and violence, reported on the difference when he came on 22 September 1828. Commodore Lawes, H.M.S. *Satellite*, in May 1829, expressed astonishment at the progress the people at Nuku'alofa had made in reading after only a short time. The wrecked whaler, *L'Aigle*, received unexpected hospitality from Aleamotu'a and his people in March 1830. On the other hand, the sailors of some ships cursed the missionaries because they had forbidden women at Nuku'alofa to go on board the visiting vessels.

The chapel built for the Tahitian teachers in 1826 had proved far too small. On 5 May 1830 Turner reported the beginning of the construction of a new chapel "on the hill where the old fortress stood in Mariner's time", the hill to become famous in Tongan Church history as Zion. On 3 September it was opened, with about 1,000 attempting to crowd into the building and nearly as many others outside. Turner described the efforts of some to appear in European clothing, the women with "gowns and bonnets. The bonnets were entirely of their own manufacture, under the direction of Mary, the excellent wife of Tupou". Though Turner wrote this with some satisfaction, he added that the appearance of many could only "excite a smile". Another quaint reference was to Thomas Wright, Lawry's old servant who had returned with John Thomas, and who now conducted the singing in Zion "although he does not understand music"!(31) [368] [794] [291] [177]

Nuku'alofa had formerly been a fortress. Its new importance arose not only because of its convenience as a port but as the centre of the new religion in Tongatapu. It is also noteworthy that Turner and Cross had commenced preaching [361] [504]

Chapter VII.

TAUFA'AHAU AND THE CONVERSION OF HA'APAI AND VAVA'U (1829-34)

In his own territory of Ha'apai, and afterwards when Vava'u came under his 797
control, Taufa'ahau vigorously promoted the new religion. In both groups 643
Christianity was accepted, nominally, by the entire population in the space of a
few years. This was almost entirely due to Taufa'ahau. He himself was under no
doubt about the desirability of adopting Christianity. He had visited Nuku'alofa
when the Tahitians began in 1826 and had discussed the matter with Aleamotu'a
at that time. He came into contact with the Wesleyan missionaries soon afterwards.
Early in 1828 he asked Nathaniel Turner for a missionary for Ha'apai. Though
unsuccessful in this endeavour he went back, determined to oppose heathen
practices and to adopt Christian customs, beginning with Sabbath observance.
He constrained an English sailor living in Ha'apai to become his guide. This man [177]
traced the letters of the alphabet in the sand as the first step in teaching, and he [212]
also offered prayers in a house which Taufa'ahau set apart for this purpose — [782]
surely a strange duty for this castaway sailor.

Before long Taufa'ahau was the champion of Christianity in all places under his influence. His endorsement, with the authority he wielded, would have made it difficult for objectors to withstand him. The degree to which the people of Ha'apai were obliged to accept Christianity is open to question. There was, as a matter of fact, very little opposition in either Ha'apai or Vava'u to Taufa'ahau's efforts. The old religion had not been so firmly held that people would hold out against the leadership of a chief with the dominating personality of Taufa'ahau.

It was a different matter in Tongatapu where there was a spirit of rebellion 797
against Taufa'ahau even after he became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845. Chiefs and 643
people in Tongatapu who did not support Taufa'ahau on other grounds were not 184
likely to heed his promotion of Christianity.

The missionaries were delighted to have such a champion. In Tonga, as 797
elsewhere in the Pacific, the conversion of chiefs was held to be of the highest 565
importance because a movement of their people towards Christianity could be 622
expected to follow. The early missionaries could hardly foresee the dangers [643]
inherent in a "chiefly church". Not only would the motives of chiefs and people,
in some cases, be suspect and their acceptance of Christianity superficial. There
was the problem of a chief exercising too much authority in the affairs of the
Church. The missionaries also might be inclined to acquiesce too readily in the
chief's wishes to the detriment of their spiritual work. There was a risk, on the
other hand, of offending the chief. When a chief clashed with missionaries and
incited his people to follow him (as happened with the secession from the
Wesleyan Church in Tonga in 1885) the danger of a Church being dominated by
a chief became apparent. Today the waning of the secular authority of chiefs in

[1830-1834]

promptly gave Taufa'ahau an emetic which had the desired effect. Prayers were 643
offered all night for his recovery. 622

> "No Christian slept that night. As daylight appeared a wailing cry was heard. At first we thought the king was gone but we soon learnt that it was a cry of joy from the king's sister because the king was better. . . . From that time Christianity spread and increased in strength while the kingdom of the devil became weaker and weaker" (so declared Peter Vi).(9)

Although the main opposition to the spread of Christianity came from 797
factions within Tonga itself, there were also white renegades who gave trouble. 563
Several of these had settled at Vava'u. One of them who came with Finau to the festival, named Thomas Harris, abused Thomas publicly at the island of Ha'ano (north of Lifuka). These men were trying to persuade Tongans not to follow the missionaries' teachings. Relief came opportunely from the senior naval officer in the Pacific, Captain the Honourable William Waldegrave, H.M.S. *Seringapatam*. He called at Vava'u and removed five white men who had been maligning the missionaries and opposing their work. Such an action may seem arbitrary, but not so at that time and with the type of whites concerned. John Thomas in Ha'apai expressed warm appreciation of the captain's action. Captain Waldegrave gave as a reason for removing these men the harm they were doing to England's reputation among the islanders.(10)

On 5 August 1830 Thomas reported that from 1000 to 1500 people in the 797
Ha'apai group had "embraced Christianity and are open to instruction", and 794
also a few had come from Vava'u for this purpose.(11) In November 1830 there [781]
were 170 in his class and 150 females in his wife's afternoon class, at Lifuka.
The number professing Christianity in the Ha'apai group had then risen to 1800.

Taufa'ahau delayed his baptism until 7 August 1831. On the day before 797
this event there was a feast, with nineteen fat hogs and several hundred yams. At 643
the service more than 2000 were present, the majority outside the chapel. 795
Taufa'ahau had begun "meeting in class" as a "member on trial" in November 1830. Three of his children were baptized together with him, all kneeling in front of the pulpit; the children were Salote, then seven years old, and David and Josiah, the latter only 1½ years old. Taufa'ahau told the congregation,

> "A short time ago I was living in a very wicked way and served the devil with all my might. . . . I now come to give myself and these my children, body and soul, to the Lord Jesus and to be baptized in His Holy Name." (12)

The chief took the name George, from George III of England, whose name [551]
had been venerated in Tonga since the visit of Captain Cook. Thenceforward Taufa'ahau was generally referred to as King George by the missionaries. The large and bold handwriting in recording the baptism of "George Taufa'ahau, King in Lifuka" (sic) seemed to indicate John Thomas's recognition of this important event.

· Taufa'ahau was not only certain of his own faith, but on the day of his 797
baptism he called upon his people to live consistently with their profession as 643
true Christians. Some time elapsed before he became a local preacher, in 1834, 794
and when this happened he insisted on wearing European clothes whenever he [291]
occupied the pulpit; this showed his desire to resemble the missionaries in [177]
outward garb. He asked to be given preaching appointments to various villages in the same way as other local preachers. He proved eloquent and effective. When he prayed at the conclusion of a service the feelings of the congregation were

aroused as his own voice rose and there were audible and emphatic responses 797
from the people. Once, when another local preacher declared, "The Gospel saved 643
me. Did it save anyone else here?", the king instantly jumped to his feet and 794
called out, "Glory to God, it saved me" — an indication of how demonstrative
he was in avowing his faith in these early days.

The wife whom Taufa'ahau chose from those he had kept in a polygamous 797
state was Lupe Pau'u, the bride he had taken from Laufilitonga who was now 644
the Tu'i Tonga. Afterwards she took the name Salote when she was baptized on 795
27 September 1834 by James Watkin.(13) The name Salote was taken from Queen 551
Charlotte, the consort of George III. Not only did the wife and a daughter of
Taufa'ahau take this name but also the illustrious great-great-grand-daughter of
Taufa'ahau, Queen Salote Tupou III (1900-65). The marriage of George and [585]
Charlotte according to Christian rites did not take place until 1834.(14)

After nearly two years in Ha'apai Thomas returned to Nuku'alofa to become 797
Chairman of the District following the departure of Nathaniel Turner. He had
now gained confidence through his success in Ha'apai. There was a ringing note
of hope in his reports:—

> "We have good reason to believe that Tonga will be a key to very many islands in these seas. The Tongan people have been famous in the sight of the islands of these seas for ages past." (15)

The new missionaries, James Watkin and Peter Turner, continued to supervise
the mass evangelization of the Ha'apai group, according to the model of their
predecessor. Peter Turner in his Journal referred to the school at Lifuka
beginning daily at 6 a.m. He described the baptisms, with sometimes as many [795]
as 100 received at one service. He noted the Tongans' fastidiousness about their [181]
appearance as seen in the care taken with special clothing for the baptismal [291]
service, the variety of patterns in the native cloth *(ngatu)*, and the neat plaiting
of the mats worn around the waist. Then he added, "What joy beamed on the
faces of the persons baptized".(16)

An unusual incident occurred at 'Uiha in June 1832. The schooner *Snapper* 177
came to the group for trading. First it called at Lifuka where the owner, Robson,
was given hospitality by the missionaries, Watkin and Turner, although he was
very critical of missions. The crew of *Snapper* tried to entice women aboard and
were annoyed with the missionaries when they failed. The vessel then went to
'Uiha, the only island in Ha'apai that had not then accepted Christianity;
Taufa'ahau warned the captain not to go to 'Uiha but the owner said it would
be easier to have trading dealings with the non-Christians there. A quarrel broke 177
out when the owner endeavoured to procure a large pot used by whalers. The 439
'Uiha people had obtained it from a ship wrecked near Tongatapu about fifteen 609
years before. While the argument about this deal was proceeding the chief Malupo
was induced to go on board the *Snapper*. There he was bound, in order to force
the people to come to terms and secure his release. The vessel threatened to sail
off with the chief unless the pot was brought but it remained at anchor a short
distance from the shore to do more trading. (It was noted afterwards by the
Christian converts at Lifuka that all this was happening on the Sabbath!) The
islanders attacked the crew when they were off their guard, killed the captain
and two others, and released their chief. They then brought the ship nearer shore
and began to plunder its cargo; the clothes of the owner and crew were taken
from them. When news of this affray reached Lifuka, Taufa'ahau set out with a 177
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[1832 - 1835]

number of men to release the Englishmen. He did this in spite of the fact that 177
the chief Malupo had been his enemy and had fought against him. He also 609
compelled the 'Uiha people to return the plundered goods. The sailors were 643
brought to Lifuka where they were given clothes, and the owner, who had criticized missionaries a few days before, was glad to receive their help.(17) The guns from the ship were eventually placed as trophies around the church on the island of 'Uiha.

'Uiha was the last island in Ha'apai to accept Christianity and Taufa'ahau 797
won it over by a stratagem. While he was visiting Vava'u he sent a message to 643
the chief, Malupo, to bring his warriors, 160 in all, to defend him against a possible attack from the men of Vava'u. When they arrived they were disarmed; no one was killed. Taufa'ahau kept them in Vava'u until his own followers had gone to 'Uiha and dismantled its fort.(18) Soon afterwards 'Uiha accepted the new religion and built one of the finest chapels in Tonga.

Taufa'ahau won the highest commendation from the missionaries who contrasted him with the weak though well-meaning Aleamotu'a, Josiah Tupou. Thomas, later, objected to what he regarded as Aleamotu'a's interference in church affairs. In September 1833, Thomas wrote, "Tupou has behaved as though he wished to be a Pope". In January 1834 he complained,

> "Aleamotu'a has got the idea that it is his duty to govern in the Church of Christ, his place to appoint teachers or displace them, his place to take into society" (= membership) "and put out." (19)

Thomas showed his own growing disposition to be overbearing when he wrote that Nathaniel Turner and Cross,

> "by yielding to Aleamotu'a's covetousness and fearing his displeasure, have not a little strengthened him in his evil ways and thus made it more difficult to manage him. . . . Tongan chiefs wish to be as gods to their people and not only to govern their bodies but their consciences. I have made a firm stand and would sooner be ordered out of the chapel than allow him to govern in the house of God." (20)

Thomas was beginning to realize the problems of the "chiefly church" that his successors were to find a doubtful blessing.

When Aleamotu'a expressed disagreement with the missionaries' decision to remove the printing press from Nuku'alofa to Vava'u as a safer place during the wars, James Watkin commented,

> "Taufa'ahau is worth a thousand Tupous".(21)

Another missionary, Stephen Rabone, wrote of Taufa'ahau,

> "Perhaps no one ever obtained such influence in the Friendly Islands as he has nor is it likely anyone was ever half so much respected and beloved. The Christians love him. The heathen fear him and all parties respect him." (22)

The missionaries anticipated that, when Aleamotu'a died, Taufa'ahau would succeed him as Tu'i Kanokupolu; and, as they rightly regarded this position as politically much more important than that of the Tu'i Tonga, they hoped that Taufa'ahau's growing influence would greatly assist their own cause everywhere in Tonga. Already it seemed that their fortunes and Taufa'ahau's were linked together.

Taufa'ahau built a chapel in Lifuka, and it was opened on 9 September 797
1835, after taking only two months to erect with voluntary labour. The largest 643
in Tonga, 110 feet by 45 feet, the chapel included a communion rail formed of 346
carved spears used formerly by Taufa'ahau and his family, and carved clubs once

[1827-1840]

and not used for seven years after he went to Ha'apai in 1830. This house stood outside Ata's fortress. Rabone's relationships with Ata and the non-Christian people of Hihifo were friendly although, later, he stupidly offended them by shooting a "pigeon", probably a flying fox, the totem-bird of Kolovai, the leading village in Hihifo. Fo'ui was the Christian refuge for the district while Kolovai was the heathen fortress. 'Ahome'e, chief of Fo'ui, became a Christian at this time, and his conversion greatly annoyed the non-Christian party. Before the fighting in 1840 Rabone had removed to Nuku'alofa, and the mission house at Hihifo was unoccupied again. 797

On 17 August Taufa'ahau visited Hihifo and "exhorted all parties to be at peace".(47) He declared,

> "Before the last war I told Lavaka and Fatu that, if they did not mind and desist, they would be taken. They were, and their bones lie in the scorching sun. I tell you the same."(48)

It was true that many of the followers of Lavaka and Fatu had been killed with the Nukunuku defenders of Hule and that many bodies had not been buried. Rabone, on 27 September, recorded that he had visited Hule on his way from Hihifo to Nuku'alofa, and had

> "counted twelve skulls in a circumference of three square yards. . . . Scores have been buried but many remain as visible marks of God's displeasure against them."(49)

Such a comment and the neglect to bury some of the fallen foes indicated gross disrespect for which Taufa'ahau could have been accountable. Again, the callousness of Rabone's words is most disturbing.

Before the end of 1837 (on 11 December), Ata met Taufa'ahau and gave him lavish presentations of food, showing him every mark of courtesy and deference. Although he consistently refused to accept Christianity he told his people not to engage in heavy and noisy labour on the Sabbath in consideration for the feelings of Christians in the district.(50) [643] [622]

* * * *

Charges arising out of the 1837 war were made against the missionaries and Taufa'ahau by the Irish sea-captain, Peter Dillon (1788-1847). Dillon had become conspicuous in the sandalwood and beche-de-mer trade between Fiji and other South Sea Islands and China, and in the timber trade with the East India Company. His early courageous exploits in 1813 in Vanua Levu, Fiji, when attacked by the people of the sandalwood coast, brought him fame. Much more renown came from his efforts to solve the mystery of the disappearance of the gallant French navigator, La Perouse, in 1788. Finally in 1827 Dillon found the relics of that expedition on the island of Vanikoro, in the Santa Cruz group; and, when he took these to France, the Government made him a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour with an annuity of 4,000 francs. Dillon was a nominal Roman Catholic but not at first hostile towards Protestant missionaries; afterwards he advocated the entry of French Roman Catholic priests to various island groups. His antagonism towards the Wesleyans seems to have been due to their strictness, and especially their endeavours to stop his habit of enticing women from the islands to accompany him on his cruises. He took a woman from Tongatapu in 1827, as Thomas reported, and on the same visit he took another from Vava'u. When he called at Vava'u again in 1837, he tried to take the same woman away. In the meantime she had become a Christian and she appealed to Thomas who 177 797

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advised her not to go with Dillon. Hobbs stated that Dillon "became infuriated" 177
because of what Thomas had done and refused even to unload the stores which 797
he had brought for the mission.(31)

Dillon received adverse reports of the missionaries' actions and on these he based his charges. Hobbs reported that

> "Dillon received his information on erroneous statements from worthless Europeans in these islands a long time and who were opposed to the missionaries on account of the restraint that was laid upon them by their influence." (32)

When Dillon was about to sail from Vava'u on 20 November 1837 he sent Thomas a letter, of that date, which he afterwards made public.

Dillon alleged that Taufa'ahau had no right to be ruler of Vava'u but was "a bloodthirsty, usurping assassin". He told Thomas,

> "By your religious cunning and jesuitical intrigue you have rendered this monster . . . a complete despot.
>
> "It has also been stated to me that you prevailed on your pliant and bloody friend, the usurper, to invade Tonga last March (sic) with 1,000 armed savages, who called themselves Christians . . . You assured these murderers of success, as they fought in the cause of God who marched in their ranks, although invisible. On arrival of these monsters at Tonga, they slaughtered both man, woman, and child; ripped open the bellies of unoffending females, tore from the womb their bleeding offspring, mutilated the limbs of children and thrust them into the bowels of the innocent bleeding murdered victims of that unhappy day."

He continued,

> "What will the charitable British public think, who contribute their mite to your Society, and on whose bounty you live in luxury in these islands, when they learn that you are propagating the sacred Scriptures, by destroying man, woman, and child in Tonga . . . ?
>
> "It is my duty, as a British subject and a gentleman, to bring these barbarous outrages before the British Government and the House of Commons . . . and His Majesty, the King of France, whose commission I have the honour to hold." (33)

Dillon also declared that Taufa'ahau intended to take a fleet again to Tongatapu, to

> "invite the chiefs of that island to a friendly feast. . . . Each of the Vava'u men are to have a large butcher's knife concealed under his dress; upon a signal being given, they are to pounce upon the unsuspecting, innocent victims, and butcher them to a man."

Dillon charged Thomas with being privy to this. There was not the slightest foundation for this charge; no such plot was ever contemplated by Taufa'ahau or others.

The Wesleyans' reply to Dillon's charges appeared, first, in the answers of the missionary, Hobbs, to the questions sent by the investigating General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in Australia and the South Seas, Joseph Orton, who received instructions on 20 September 1838 from the Committee in London to make a full inquiry. He left Australia with the intention of visiting Tonga but was
not able to proceed beyond New Zealand.(34) He sent memoranda, with detailed 177
questions inviting answers to all points raised by Dillon. The written answers were 797
made by Hobbs. Thomas's journal shows that he felt aggrieved by the questions 669
not being directed to himself but to Hobbs.(35) He also wrote in his journal at 798
this time,

> "I have done what I could to prevent our people wishing to go to war or to act towards the heathen in a cruel and bad spirit".(36)

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Hobbs supplied these answers to the main questions:

(1) Regarding Taufa'ahau being ruler of Vava'u —

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> "Though not the hereditary successor of Finau he could not be viewed as a usurper; he was by request of Finau and the unanimous concurrence of the people made chief and confirmed according to custom by the chiefs." (Q.14)

(2) Regarding the use of the northern forces in Tongatapu, whether —

> "called in by the Christian party to their assistance against the heathen or exclusively a political movement".
>
> [Taufa'ahau] "was called in by Tupou, a Christian king, who was threatened by the heathens. And under these circumstances only exercised his right according to usage as king of Tonga to command the services of George. It is probable that the war originated out of the circumstances of the enmity of the heathens against the Christians, but it is certain that, whatever had caused this state of affairs, and had Christianity had nothing to do with the matter, Tupou would have câlled for the assistance of George, or any other chief likely to be of service to him, and that the consequences might have been more woeful." (Q.20)

(3) Regarding the charge that the object of —

> "George was to compel the heathen to embrace Christianity".
>
> [His object was] "not to compel the heathens to become Christians but to assist Tupou against the heathens who were threatening his destruction. Though it is probable that their enmity and opposition arose mainly out of their aversion to Christianity." (Q.21)

(4) Regarding the claim that the missionaries had influenced him —

> "George had long endured provocation from the heathen party of Tonga. And had he not been a Christian would long before have attacked the rebels — and it is likely would have possessed Tonga. It is possible that, had the missionaries positively disapproved of his assisting Tupou, he might have declined doing so; therefore it may at least be viewed as a kind of negative or silent approbation." (Q.22)

(5) Regarding the charge of cruelty, including the killing of women and children —

> "This is partially true. George, having been greatly aggravated during the contest, in the heat of feeling gave directions in storming the place 'not to leave a grasshopper' which is most significant, implying indiscriminate carnage which was lamentably fulfilled to the letter, at least for a time when women and children who came in the way were slain. When this came to the knowledge of the missionaries they told George of the impropriety of such a procedure, and advised to avoid anything of the kind in future. Consequently on his second attack he made overtures of mercy. Repeated messages of peace were proposed. . . . Some of the Christian chiefs were desirous to make the terms of peace the embracing of Christianity from which they were dissuaded by the missionaries." (Q.23) (57)

The frankness of Hobbs's answers to Orton who transmitted them to the Committee in London was not so disturbing to Thomas as the stinging rebuke he received from John Beecham, Missionary Secretary. This unusually sharp reproof came in the letter of 28 March 1838.(58) It referred to Thomas's letters about the war. Its marked disapproval of Thomas's attitude must have been responsible for his pacific policy in later years.

> "The war in Tonga, a subject in itself sufficiently painful, has been attended with circumstances which presented it to our minds as of a very revolting character. . . . The manner in which it was conducted by the king of Vava'u is in some respects highly objectionable. We view with unmingled abhorrence his procedure in storming one of the fortresses, and consigning to indiscriminate slaughter man, woman and child. . . . It was not enough for him to allege that some of those who now fought against him had manifested the greatest ingratitude by taking up arms a second time after he had spared their lives in a former rebellion against his authority. . . . And that he should assign the sudden decision of his mind to an impulse from Heaven which willed that he should destroy the whole fort was an instance of the grossest fanaticism calling for the severest rebuke from his teachers.

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> "There is great reason to apprehend the worst respecting the final condition of the heathen who fell in the war, but it is very objectionable to have unequivocally maintained that they went headlong to perdition. The spirit and precepts of Christianity do not allow us to dogmatize on such matters.
>
> "It has been remarked by some that the style (of your comments) resembled too much that of the sacred historian who narrated the destruction of the Canaanitish nations . . . and that a somewhat different mode of expression and reasoning would have been better suited to the character of Christian missionaries who are expressly sent into all the world to announce the merciful intention of Heaven towards every creature. . . .
>
> "It is our earnest hope that you will take care in your speaking and writing upon the subject for the future to avoid such expressions and remarks as would subject you to animadversions, and that you will faithfully perform your duty with regard to the king and endeavour to lead him to more compassionate views of the character and requirements of Christianity which he himself in fact appears to have better understood in an earlier part of his Christian career. His conduct in the late war in Tonga forms a painful contrast to his humane treatment of the vanquished in the great rebellion at Vava'u."

The results of Beecham's rebuke can be seen not only in Thomas's exercise of Christian compassion afterwards but also in Taufa'ahau's completely changed attitude in 1840 and the final war of 1852.

The Wesleyans' second reply to Dillon's charges came from an examination by the Tonga District Meeting in March 1841. It was not held earlier because this was the first occasion on which the new General Superintendent, John Waterhouse, was able to visit Tongatapu and preside at the District Meeting. Thomas, Rabone and Tucker were present at this Meeting in 1841; the others who had been serving in Tonga in 1837 had left. The District Meeting gave evidence, previously mentioned, that Taufa'ahau was not a usurper but the lawfully appointed ruler of Vava'u. Other main findings were:—

(1) Thomas did not persuade Taufa'ahau to go to Tongatapu, but Aleamotu'a Tupou sent for him when the heathen were preparing war against the Christians. The Tu'i Kanokupolu had the right to demand Taufa'ahau's services.

(2) Taufa'ahau did not go to Tongatapu with the intention of waging war but "on his arrival the heathen immediately commenced their attack".

(3) "The kings acted with marked forbearance . . . and George, complying with the request of Tupou, was, if possible, to act as peacemaker and for this purpose he negotiated with the heathen chiefs for nearly a fortnight, but without success."

(4) "The indiscriminate slaughter . . . met with the marked disapproval of the missionaries and has since been sincerely regretted, and by none more deeply than by King George himself."

(5) "That Mr. Thomas was trying to establish the authority of King George over the Navigators' Islands. No such thing had ever been heard or thought of."

Summing up,

> "The meeting is unanimously of the opinion that a more villainous and unfounded attack has never been made on the character of a Christian minister." (59)

(The District Meeting in 1841 also reviewed the events of the 1840 war which will be mentioned later.)

The third, and final, reply for the Wesleyans came from David Cargill's *Refutation of Chevalier Dillon's Slanderous Attacks on the Wesleyan Missionaries in the Friendly Islands*. This was published in London in 1842. Cargill declared "that the Christians did not take up arms either to propagate their religion or abolish heathenism". Only when other methods failed had they taken up arms to maintain their lawful ruler, Aleamotu'a Tupou. There had been several efforts to assassinate Tupou. The rebels always began the hostilities and they repeatedly

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refused offers of peace. The assault on Nuku'alofa on a Sabbath in January 1837 177
was led by Lualala, the rebel chief from Vava'u; when Dillon had met Lualala 797
in Lakeba, Fiji, he had promised to supply him with arms. Cargill also said that 669
the supporters of Aleamotu'a had made Taufa'ahau their commander as 798
Aleamotu'a was too old to lead them. He emphatically repudiated Dillon's charge
that Taufa'ahau was a "satanic-like monster" and also declared that his former
chairman, John Thomas, was in character the mildest of men.

After this it seems that no further reference was made to the tragedies of
the 1837 war. The truce that was made that year was an uneasy one, but better 728
feeling, on the whole, prevailed for nearly two years. On 14 May 1839, 643
Taufa'ahau's only daughter, Salote, was married to a Christian chief, the Tu'i 644
Pelehake, who had been in Fiji. All parties met amicably at Nuku'alofa for the 585
wedding celebrations. The missionaries who officiated, Rabone and Tucker,
recorded that the *Te Deum* was sung at the service in the chapel on Zion Hill.

* * * *

The regular work of the Mission proceeded in spite of the confusion in the 797
islands. At the District Meeting on 10 August 1839, Tongatapu reported a [794]
membership of 1,208 (a substantial increase), Ha'apai 2,890, Vava'u 4,268. This
meeting of 1839 was mortified by the loss of Samoa as a Wesleyan mission field,
but it recommended as new fields the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Uvea,
Futuna, Niue, and Rotuma (it had first recommended Rotuma in 1835). There
was no lack of optimism with such a list! (80)

The disputes that continued in Tongatapu were complicated by factors neither political nor religious. This was particularly the case in Hihifo. Rabone, who left the Hihifo mission-house late in 1839 to live alongside Tucker in Nuku'alofa, wrote in December 1839:

> "At Hihifo heathen and Christians cannot agree. We do what we can to keep the Christians right but it is very difficult, inasmuch as their quarrels are principally of a family character." (81)

Rabone's journal of 22 January 1840 also showed the difficulty that the missionaries found in trying to restrain the war-like feelings of their own people who were nominal Christians of only a few years' standing:

> "It seems one of the most difficult things imaginable is to restrain these semi-savages from [181]
> war when once commenced, in fact it would appear that many of them actually delight
> in these scenes of bloodshed; we talk, we write, we promise, we threaten, but the old
> disposition of the people breaks through all."

On 14 January 1840 Ata's followers left the Hihifo fortress and murdered 669
four unsuspecting Christians working in their gardens. Aleamotu'a was visiting 798
Hihifo at that time, trying to effect a complete reconciliation. It was regarded as
unprecedented that an attack should take place while the king was making such
a visit. A party of eighty men was sent from Nuku'alofa to bring the old king
back safely. About the same time Ata besieged Fo'ui, the fort which the Christian
minority in the district had built for their protection. (82)

As in 1837, Aleamotu'a sent a hurried message to Taufa'ahau seeking his 643
help. He also gave Taufa'ahau a site in Nuku'alofa for his own fort; henceforth 669
there were two forts for the two kings. Rabone recorded his fear that 798

> "the awfully sickening scenes of 1837 will in all probability be again exhibited, but we [112]
> are for peace, O Lord, and we beseech Thee to give peace in our time." (83)

[1840]

The arrival of Taufa'ahau relieved Fo'ui, and this was followed by his offer of 643
peace to Ata. The reply was that Taufa'ahau himself should enter Kolovai, the 669
rebel fortress, for these discussions and should take with him only a very few 798
followers. Before he could do this a deserter from Kolovai came with the news that a plot had been made to kill Taufa'ahau as soon as he entered the fort. Subsequently Ata admitted that this was true.(84)

It was under these circumstances that Taufa'ahau and his men advanced against Kolovai, but forbore to attack it at once. He addressed his men with these words:

> "We did wrong in the last war" (1837) "when we did not fight as Christians; then our object was more to kill than to save. Now, I tell you all that we must not fight in that way again. If the enemy come out of their fort to-morrow morning, every man must try to seize and save them, but not to shoot or strike, except in a case of life or death." (85)

During the siege the mission-house, which had been built by Thomas in 1826 and stood outside the Kolovai fort, was burnt by the rebels. For more than a fortnight
after the siege began no attack was made. Taufa'ahau sent messages to Ata 643
making it clear that no one was obliged to accept Christianity and only peace itself 669
was desired. At last he told his men to invite any of their relatives or friends within 798
the fort to leave. So many accepted this invitation that, when the besieged moved 725
forward to the attack, the reduced garrison surrendered immediately and opened
the gate. All the 500 defenders of Kolovai, together with their property, were 643
spared. On 29 February, three days after the surrender, Rabone visited Ata and 669
his wife; he reported, 798

> "They appeared to feel their situation but are thankful for their lives, for well they [727]
> know that, had George been still heathen, few of them would have been alive this day." (86)

The rebels still at arms at Pea and elsewhere numbered 1,400. Taufa'ahau's army was 900 strong. As the rebels, especially at Pea, were still defiant and Aleamotu'a's position was far from secure, Taufa'ahau remained in Tongatapu. Travellers along the roads and men working in their gardens were frequently ambushed and killed by parties from the fort at Pea.

The next important event was the visit of Commodore Charles Wilkes, of 177
the United States Exploring Expedition, who arrived at Nuku'alofa with two 643
ships of his squadron on 24 April 1840. Upon his arrival Rabone and Tucker 669
went on board his ship, *Vincennes*, and discussed the unsettled state of Tongatapu 728
with him. "He expressed an earnest desire to make peace between the contending parties," Tucker said. The following day the Commodore and officers came ashore and met Aleamotu'a and Taufa'ahau with their chiefs. Wilkes remarked on the martial appearance of the whole party and thought it inconsistent with a desire for peace. He could hardly be expected to know the typical Tongan habit of making a good showing before visitors; but he was told that, in fact, an attack had been made by the rebels the night before and that preparations were on foot to repel any further attack, hence the appearance of Taufa'ahau's forces.

The Commodore brought a written document which proposed a meeting between the leaders of both parties, and the two kings agreed to this. Rabone, however, thought the American visitor too sanguine through his ignorance of the state of affairs:

> "No one who heard him (except it may be his officers) believes for a moment that the heathen chiefs would meet Josiah and George." (87)

[1840]

A message was sent to the rebel party by a high emissary, the daughter of Fatu of Mu'a, asking the leaders — Fatu, Lavaka (Pea), and Vaea (Houma) — to attend a conference on the island of Pangaimotu, three miles from Nuku'alofa, as neutral ground. A tent was erected for the expected leaders and provisions were placed there by the Americans. The next day, the wife of Fatu, instead of the chief himself, came with a few followers; they were accompanied by "an old blind chief who had little or nothing to do with the government" (68) and also an Englishman from the rebel side, "twofold more a heathen than the heathen themselves" (so Rabone wrote). Before Taufa'ahau's party came the following day the rebel representatives left and took the food with them. The fact that the rebel leaders did not appear, Rabone believed, must have made the Commodore realize that they were not serious about negotiating for peace. Tucker made a similar comment; he wrote, 177 643 669 728

> "This has opened the Commodore's eyes; he sees his endeavour to make peace was useless; it is evident that the heathen are bent on war." (69)

However, Wilkes shows in his *Narrative* that he had not formed this opinion. He criticized Taufa'ahau for coming a day later than the appointed day rather than the rebel leaders who did not come at all.

Soon afterwards Wilkes sent some of his officers to Mu'a to talk to the rebel leaders. Fatu told them that the war was due to Taufa'ahau's ambition to conquer Tongatapu and also his desire to force everyone to accept Christianity. Who interpreted this conversation with the American officers is not clear but it was probably the Englishman who had gone with the party to Pangaimotu. Why Wilkes accepted uncritically these statements is not easily understood. He wrote that he felt a sympathy with the people of Mu'a and Pea because they regarded themselves as superior to the men from Ha'apai and Vava'u and, on this ground, they disdained to accept the new religion as the people in the northern groups had done.(70)

Wilkes believed that Taufa'ahau and the missionaries were more to blame for the war than the rebels. He wrote:

> "I satisfied myself that it was in a great measure a religious contest, growing out of the zeal the missionaries have to propagate the Gospel and convert the heathen. With this is combined the desire of King George who is already master of Ha'apai and Vava'u to possess himself of all the islands of the group." (71)

Wilkes was only ten days in Tongatapu and in that time could not become fully acquainted with the politics of Tonga and the attitude of the Ha'a Havea chiefs towards the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Another statement he made shed a little more light on the situation:

> "Josiah's domain may now be said to be circumscribed to the town of Nuku'alofa, and, if it had not been for the timely aid of Taufa'ahau, he would in all probability ere now have been driven from his kingdom." (72)

The opinions of Commodore Wilkes are entitled to respect but it may be noted that Basil Thomson, despite his many criticisms of Wesleyan missionaries in general, did not believe that Wilkes was justified in his strictures against Taufa'ahau, Rabone and Tucker. He wrote,

> "Although the result of the war was the advancement of the interests both of the king and the missionaries, I see no reason to believe that either were disinclined for peace." (73)

At another point Wilkes was properly critical of Rabone and Tucker. He commented:

> "While I bear witness to the arduous labours and well-conducted operations of these missionaries I was disappointed in finding religious intolerance existing among them."(74)

[1840]

A vessel, *Currency Lass*, called at Nuku'alofa during Wilkes's visit, after five 797
months at sea; it had on board two French Roman Catholic priests bound for 798
Uvea. Wilkes remarked on their not being invited to the mission-house but left on board. He was justified in regarding this as a breach of courtesy and hospitality, although he did not know the sectarian feeling aroused by the attempts already made to place priests at Vava'u, an entirely evangelized island, as well as the tragic religious strife prevailing at Uvea at that time. It was, unfortunately, one of the acts of passive hostility common between Protestants and Roman Catholic missionaries in the Pacific Islands in the mid-19th Century.

Wilkes placed a high estimate upon Taufa'ahau, with his height and athletic 177
build, as well as his deference to Aleamotu'a as Tu'i Kanokupolu. 643

> "He at once attracted all eyes; for, on approaching, every movement showed that he was in the habit of commanding those about him." (75)

Aleamotu'a, on the other hand, spent his time in playing with his grandchildren,
making sinnet (cord from coconut fibre), or dozing. Wilkes was impressed with [142]
the physical appearance and mental alertness of Taufa'ahau's men,

> "some of the finest specimens of the human race that can well be imagined, surpassing by symmetry and grace those of all the other groups we had visited." (76)

He wrote appreciatively of Tucker and still more of Mrs. Tucker, commenting 177
on the success of her school; he thought less favourably of Rabone and believed him to be aggressive. On 4 May Wilkes left for Fiji. Even in his short stay of ten days he had not been on shore every day. He acknowledged his indebtedness to Tucker and Rabone for the descriptions of Tongan customs and traditions which he recorded in his *Narrative*.

Only four days after Wilkes left, attacks were made on the kings' supporters 669
working in their gardens. In the week before the next visitor, Captain Croker, 798
came four old men were killed and their heads cut off as trophies. One night Aleamotu'a and some of his people slept outside the mission-house for its protection against a threatened attack. Rabone write in his *Journal*,

> "O God, we long for that day when Tonga shall be in peace from one end to another. . . . Lord, end these days." (77)

One of the most tragic days in this period was 24 June 1840, when Captain 177
Croker was killed at Pea. First, it is worthy of note that his sloop, H.M.S. 669
Favourite, had brought from Erromanga, New Hebrides, what he believed were 798
the mortal remains of the L.M.S. missionaries, John Williams and William Harris, for burial near the L.M.S. church in Apia, Samoa. It has been felt that the natives on Erromanga either deliberately deceived Croker or misunderstood him and allowed him to take from a cave remains which may not have been those of the missionaries who had been killed on their island on 20 November 1839. The L.M.S. historian in Samoa, Dr. G. A. Turner,(78) believed that the natives did not understand Croker's request because he had no interpreter. From Samoa Croker sailed to Vava'u and Nuku'alofa.

In view of the criticism concerning Croker's intervention and his death, what Thomas as well as Rabone and Tucker actually wrote at the time was important.
Croker called at Vava'u on 10 June 1840. John Thomas, as Chairman of the 177
Mission, asked him to intervene and make peace in Tongatapu. He wrote, 669

> "The state of war was begun by the heathen chiefs against King Josiah . . . All means 798
> used to restore peace having failed . . . we have much reason to fear that the consequences 797
> will be a still further loss of human life, both of heathen and Christians, a circumstance 728
> which we as missionaries deeply deplore but which we have no means to prevent. I do

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[1840]

> earnestly hope that you will visit Tonga (= Tongatapu) at this critical time and you may
> be the means of inducing the heathen to discontinue the war." (79) 177

Thomas also showed Croker a copy of Dillon's charges against him. The captain 669
was highly indignant with Dillon's "most infamous letter" (80) and said that he 798
would expose the lies on his return to England.(81) The strong sympathy with the 797
missionaries that Croker felt affected his actions in the lamentable event in 728
Tongatapu.

On reaching Nuku'alofa on 21 June, Captain Croker was met by Tucker and Rabone who presented a written request the next day:

> "We strongly implore, as British subjects and Christian missionaries, your protection and assistance on behalf of ourselves and families. In consequence of the civil war which is now raging on this island our lives and property are in great danger day and night. Our premises stand outside the fort and are, consequently, comparatively unprotected; and we have no means at our command of removing to a place of safety. . . . The heathen have tried to fix on a plan to take Nuku'alofa by storm, but have been mercifully prevented. They have repeatedly made incursions, both by day and night, to within a short distance of this place. . . . We earnestly beg you . . . to assist us in the removal of our families to some place of safety." (82)

As the missionaries were criticized for leaving after the defeat at Pea, their request before Croker went there should be remembered.

Aleamotu'a and Taufa'ahau joined with the missionaries in asking Croker to be a peacemaker on the conditions he had drawn up. These were, that all fighting should cease forthwith, all forts of both parties dismantled, and that every man should return to his own village.

On the morning of 24 June the captain took his men and three guns to Pea 177
(a distance of about four miles) and was allowed to enter the fort for a parley. 669
The chiefs in Pea were given only half an hour to consider the terms, Croker 798
apparently thinking that longer time might enable them to get reinforcements from 728
Houma or elsewhere while pretending to be still considering the peace terms. Pea was a strong fort, with an earth-embankment 20 feet high and a trench 40 feet wide, and the only entrance was secured with piled-up coconut trunks. Two runaway English sailors, who had been living with the Tongan rebels for some time, were prominent in the defence of the fort. Croker had placed his carronades within musket-shot of the fort. When the half-hour was nearly over, a sailor, nicknamed Jemmy the Devil, appeared at the gate and asked Croker for a little more time; actually, the chiefs had almost agreed on accepting the terms. Croker, holding his watch, refused to wait. Exactly on time, he ran forward, sword in hand, calling out, "Now, bluejackets, follow me". Instantly the defenders opened fire, both with a carronade at the gateway and muskets through loopholes in the stockade. Almost at once Croker was wounded, but he still gallantly tried to reach the gate before being compelled through weakness to lean against a tree where he was shot again, this time through the heart. Two others were fatally shot and eighteen sailors were wounded. The rest brought all the wounded with their captain's body back to Nuku'alofa, leaving their three guns with the rebels.

Rabone gave a vivid description of the events of those days.

> "21 June. He [Croker] has called here at considerable expense of time and provisions to see if he can render any assistance towards establishing a peace."
>
> "23 June. Captain Croker is determined to take a force, guns and ammunition, to Pea, and so, in case of their objecting to his terms of peace, to drive them out of their fortress. We fear they [= Croker and his men] may be foolhardy and suffer for it, but we are at a loss what to say or think. . . ."

[1840]

> "24 June. O what a day! Captain Croker and his people to the number of 100 or more 177
> left here . . . for Pea. They arrived about 10 o'clock, and soon a message was brought
> here that Captain Croker was admitted into the fortress and that the heathen were 669
> willing to make peace. Scarcely had we given thanks to God in our minds for this 798
> joyful news but we heard the reports of guns . . . We supposed what we after knew 728
> was the case; that the heathen had at first professed willingness to accede to terms of peace, but that their object was something very different from that. But O, what a tale did we soon hear, that Captain Croker had determined on attacking the fortress and himself led the way without first battering at it with his large guns. The heathen waited for them, and Captain Croker was shot dead . . . Two of the men likely to die tonight, 17 or 18 more wounded, among them 1st Lieut. and 3rd Lieut. . . . Our hearts were broken when today they brought the dear captain, wrapped up in coconut leaves . . . O, his poor wife, and 5 or 6 children! . . ."

> "25 June. This morning Mr. Dunlop, 2nd Lieut., came on shore and informed us that the two poor fellows whom we feared concerning were no more and that they and Captain Croker would all be buried on shore this afternoon. We learnt from Mr. Dunlop that Captain Croker had left directions with Mr. Simmons, purser, that in case he should fall at Pea, what to do with his effects on board the vessel and where he wished to be buried. He had chosen to be interred near the chapel, inside the fence, facing the anchorage." [The grave is still to be seen on Zion hill.] "There are many most remarkable circumstances connected with this disaster, which go to show that it would appear Captain Croker had some presentiment of his death. We all remarked his manner on leaving us, we shook hands and he would proceed a few paces, return and again shake hands, then kissed the children . . ." (83)

The brave but imprudent captain was criticized for taking a large force with guns to Pea when his purpose was to offer peace; for placing the guns so close to the fort that the gunners could easily be shot; for not using the guns but relying on a charge of his sailors. Certainly he acted in ignorance or disregard of the strength of the fort and the resolute character of its 400-500 defenders. The rebel chiefs afterwards said that they had conversed with Croker in a friendly manner, that they were willing to accept the terms, and they were surprised when he attacked exactly at the end of the half-hour.(84)

Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, as the British authority concerned with incidents affecting British subjects as well as British warships in the South Seas, received a report from the acting commander of H.M.S. *Favourite*, Mr. Dunlop, when the sloop arrived at Sydney. Sir George was told that Captain Croker was "induced by the representatives of the Wesleyan Mission resident on the island to endeavour to effect peace, either by conciliation or force".(85) He gave the facts as narrated in the above paragraphs and made no comment in his report to the First Lord of the Admiralty. The Mission's version of the Governor's report was that he had found

> "that the missionaries did in no wise dictate to Captain Croker as to what measures he ought to adopt but were anxious for conciliation." (86)

On 22 August Lieut. Dunlop wrote to Sir George Gipps asking for a military force of about 120 men with two field pieces to be sent to Tongatapu to recover the three guns (two long 6-pounders and one 12-pounder). This request was sent to the Admiralty but no action was taken.(87)

Criticisms were levelled against Rabone and Tucker for removing to Vava'u 797
on H.M.S. *Favourite* after Croker's death. Actually, their predecessors had done 669
the same in 1835 and 1837. Their mission-houses were in an exposed position, 798
the women and children had found it necessary to enter the fort hurriedly when attacks were imminent, and guards had been placed outside the mission-houses

[1841-1850]

made to the sonorous singing of the *Te Deum* at the marriage of Taufa'ahau's 797
daughter, Salote, to the Tu'i Pelehake in 1839. The District Meeting in 1841, 796
influenced by John Waterhouse and his experience of the Book of Common 779
Prayer in English Wesleyan services, decided that John Wesley's Abridgement of Morning Prayer from the Book of Common Prayer should be translated and should be used in all the large chapels where missionaries could guide the worship. John Thomas was anything but a high churchman or ritualist but he and the other missionaries loyally accepted the ruling.(29) The Hymn-book of 1849 had 189 hymns, the Morning Prayer service, and also the catechism. In the 1853 edition the Litany and Collects occupied 40 pages and the catechism 72 pages.

Lawry, in his 1850 visit, commented upon the worship in Zion, Nuku'alofa:

> "The serious devotional tone of this host of worshippers would bear a comparison with any congregation I ever saw in England. . . . The beautiful harmony with which they went through the responses in the Morning Service was very affecting, in tones like the sound of many waters. . . . Both the singing and the praying were performed by the entire congregation." (30)

A visiting Anglican physician, Dr. W. H. Harvey, of Trinity College, Dublin, made particular reference to the Tongan Wesleyans' use

> "of our noble Liturgy which we always use in the chapel service".(31)

It was this doctor who was so impressed with the need for more support for medical work that he instituted a Protestant Medical Aid Society. At a later date (1878), Sir Arthur Gordon, when High Commissioner, expressed surprise that "the Anglican Prayer Book" had been translated into Tongan and was regularly used by the Wesleyans.(32)

It was Dr. Moulton who retranslated the Liturgy into stately Tongan to replace what the early missionaries had given with their more restricted knowledge of the language. Both versions still stand in the book used by the Free Wesleyan Church although Moulton's is the one commonly used in worship today.

Tongans eagerly adopted European music and forms of worship. They also 797
introduced colourful patterns of their own, such as the watchnight service on 796
new year's eve, when the lights were brought to the church by all families. In [177]
the early days these were nut-shells filled with oil.(33) At these services several [533]
preachers dwelt solemnly upon the passing of the old year; after about two hours the spirit of gravity was changed to a joyous welcome to the new year.

Another part of the missionaries' work was the introduction of treatment 797
for the people's diseases. Tongans had their own treatment which, generally 757
speaking, they have preferred, even to recent times. They were sometimes impressed, however, by the effect of the medicine brought by the missionaries and they were willing to use it if their own herbs failed. A limitation on the missionaries' efforts was the scanty knowledge they possessed. The situation was exceptional with qualified medical practitioners, R. B. Lyth, most of whose ministry was in Fiji, and George Miller. Shirley Baker, who served from 1860 onwards, had acquired a proficiency in prescribing.

An unusual case of a layman's description of what must have been polio- 164
myelitis is found in a letter from Mrs. Matthew Wilson at Hihifo to her parents 165
in England in November 1847. It was remarkable that one who had no medical knowledge whatever should describe symptoms so accurately. Poliomyelitis had

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[1845 - 1848]

After George became Tu'i Kanokupolu some elements in Tongatapu exalted the position of the Tu'i Tonga as though he still had civil power and was superior to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. King George went to Mu'a to confront Laufilitonga, charging him with allowing these claims to civil authority to be put forward on his behalf. Laufilitonga then publicly disavowed any such claims or any superiority to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. With the death of Laufilitonga in 1865 the title of Tu'i Tonga lapsed and he had no successor. Henceforth there was no suggestion of a rival to Tupou I from that quarter. 643 668

Some thought of the son of Aleamotu'a, Henry Ma'afu, as a possible rival, but there was no support for him in 1845. He went to Fiji in 1848 and died there in 1881. It has been said that Tupou I wished to be rid of a rival, but evidently the avowed reason was correct; Ma'afu went to Fiji to take charge of the troublesome Tongans there and to advance his own interests. He did this so successfully that he became the powerful overlord of the Lau group and a disturber of the peace of Cakobau, ruler of Bau, for many years.

Taufa'ahau's position became secure in spite of the objections of Ha'a Havea chiefs and their open rebellion later. The title of Tu'i Kanokupolu itself became anachronistic when, in 1875, he was recognized as King of Tonga by the Constitution which has remained the foundation of Tonga's modern government. In 1877 the king's son, David 'Unga, cut down the *koka* tree at Kanokupolu so that no one might be installed there in future; and a small piece of the tree was sent to Sydney to be placed in the chair, the throne which was being prepared for the royal chapel at Nuku'alofa. It seemed as if Tupou I had heard of the stone of Scone in the British throne in Westminster Abbey.

In his concern for the country's development the king considered it advisable to provide a more detailed system of laws and government than the Vava'u Code of 1839 had given. In doing this he again sought missionary advice. With regard to the new Code of 1850, Thomas West wrote: 643 671

> "With the rapid advance of education, the king felt the need of a more comprehensive and complete code of laws for the government of his people. On this subject he frequently and earnestly conversed with the missionaries and, finally, applied for their official help in framing it."(3) [797]

The District Meeting of 1847, with Lawry presiding, considered the request and recommended the king "to get the opinion and advice of the highest English legal authority in New Zealand". When Sir William Martin, C.J., had given this, "a translation of these laws was prepared by the missionaries and placed in the hands of the king and chiefs for their united consideration".(4) 643 671 177 797

Notwithstanding this, Peter Turner wrote in his journal,

> "The king and chiefs are becoming jealous of our interfering in what they think their prerogatives. We have been recommending to them a better code of laws but, no, things must remain as they are and we are thought evil of for our wishes to elevate them in the scale of civilization." (5)

Perhaps Peter Turner was unduly pessimistic as the District Meeting, on 20 April 1848, decided that

> "the king, having repeatedly and earnestly requested assistance of the missionaries in preparing a code of laws for the government of his people, this Meeting appoints Bro. Rabone to prepare the said Code and agrees to follow, as far as practicable to this people, the Code adopted in Tahiti published in Ellis' 'Missionary Researches'."

Evidently this was the model suggested by the Chief Justice of New Zealand. West added:

> "We were very careful to impress them with the conviction that these laws must be

[1843 - 1850]

adopted and promulgated as their own, and not as the laws of the missionaries. This was accordingly done: and when the code was finally completed and made law the missionaries found in it much that was contrary to their own views." (6) 643 671 177 797

Among important features of this Code were the following:

III. 1. "No respect of persons in the trial of offenders."

III. 3. "The remuneration which the judges and officers shall have made to them by the king is the distribution of the convicted persons amongst them, to labour for them at their respective places." [692]

VII. 4. "Let all know that the separating of man and wife is a difficult matter; since the marriage contract is a command of God, the minister must first marry them; but, in case of trial, and the crime proved, then the minister must pronounce them separated, in the large chapel, before all the people, even as their marriage was performed. Then the writing of divorce shall be given to the innocent party." [586]

VIII and IX. Punishments were provided for adultery and fornication. [684]

XI. "Dancing is strictly forbidden, as well as all heathen customs . . .". [689]

XVII. Abortion "is a most disgusting crime and highly deserves punishment". [684]

XXIX. The sale of land by anyone, chief or commoner, to any foreigner is forbidden. [685]

Lawry wrote of the provisions of the Code of 1850:

> "They are not all that we wish them to be . . . especially on the mode of paying the judges out of the fines levied on the offenders, which is sure to corrupt the seat of justice. . . . Upon the whole, however, this movement is a grand step towards the civilization of the entire nation. . . . There is no good reason why it has been so long delayed. . . . The Statute-book is to be printed at our Mission press." (7) [213]

While Tonga was becoming stabilized in its internal government, its relations with the outside world brought other problems, and here also the Wesleyan Mission became involved. The growing interest of foreign Powers in the Pacific Islands was beginning to affect Tonga and the maintenance of Tonga's independence loomed large in the king's mind. He and his people were very fearful of any foreign designs, real or imaginary. Indeed no Pacific Islands group has been more sensitive at this point. The L.M.S. missionaries in 1797 were plagued by the false reports of the runaway sailors who told the Tongans that the missionaries were agents of Britain who had come to take away the country. Lawry in 1822-3 was harassed by similar lies. Being sold to a foreign nation or seeing their flag hauled down (in Tongan terms) was a lurking fear which unscrupulous Europeans could manipulate, as events in later years showed. 648 829

After 1843, when France annexed Tahiti, a cold shudder passed over many lands in the Pacific. The entry of the French priests into Tongatapu gave rise to some apprehension; if they had not so often spoken of support from French warships the people's fears might soon have subsided. Tupou I realized that France had been aided in Tahiti by the divisions among Tahitian chiefs and the disloyalty of some of them to their monarch. He feared the effects of possible disunity and disloyalty in Tongatapu.

The first approach for British assistance was made by Aleamotu'a. On 19 February 1844 he sent a letter appealing for protection, to Robert FitzRoy, Governor of New Zealand, for transmission to Queen Victoria. Evidently it was sent to the Colonial Office and then to Lord Aberdeen at the Foreign Office, but there was no reply. Its contents revealed the agitation felt by Tongan chiefs because of French policy in the Pacific. (The letter in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, is signed "George of Tonga" but that signature is crossed out and "Josiah" substituted). The letter stated,

[1862]

West, then in England, printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, 527
synchronized with this epoch-making year. 796

"All laws relating to serfdom are repealed" was the essence of the detailed 779
provision for the abolition of Tonga's old feudal system. What had been included 566
in the Codes of 1839 and 1850 was made explicit now, in spite of the reluctance
of many chiefs. Though the serfdom that had existed in Tonga was not comparable 671
to slavery under masters of another race, as in America, yet the ancient absolute
power of Tongan chiefs over the lives and property of their people was out of
keeping with the position of the country in 1862. The day of the warrior-chief
had passed, and with the spread of education and the acceptance of Christian
principles equal opportunities for commoners with chiefs had to be recognized.
Not only was the arbitrary rule of the chiefs ended, but the king's own authority [643]
itself was limited by the Code of 1862.

Under the new Code, land was to be allotted by the chiefs to their people. 671
All males sixteen years and over were entitled to their allotments, with right of 423
continued possession, provided that the rent was paid. The poll-tax was fixed at
three dollars. (Tongan dollar = four shillings.) The rent to be paid to the chiefs [622]
for tax-allotments was two shillings per annum. This system of guaranteeing land [651]
to all Tongan males has been followed ever since, only the scarcity of land and [427]
the population explosion in recent years preventing its full implementation. Salaries [652]
to judges and other civil servants were to be paid from public revenue, not from
fines as under the old system. Customs duties were fixed.

4 June 1862 is commemorated also for the beginning of parliamentary 646
government. However, there was as yet no formal parliament and a cabinet was not formed until 1875. The first Premier, Crown Prince David 'Unga, was not appointed until 1876. Parliaments met very infrequently in the early period — 1867, 1870, 1874.

Much of the Codes of 1839 and 1850 was incorporated in the Code of 1862, 671
but it was also directly influenced by the Hawaiian Constitution of 1855, and the 177
advice of a journalist, Charles St. Julian, afterwards Hawaiian Consul in Sydney,
who sent suggestions to the king.(24)

Shirley Baker, only two years in Tonga, but already making his presence felt, 797
was entrusted with writing out the Code. Whether, at this early stage in his 671
career, he did much more than that for the king is doubtful.

The missionaries had much less to do with the Code of 1862 than with the 797
previous codes even though the king sometimes consulted them about it. He 671
had reached the stage when he did not generally desire the same dependence on 643
their advice. Some years before this, Richard Amos, when writing to John
Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, had represented the missionaries' opinion: "The
king happens to have a will of his own" (26 October 1857).

Other differences appeared. The king's policy did not always conform to the
missionaries' interpretation of Scripture. W. J. Davis wrote to Eggleston that he [586]
had spoken to the king who wished to allow divorce and re-marriage after three
years' separation, a provision that Davis regarded as "a violation of Scripture"
(6 September 1861).(23) The missionaries regretted certain significant omissions
in the new Code; adultery and fornication were punishable as before, but there
was no longer a prohibition of native dancing.

[1876-1890]

preparatory meetings with boasting of what would be given at the annual missionary meetings. The gifts were always announced publicly. Baker added a method of piecemeal continued giving, an elimination process for the honour and glory of the last survivors. Basil Thomson's descriptions of missionary collections in his day (1890), both Free Church and Wesleyan, were truthful, despite humourous exaggerations.(26) It was an open competition in a circus-like atmosphere, entirely out of keeping with a religious setting. 797 [181] [157]

In spite of the adverse publicity from "The Earl and the Doctor", the Missionary Committee reacted in a manner favourable to Baker and confirmed him in the chairmanship when he feared that it might have been given to his rival, Moulton. Baker had visited Sydney at that time (1873), and the Missionary Committee resolved that,

> "Having heard the statements of the Rev. S. W. Baker relative to the unexampled financial and spiritual prosperity of the Mission in the Friendly Islands District, [it] records its thankfulness to God for His abundant blessing upon the missionaries and their work." (27)

Fortified with this eulogy, Baker repressed any desire to return to a ministry in Australia in 1873 and set out to raise ever larger sums. He developed a special technique for giving credit in advance. This became notorious, with the German firm of Godeffroy having a monopoly of the copra from the collections. Sometimes a representative of the firm stood at the church door to make these advance payments against the copra to be sold later. Many of the debts would have been unmanageable in any case, and when a hurricane or a drought occurred many people failed to meet their obligations to Godeffroy. Distress warrants were taken out in many cases. Moulton was most critical of these practices. So was George Minns, who bemoaned also the contrast between spiritual deadness and booming collections. To Chapman on 26 January 1874, Minns wrote: 797 452 797

> "Our success is represented by £ s d. The disparity between our finances and our spirituality is so great that I cannot find sufficient courage to address a letter to the 'Missionary Notices'. . . . The Missionary affair [= collections] is in a large measure the effect of excitement and will collapse . . . Let us wait a few years longer for there are great difficulties ahead." (28)

Sir Charles Mitchell, High Commissioner, in his report to the British Parliament in 1887, criticized the Mission and stressed the king's resentment at the large sums going out of the country. Actually, some of the money was being banked in Sydney for the Tonga Jubilee Fund. Also, it was Baker himself who was responsible for this financial policy. 797 652 [643]

Mr. E. L. Layard, appointed as British Consul for Fiji and Tonga, visited Nuku'alofa in February 1876, and he at once received an avalanche of complaints from European residents, many of them disreputable beachcombers, and some of them rivals of the German firm. Baker declared that some of those who signed a petition to Layard had been cured of venereal disease by him.(29) On the basis of these complaints, Layard made many charges to Sir Arthur Gordon, alleging that Baker was "a trader in disguise", "the virtual ruler of Tonga", using his power 797 563

> "not for the good of the natives but actually for his own aggrandizement and enrichment, and to the detriment and possible banishment of every white man except his own special party from the Islands". (30)

Layard alleged that Baker was being well paid for his medical work. He added an absurd story about the people in the southernmost remote island of 'Ata 797 177 166

[1876-1878]

(Pylstaart) being brought to 'Eua for the convenience of the missionaries whereas 797
in fact the king had brought them to Tongatapu and 'Eua because of "the vile 177
traffic of the whalers with the women of the island",(81) and the depradations of 166
blackbirders who took the inhabitants to guano digging and sugar planting in Peru and Chile where some, unfortunately, died. Baker had no difficulty in showing the falsity of statements of this nature.

Sir Arthur Gordon did not attach much weight to many of Layard's charges. 797
In regard to one, that Ma'afu of Fiji should be the heir-apparent instead of 'Unga, Gordon was satisfied that 'Unga was properly the heir. Summing up, Gordon considered the only justifiable grounds for complaint against Baker were two, his political activities and his excessive fund-raising efforts.(82) Baker was to hear more about these — but not from the discredited Consul Layard. On Gordon's recommendation, the Earl of Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary, and Lord Derby, Foreign Secretary, refused to take any action against Baker on Layard's
charges.(83) Not only did Baker succeed in refuting these but he regarded 1876, [794]
the Jubilee year, as the high-water mark in the history of the Mission, and proudly [795]
recorded that, as well as the large financial contributions,

> "we have had a glorious revival, upwards of 600 have joined the Church, upwards of 60 Papists have turned over; never has Tonga had such a glorious revival." (84)

It was significant that, up to this stage, Baker was supported by Frederick Langham, veteran missionary and influential Chairman of the Fiji District. He protested against Layard not informing Baker that he was laying charges.(85) Langham believed that Gordon was moved by a desire to have Baker out of the way lest his pro-German policy injure British interests in Fiji and the whole area. Langham, in writing to Chapman, 28 June 1878, added:

> "I reminded him (Gordon) that he had told me that, if Mr. Baker were not removed from Tongatapu, he would have to take some action." (86)

Greater pressure was exerted against Baker when Maudslay arrived in June 1878 as Deputy Commissioner and Vice-Consul. From the outset, Maudslay was prejudiced. He soon began investigating the missionary's conduct in both political and financial affairs. Naturally, Baker resented Maudslay's inquiries; he even preached against him from the pulpit, warning the people to ignore him, from the text, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you . . . ?" (Galatians iii. 1).

Maudslay had the assistance of another officer of the Fiji Government, David Wilkinson, who was a practising member of the Wesleyan Church and respected by the Chairman of the Fiji District, Langham. Wilkinson became very critical of
Baker. He told Langham that some Tongans, unable to pay their debts to [452]
Godeffroy after the collections, had lost their goods, sold at ridiculous prices; [685]
and this had occurred after drought and hurricane had reduced them to abject poverty.(87) Maudslay and Wilkinson, in their visits to villages, met with difficulty in securing witnesses because Baker was dismissing from office in the Church those who gave them information. Wilkinson wrote to Langham:

> "He is pursuing so tyrannical a course towards natives and all he regards as his enemies and threatens the utmost pains and punishment to those who gave us information." (88)

Wilkinson, "as a Wesleyan", asked Maudslay to suspend action against Baker pending an approach to the Missionary Committee to remove him. Langham wrote to Wilkinson objecting to Baker not being given an opportunity to defend himself against the allegations; nevertheless, Langham added:

> "But, after taking all these things into consideration and giving them due weight, there still remains a feeling of uneasiness and an apprehension that there may be something underlying it all." (89)

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1942 - 1972]

Chapter XVIII.

"SWIMMING AGAINST THE CURRENT" IN A SECULAR AGE

Inevitably Tonga has been brought into closer contact with the outside 177
world. Its material needs have led to an increase in trade. New forms of
communication and travel have removed it from comparative isolation. Tonga is
affected by a world which is dominated by materialistic aims. As with other lands,
Tonga, too, is feeling the influence of new forces that often come into conflict with
its religious life.

In May 1961, Dr. John 'Amanaki Havea presided over the Conference of 000
Churches and Missions in the Pacific, held in Samoa; it was the first inter-church
meeting of Pacific Islands Christians. This assembly grappled with the new situation
of Christianity in the Pacific, as it said, "swimming against the current". The
current of secularism has threatened to engulf the spiritual ideals of many
communities. Secularism has mocked the optimism of the missionary slogan at
the beginning of the 20th Century: "The evangelization of the whole world in
this generation". Religion in Tonga and other Pacific Islands is neither the 771
excrescence nor the irrelevance it is held to be in some Western countries but,
on the other hand, it is no longer with many islanders the all-absorbing interest that
it was in the early days of the Missions. With some it has become almost a
formality. The Church in Tonga realizes this and it is now engaged in what has
been called "Second Generation Evangelism".

The impact of World War II was partly responsible for the change. The 177
presence of Allied troops with their material resources brought Tongans face to
face with a world based on power and wealth, not on moral and spiritual values.
Tonga was fortunate in being entirely spared the sufferings of New Guinea and
the Solomons where Japanese occupation inflicted hardship and death on the
population. In more subtle ways Tonga was affected by its contact with many
representatives of Western society. Allied troops were stationed on Tongatapu
from early in 1942; at first these were Americans and, when they were removed
to forward areas, New Zealanders took their place. As many as 10,000 overseas
servicemen were stationed in Tongatapu at one time. This occupation brought
mixed benefits, the easy flow of money and the introduction of the Tongans to a
new scale of values.

During the war period the Crown Prince, Taufa'ahau, returned from his 644
studies abroad and quickly assumed a prominent place in Government
administration. After education at Tupou College and Newington College, Sydney,
he had proceeded to the University of Sydney where he graduated Bachelor of
Arts and Bachelor of Laws while he was a resident student at Wesley College.
He was the first Tongan University graduate. Always he was an avid reader and
a keen student of world affairs. His travels in later years enlarged his experience [178]

[1926 - 1975]

unemployment and an increase in crime have followed. In the two years, from 161
1966 to 1968, there was an increase of 46% in juvenile crime. It was estimated 162
in 1968 that there would be 11,000 youths leaving school in the following ten [674]
years, with only 1,400 jobs available for them in Government, commerce and [464]
industry — and no gardening land for a large proportion of them.

In 1975 it is estimated that about one-half of the taxpayers have no land 162
in spite of their legal entitlement. Because of the social and economic consequences 423
of this disturbing situation the Methodist General Conference in Sydney in May [797]
1975 expressed its sympathetic concern to the people of Tonga.

Migration to New Zealand, California, Hawaii, and elsewhere, has grown 167
considerably but has done little to mitigate the population problem. Many of the 184
large number of Tongans educated overseas return to find a social and cultural 464
gap as well as difficulty in gaining suitable employment. Tourism has given 457
limited relief, in the sale of artifacts as well as fruit and vegetables. Against this 177
are ill-effects arising from contact with the undesirable types of tourists.

Faced with economic conditions which affect the people's moral and religious 795
well-being, the Church has had to re-assess its own situation and its impact on
the community. It has failed to increase in proportion to the growth of population. 795
In 1926 the Free Wesleyan Church was 59%, in 1956 49.75%, in 1966 49.85%. 162
The Mormons who were 2.3% in 1931 were 7.15% in 1966. In 1966 the Roman
Catholics were 15.9%, the Free Church 14.3%, Church of Tonga 8.9%, Seventh
Day Adventists 1.08%. New sects, including Pentecostalists, Jehovah's Witnesses
and Baha'i, have entered the country.

The Free Wesleyan Church finds some satisfaction in the quality of its 795
ministry and in the development of its organization. In 1970 it had 13 ministers 793
with L.Th. diplomas, three with Diplomas in Religious Education (Melbourne
College of Divinity), one Bachelor of Arts, two Bachelors of Divinity, one Doctor
of Divinity. The Pacific Theological College in Suva, for advanced theological
education, is supported by the Free Wesleyan Church and other Churches in many
Pacific Islands groups. Greater attention has been given to improved organization 795
and literature for Sunday Schools and youth groups. The Friendly Islands [444]
Bookshop was established in 1973 through the initiative of the Connexional [212]
Secretary, John M. Connan, B.Sc., B.D., to provide more material in English
and Tongan for a people increasingly capable of benefiting from good literature.

At the local level religion still plays a major part in the Tongans' family and [771]
community life. The teachings and methods of the early missionaries have been continued, with the opportunities these have provided for singing, extemporaneous prayer and testimony in the services and "class meetings" that suit the Tongans' temperament. New forms, especially for young people, such as the Christian Endeavour Society, have been added. The three Churches which have sprung from the Wesleyan stock have generally followed the same pattern. What is distressing is the spectacle of division in even small villages. Two, and sometimes three, congregations worship simultaneously and not far apart from each other, using similar hymns and forms of worship, proclaiming the same doctrines, observing the same procedures — early Sunday morning prayer-meeting, two Sunday services, Sunday School, mid-week service, mid-week prayer meetings, "class meetings" for members, and the ever-popular choir practices. In many villages in recent years the rivalry has been worsened by the presence of other denominations also, with a total of five, six or more in some villages.

177
457

Figure 1

TOURISTS TO TONGA BY SHIP AND PLANE: 1958 to 1975

(Landings at Tongatapu)[5] [A]

Year	Passengers	Number of Ships	In-Passengers*	Flights
1958	1,715	3	64	N.A.
1961	2,866	4	308	35
1964	5,626	10	992	117
1967	14,240	14	2,883	231
1970	21,025	24	4,001	324
1973	31,502	48	6,356	403
1975	44,968	N.A.	6,770	N.A.

Sources: Kingdom of Tonga Premier's Report. 1958+; Kingdom of Tonga Development Plan 1970-1975 (1970: Appendix A 4); Wallis 1971:25-26, Appendix IV.

N.A. = Not Available

*Approximations of non-Tongan passengers

[P89-A]

A. [For footnote, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

With increased tourist growth, Tongans are
457 in direct competition with the tourists for space and for
439 imported foodstuffs. Unless a tourist lives with a Tongan
family, and very few do, the main tourist diet consists of
177 fruits and breads from Tonga and imported foodstuffs.
This importation of foodstuffs—much of it because of
439 its relation to tourism—is also reflected in the Tongan
435 economy by the Consumer Price Index (CPI). The CPI,
434 heavily biased towards food items, was established in
1969 with a base of 100.0. In six years, the CPI has
reached the astronomical figure of 172.4 (Figure 2).

457 Ever-increasing amounts of food must be
imported to feed the growing number of tourists who
439 compete with Tongans for certain goods. Despite this,
177 tourist growth is encouraged. The impact on the "aver-
age" Tongan is startling, especially when he sees the
[435] price of food double in a single year at the local market.
The impact on children is considerable. The Tongan
[146] Ministry of Health has pointed out that "protein-cal-
orie malnutrition" is prevalent among many young
Tongan children to a disturbing degree.[6] A

457 Although the inflationary spiral in Tonga
in the last few years, as evidenced by increased consumer
458 prices, is obviously related to the generalized worldwide
435

[p. 89-B]

A, [For footnote, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

121 a simple, stable base advancing through strata which
becomes progressively more complex.

For Tonga, and indeed for other Pacific
457 Islands, tourism should develop in conjunction with—
179 and perhaps only after—several basic components of
the economy have been stabilized. After this, an organized tourist-oriented infrastructure must be developed including trained individuals and increased and improved transport. Tongans have gradually developed both facets of the economy, although more may be necessary.10 A

Too many tourists in Tonga could "drain" the carrying capacity of the land (as well as the patience of the Tongans). Basic food-producing industries of the Kingdom must be further improved. For example, in
[439] 1974 Tongans imported 560 tons of frozen fish, while
[228] the Tongan Government fishing vessel caught only 66
tons, roughly a ration of eight to one. In an attempt to
457 solve this, the Tongan government is encouraging loans
179 to improve the fishing industry. In addition, a three-
228 year program funded by the United Nations Develop-
648 ment Programme (UNDP) is aimed at developing the
local fishing industry. The UNDP will provide Tongans with some $230,000 as well as technical and managerial assistants to work with the fishermen.

The UNDP (along with the International
457 Labor Organization) has also provided Tonga with basic
648 aid toward improving the tourist infrastructure: a three-month course in tourism began late in 1974 and ended in January of 1975. Over one hundred Tongans took part in the training session. Another upgrading course started in February, 1976.

Development of tourism design must go
167 hand in hand with other aspects of Tongan life: more
464 must be done to encourage the emigrating Tongans to
[457] stay in the Kingdom. Population pressure, high unem-
[179] ployment, the increasing influence of Western values,
● and the availability of relatively well-paid work in New
Zealand compel many young Tongans to leave Tonga.
167 This movement of Tongans overseas markedly affects
464 the Tongan economy, as recent trends make clear: pri-
179 vate and government building in Tonga has fallen behind
as a result of lack of skilled workers, and equipment is lying unused. One government building project lost two-thirds of its staff. What is true for the construction trade
167 is also true for the private farmer:

> 464 If the drain of laborers to New Zea-
> 179 land goes unchecked, a crisis could de-
> 241 velop in Tonga's agriculture. This warning is sounded by the Director of Agriculture, Mr. Tomasi Simiki, who said this week the migration of workers to New Zealand—even temporarily—was already being felt in farming. Farmers are producing less because they

[p. 91-A]

A. [For footnote, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

121 examines the impact of tourism on the Tongan economy and the social
457 and cultural problems associated with the advent of recent mass tourism.

The Economic Problem

433 Tonga is primarily an agricultural nation of small landholders. Despite
Government efforts to modernize and increase food production, the
natural resources of the islands are inadequate to feed the growing
population. For greater cash-flow, primarily to meet Tongan consumer
433 demands for Western products, Tonga has become an exporter of
439 agricultural commodities. It is germane to note, however, that foodstuffs
● [177] (especially meat and chicken) account for almost a third of Tonga's
annual imports. In 1973, for example, total exports amounted to almost
us$5,000,000, with copra being the most important export (at
146 us$3,347,000). Dietary inadequacies among Tongans, occasioned by high
food costs, are best assessed by the Minister of Health who stated in 1973
that protein-calorie malnutrition is prevalent among young Tongan
children to a disturbing degree. In the same year seventeen cases of
severe "nutritional deficiency" required hospitalization, two of which
became fatalities.

Spiraling inflation has eroded Tongan buying power over recent years,
458 as indicated by the Consumer Price Index (CPI). Established in 1969 with
435 a September base of 100.0, the CPI is based on the purchasing power of a
"typical" Tongan family earning less than us$37 per week. Heavily biased
towards food items (64 percent of all items on the index), the CPI has
risen steadily (Figure 1) to 172.4 in six years. Increases in food prices, both
domestic and imported, have consistently contributed most to this
upward trend. In one of the largest overall increases, 11.4 percent in the
quarter of June-September 1973, the fruit and vegetable component of
the CPI increased by 46.9 percent. In the second largest increase, 11.2
percent from December 1972-March 1973, this same sub-group of basic
staples increased by 33.1 percent, while the cereal subgroup (bread, flour,
and rice) increased by 31.6 percent.

464 Unemployment is another critical economic problem. In an island
world where land is extremely important, many adult Tongans are
without land. Although every Tongan male, upon reaching the age of
[882] sixteen (and becoming a taxpayer) is entitled to some "bush land" for
crops and "town land" for a home, there simply isn't enough to go around.
[423] The Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance pointed out that in
1966, 59 percent of all men over sixteen years of age who were entitled to
tax allotments were landless and, no doubt, this proportion has increased
by 1971. Even if the unused areas are used it may provide employment
for about thirty-four hundred men, still leaving thousands unemployed.

464 The Secretary also noted that every year, only about 5 percent of the
871 Tongans who leave school are able to find employment in the Tongan
economy.

464 To offset this serious lack of domestic employment, thousands of
Tongans since 1971 have gone overseas to work, primarily in New
167 Zealand. Their remittances to Tonga have been substantial: in 1971-72
457 US$1,250,000 and for 1972-73 US$2,000,000. This money, together with donations, gifts, and contributions from other overseas sources (US$2,150,000) have helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit. In addition, individual men, returning to Tonga after the expiration of overseas work permits, often bring back a substantial amount of cash (once estimated to be an average of US$1,800 per man). Although this work program was initiated at the request of the Tongan government, it has been criticized as being a form of economic subservience. The revenues obtained from this
[593] unique "export item" (diligent and hardworking Tongans) have, in fact,
benefitted the Tongan economy, but they have also created some do-
(586) mestic problems: family life is disrupted for male wage earners who go overseas, and divorce appears to be increasing.

177 Tonga, as with the rest of Oceania, continues to undergo massive acculturation. The economic problems have aggravated social problems because of the inability of individual Tongans to achieve their Western-
674 induced desires. Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are now
174 prevalent crimes in Tonga and are, unfortunately, apparently increasing at a steady rate. Tongan homes now commonly have barred windows, and families may keep numerous dogs in the yard for protection. Crimes of violence have also increased, especially in attacks by Tongans on non-Tongans. The Tongan Minister of Police openly admits that in view of population pressures and economic side effects, continued potential increase of crime may reasonably be predicted.

179 In the face of their economic dilemma, it is not surprising that in their
457 1970-75 development plan, Tonga has assessed tourism as having the greatest economic potential to the Kingdom, both as an employer of labour and also as a source of foreign exchange.

The Economic Role of Tourism

457 Tourists arrive in Tonga by private yacht, by cruise ships making a one or two-day stop as part of a longer Pacific itinerary, or by air from Samoa or Fiji. Guests to Tonga in 1958 were an elite group, when only three cruise vessels landed passengers at Tongatapu, and some special flights brought a total of sixty-four air passengers from Australia (Figure 2). Subsequently, tourism has grown steadily and rapidly, and more growth is anticipated, including tourism to areas other than Nuku'alofa. In 1973,

457 not know enough of their own culture and history (or at least the aspects
654 of touristic interest), so the TVB published a pamphlet for local distribution to remedy this particular complaint. The government has also built small airstrips to encourage tourist travel to outlying islands and has allocated substantial sums of money for hotel expansion and construction.
457 With the help of overseas (primarily Australian) backing, new hotels have been recently constructed on Tongatapu and Vava'u. Japanese compa-
648 nies have also expressed an interest in joint investment with the Tongan
654 government, in facilities that would serve the public and *especially* entice
● 177 the now almost nonexistent Japanese traveler to Tonga. With Japan in mind, the Tongan monarch traveled to Japan, exchange clubs have been
[643] established. Tongans have been encouraged to visit Japan. Late in 1976
[484] the Japan/Tonga Friendship Fellowship opened a US$35,000 resort clubhouse in Tonga, in an effort to develop growing contacts and increase guests to Tonga. His Majesty also visited Hawaii in late 1976 to assess the role of tourism, as well as the role of Tongans in tourism at the Polynesian Cultural Center (see chapter 14).

Tourism, however, increases the economic problems—especially the
457 need for additional imported foodstuffs. Air passengers, for whom
439 facilities are largely being constructed, have to be fed, and although many
262 enjoy the local fruits and bread (made from the imported flour), few would be content for long on the relatively bland Tongan diet of yams, taro, and fruit. Tongans are, in effect, competing with the tourists for the imported foods. The ever-increasing quantities of food that must be
[435] imported to feed the growing number of tourists contributes to the
[171] steadily rising CPI. A similar situation prevails in Fiji, as Ward (1976, p. 171) notes:

> Some [Fiji] hotels, in the interest of greater economy and convenience, only provide a strictly limited choice of meals and the sort of meals which tourists expect to receive in their home countries, e.g. of the steak-hamburger-mixed grill variety. Many hotels argue that this is all the tourist wants although the best hotels do provide more extensive menus. The majority [of hotels, however] do provide the food which is produced and consumed by the local inhabitants and this compounds the problem of buying requirements from domestic producers.

Ward also states that despite the availability of many local foodstuffs tourists might consume, hotels in Fiji prefer to purchase their requirements overseas because, it has been argued, "they can only then be assured of continuity in supplies and of a consistent high standard of quality."

457 Tourism has grown rapidly in Tonga, but it could evaporate just as quickly. Tongans occasionally have experienced situations when the anticipated tourists failed to arrive. In 1972, at least forty tour groups cancelled their planned air visits to Tongatapu because the tour operators

could not be assured of making airline connections from the Kingdom to 457
other points on the itinerary.

Because of mounting fuel and labor costs, long-haul cruises such as those that stop at Tonga are not as profitable as the short-haul, fast turnaround cruises that operate weekly or biweekly in the Caribbean (Waters and Patterson 1976). As a result, in the foreseeable future cruises stopping at Tonga might decrease as much as 50 percent in a single year, with a projected annual loss of revenue of US$600,000. This would seriously affect the handicraft manufacturers and other businessmen in the Kingdom. Losses of anticipated revenue generated through tourism should serve to reinforce the potential disaster for Tongans if their economy is tied too closely to tourism.

It must also be noted that while short-term cruise passengers consume little of the imported foodstuffs, the airline guests (whose stay ranges from five to eleven days) must be fed for the duration of their visit. The [458)
host/guest competition for food and natural resources will further contribute to the upward inflationary curve.

What Price Tourism?

Tongans are increasingly becoming the victims of their own tourism. 457
They are exceedingly happy when cruise ships dock with a thousand 177
passengers (and several hundred crew members), and pump thousands of dollars into the economy in an eight-hour period, but Tongans are even happier at dusk when the ships depart. The physical impact of a thousand tourists on one town situated on a relatively tiny island is tremendous, especially when most of the tourists are bussed around to "see" all the sights of the island. The tourist literature has brought the visitors here "to observe the traditional Tongan way of life in the *natives' own habitat*" and the shore excursions promise that you will "see the daily work routine of men and women—gardening, weaving baskets, cooking, washing and their many other activities. This village walking tour offers you an excellent opportunity to photograph the Tongan people as they really are" (Itinerary for the International Institute, 24 June 1974). Tongans cannot tolerate being regarded as members of a "cultural zoo" and are not "on display" for wealthy visitors. Under these circumstances, there are exceedingly few opportunities for a true host/guest relationship to develop.

Tourists have usually heard something about Tonga long before they
arrive. Many guests remember the late Queen of Tonga's memorable ride [643)
in an open carriage during a rainfall when Her Majesty Queen Salote [484)
Tupou III attended the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II in London in 1953. Tourists, therefore, already "know" something about

457 Tonga, and they want to "see" Tonga; but all too often cruise passengers
177 get only a look at a "phony-folk-culture" in action—a Disneyland of the
Pacific, so to speak.

The air guests, fewer in number (but staying longer), may have a somewhat different experience. They have the opportunity to enjoy the recreational facilities of a tropical island—swimming, fishing, and snorkeling—and they may also have the opportunity to see more of the island at a gradual pace, to meet some of the truly hospitable Tongans on a person-to-person basis, and to share a truly cross-cultural educational experience. However, the actual experiences of the tourist can be less than this ideal.

457 Forster (1964, pp. 217-22) pointed out that one of the fascinating
177 aspects of the tourist process in the Pacific is the deliberate creation of a
"phony-folk-culture," which the indigenous inhabitants develop to pro-
535 vide "authentic native culture" to the tourists. For example, a popular
tourist "attraction" is a display of dances in Tonga: the program may contain almost a dozen Fijian, Tahitian, Hawaiian, or New Zealand dances performed by the Tongan dancers but show only one or two Tongan dances. The fact is granted that a Tahitian *tamure* has a tremendous amount of visual impact, and a Fijian fire dance is dramatic, but Tongan dances have a beauty and symmetry of their own that should be performed for the visitors to Tonga.

457 It is this alteration of their basic culture that has prompted Tongans to
consider legislating the tourist industry. They seek to ensure the active
178 preservation of the traditional Tongan way of life and culture by
integrating traditional patterns into mass tourism and not making traditional culture a contemporary "phony-folk-culture."

Other tangible and observable social problems have developed in the
[735] Kingdom as a result of the tourist influx: some Tongan children now beg
[548] from tourists at the major tourist attractions; prostitution and homosexual-
[838] ity appear to be increasing (not necessarily for the tourists but for the
[435] crew members of the cruise ships); tourists are harassed as they walk
through city streets and villages; and price-gouging, especially for transportation, is a common complaint.

The substantial amount of quickly-generated cash derived from cruise
457 ship passengers (for an "authentic" Polynesian feast, shore excursions
434 around the island, and the purchase of handicrafts), when placed into
527 circulation in the port towns, can be the occasion for a party. Drinking
may commence even before the ship has weighed anchor and drunken-
273 ness appears to be a major source of crime. Tongans still enjoy their
traditional *kava* drink, but as I have stated elsewhere, when individuals
[276] begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, in violation of their Christian
[178] ethic, it is an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society
457 has shifted. In recent years Tongans have been evicted from their own
273

hotels for drunkenness (and for being badly dressed) in order to "protect 457
the image of the Kingdom in the eyes of the tourist." Housebreaking, 273
theft, and unlawful entry are prevalent crimes, and in 1973, for example, 674
there were 427 convictions for theft.

Conclusions

Deep-seated economic problems induced by a growing population have 457
almost engulfed the tiny islands of Tonga. The glitter of tourist money 179
seemingly promises a substantial portion of much-needed economic help,
but would it bring more "troubled times"? The current substantial cruise
business might be considered relatively benign in that visitors are short-term, and they arrive and depart at a preappointed hour. Comparatively little capital or space is required to cater to their needs, aside from docking areas and taxis or busses. Further, the money cruise passengers spend is largely for local services (transportation, amusement, and for handicrafts as souvenirs) and directly benefits individuals. The threatened demise of the cruise industry, to be replaced with an increasing number of air travelers, may be potentially more disruptive to the economy and to
the culture. To accommodate air visitors, hotels and resort facilities must [311]
be financed and built, and they occupy land—already in short supply,
giving to it by virtue of location a changed economic value. No longer
"bush" or "town," now it is "recreational" land. Given the small size of [527]
Nuku'alofa as well as Tongatapu, one must imagine the impact if one
thousand guests were continually present, day *and* night, demanding that their needs be catered—including on Sunday when Tongans traditionally do not work. And although air travel is currently nascent, with a limited number of annual visitors, the advent of mass travel could "Waikiki" the beaches, and inundate local culture as has already happened in Hawaii.

The Prime Minister of Tonga (His Majesty's brother) has repeatedly 457
stressed that Tongan culture can withstand the impact of modern tourism 177
development. I, too, am certain that Tongans will survive; however, will 178
they still be Tongans? Or will they become yet another example of a
people who have been forced to abandon their traditions (or at least 179
remove them "back stage" away from prying eyes) to prevent their
becoming the "quaint customs" of ethnic tourism?

The anthropological analysis of economic process [here, tourism] differs from the statistical methods employed by economic planners in that the former assesses the impact upon culture and the social milieu rather than being restricted to balance-of-trade or the CPI. There is an ethnohistoric component to culture change—from then to now—just as there is a cross-cultural component—from there to here—that must be studied. Tongans must become aware of the changes that have occurred

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

457 as a result of non-Tongan influences; they must also study the effects of
177 tourism elsewhere in the Pacific islands. From these two sources, they
178 should design for the future. The 1970-75 development plan stated that
tourism if properly controlled could make a positive contribution to the
179 economy. Possibly the wording of a new development plan should read
that tourism *must be* properly controlled if it is to make a positive
contribution to the economy, the Tongan hosts, and the non-Tongan
guests.

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OU9 Tonga OU9

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TONGA: NEW INTERPRETATIONS OF TONGAN SOCIETY AND MATERIAL CULTURE AT THE TIME OF CAPTAIN COOK

ADRIENNE L. KAEPPLER

Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum

175 Although Tonga was discovered in 1616 by Le Maire, fleetingly described by
Tasman in 1643, and the northern islands were seen by Wallis in 1767, real knowledge
of Tongan culture had to await Captain Cook's visits. The written accounts
175 and ethnographic collections resulting from Cook's voyages are often our major
source for understanding the character of Tongan culture in the eighteenth century.
127 Yet, despite drawings, descriptions, and identifications which are outstanding for
their time, little work has been done to interpret this early material in the light of
other kinds of research in order to delineate the relationship between material
culture and the social system.

[121] This article presents the preliminary results of several years' research in the field,
in libraries, and in museums in the Pacific, America and Europe, in which materials
from Cook's voyages have played a central role. Cook's visits to Tonga (1773–4)
on his second voyage are most important here. For although the visits were short, a
[439] great deal of trading was done; and only specimens and descriptions collected at
[177] that time are certain to be relatively free from European influence.[1]

Despite the abundance of artefacts and descriptions, their location and inter-
127 pretation are not as simple as one might expect.[2] Cook's crew often sold their
[439] 'curiosities' to the highest bidders and labels seldom accompanied them. At that
[175] time, moreover, some of the outstanding museums were private, for example,
those of George Humphrey, The Duchess of Portland, Daniel Boulter, William
Bullock, and especially Sir Ashton Lever. Most of these early collections were
eventually sold at auctions, and so the specimens became widely dispersed, often
with the subsequent loss of the association with Cook. The owners of such 'cabinets
of curiosities' usually had little interest in the precise identification or technical
significance of the material, and items were regularly labelled simply 'South
Seas'; indeed, 'Otahiti' often became a catchall term for the entire area. Some
objects found their separate way to the British Museum, but little care was exercised
in labelling them, either as having come from Cook's voyages or as to their
original provenance. In fact most of these specimens seem not to have been
numbered or labelled at the time of their acquisition. In the late nineteenth century,
however, they were catalogued along with non-Cook specimens, apparently by
Edge-Partington, and given a series of numbers reflecting their supposed origin.
The collection was divided into four categories: *viz.*, HAW (Hawaii); TAH
(Tahiti); NZ (New Zealand) and EP (eastern Polynesia). Some objects were
assigned no numbers at all, and the Tongan material was for the most part not

[p. 204]

175 more existed. There is a specimen in the Vienna collection—but we do not know
292 that it was collected on Cook's voyages. The accession information says only that it
127 came to the Museum für Völkerkunde from Belvedere Castle in 1877 (plate *3a*).[9] A

127 The Cook collection in Vienna was purchased by Leopold von Fictell at the
Leverian sale in 1806. According to the annotated sale catalogue, Fictell did not
292 buy a Tongan feather headdress. However, one of the lots that he bought (1445) was an 'Elegant feather head dress, Brazil' (Leverian Museum 1806: 61). As many of the Leverian lots were not assigned to the correct provenance, it is interesting to speculate that the headdress was in fact from Tonga, but not included in the Vienna Cook collection because Cook did not go to Brazil. Perhaps the Vienna specimen came from the Leverian sale, or from the sale of another private museum, or perhaps it is not from Cook's voyages at all. But it is the only example of a Tongan feather headdress identified so far. It is 31 cm. high and 54 cm. at its widest point.

292 According to well-informed Tongans the feather headdress is called *palā tavake*
643 and was worn only by the Tu'i Tonga. Tradition says that the last one was made for
Paulaho by Helu of Foa—perhaps to replace the ones given to Captain Cook.
175 Again, Cook's voyages have given us the only depicted example, the only good
554 description, and perhaps the only existing piece.

Paulaho died about 1784 and his line was defeated in civil wars shortly after.
643 Following this, there was no need for a *palā tavake* to show the divine exaltation
292 of the Tu'i Tonga because this line was no longer officially recognised. But the
[669] tradition of the headdresses was perpetuated in two quite different ways. Chiefs in
feather headdresses were carved on Tongan war clubs and these exist on several
532 museum specimens. The example depicted (plate *3b*)A is from the Peabody Museum,
292 Salem, Massachusetts. It would seem that the carving of human figures and other
[177] ideographs did not reach the peak of efflorescence until the coming of European
tools. Perhaps these carvings of chiefs in feather headdresses were stimulated by the
high esteem placed on the headdresses by Europeans.

292 That the tradition of *palā tavake* was not forgotten is also shown by a dance text
533 composed by Queen Sālote in 1966:

643 Ke fataki nima he 'aho ko ē	And raise our hearts on this day
[539] Tu'u ai e palā tavake	Stand on the *palā tavake*

The poetry admonishes the people to do things for today and not worry about the past and its bitterness. But in doing so one should still take tradition into account, tradition here being symbolised by the feather headdress of the Tu'i Tonga—Queen Sālote's line of descent through her mother. When translating this text most
[301] Tongans translated *palā tavake* as a feather comb and only a few recognised it as
feather headdress—and it would seem that a comb with red feathers later took the
[178] place of the feather headdress. Feather combs are usually known as *helu kula* and tradition says could only be used by the Tu'i Tonga line. Queen Sālote is said to have had one—which visually acknowledged her Tu'i Tonga background even though she ruled as a Tu'i Kanokupolu (Ha'a Ngata).

293 Another item which history ascribes to Paulaho is a fly whisk now in the
127 Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. It was bought at the Leverian sale where it was
listed in the catalogue as 'fly flap with a curious ornamented handle. This belonged
643 to Powlohaw King on Tongataboo' (Leverian Museum 1806: 135). This specimen

A, [See End Plate 3, following p. 220--Analyst] and a companion in the same museum are the only examples of fly whisks made in 293 this manner. The handles are completely incised in zigzag patterns and inset with 127 ivory pieces in the form of men, birds, stars, and crescents (Moschner 1955: 222, 643 224). The carving and ivory inlay are done in the same manner as the incising of [531] Tongan clubs, but handles of Tongan fly whisks are usually uncarved. Since fly [532] whisks are only used by chiefs in Tonga, one would suspect that such an elaborate one would have been the possession of a special chief. The existence of the information in the Leverian sale catalogue—that it belonged to Paulaho—was the corroborating evidence we needed.

A specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum illustrates the usual early type of fly 293 whisk (plate 4a)[A]. It is made with a slightly tapered, polished wood handle and a whisk 127 of coconut fibre, bound by a wrapping of twisted *'olongā* fibre. It is 53 cm. in length and a small section of the whisk is braided. An almost identical piece exists in the Forster collection in Göttingen, and there are two similar ones in the British Museum. The Pitt Rivers example is a good type specimen. It is the usual Tongan type in early collections, its provenance is given as Tonga in Forster's list, such whisks still exist in Tonga, and an engraving in Labillardière (1802: plate 33) is virtually identical. Another whisk of this type, but with a bone handle, exists in [114] Bern in the Webber collection from the third voyage, but its provenance is given as Tahiti. It is certainly Tongan, and can now be separated from the Tahitian materials.

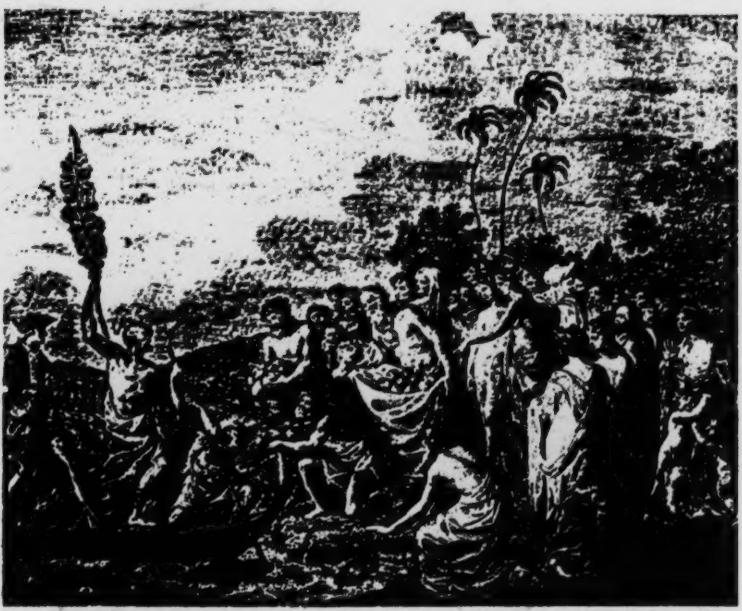
The fly whisk, *fue kafa*, was an important symbol of rank in Tonga. It was mani- 293 pulated in a specific manner, called *fuefue*, which took practice and deftness of 554 hand. A Tongan proverb puts it nicely: 'Who is this fellow who wields his *fue* like a commoner?' [538] This proverb is used today for anyone who is presumptuous beyond his status. The *fue* is a good example of the reflection of social stratification in material culture. The Tu'i Tonga was chief of the chiefs. [643] The *fue*, a visual status symbol that could be used by all chiefs, was differentiated when used by the Tu'i [565] Tonga in a manner befitting his high rank.

Incising of the designs in wood was done by means of a shark-tooth implement 412 represented in the Pitt Rivers Museum by Forster specimen Number 174, 'shark's 127 tooth set in wood, from the Friendly Isles' (plate 4b[A](i)). Before Forster's Cata- [237] logue was found in 1969, this specimen was noted '?Tahiti.' This provenance may have been derived from comparing it with a similar specimen in the British Museum that is in the TAH series, but one must remember that the TAH series reflects the views of a nineteenth century cataloguer and that, for the most part, the Tongan items were not separated from the Tahitian. Also in reference to this erroneous British Museum provenance, Duff in his recent catalogue ascribed a [114] similar tool in the Canterbury Museum, New Zealand, to Tahiti (Duff 1969: 26). But I think there can be little doubt that this tool type is Tongan.

We are indebted on this account to Forster for two reasons. Not only does he 412 state clearly that this tool is from Tonga but he also gave its companion tool (plate 175 4b (ii)), a nail set in a handle of bone. This specimen (Forster 101a) he lists as 'An old [177] nail, brought to the friendly Isles by Tasman in 1643 and preserved by the Natives, & used as a gouge or borer'. Thus, though one might question his attribution of the shark-tooth tool to Tonga, one could hardly question the nail attribution. And this is crucial, for the hafting is virtually identical. Reinold Forster describes this piece, or a similar one, in his *Observations:* '. . . when we landed at Tonga-tabu [439]

[A] [See End Plate 4, following p. 220--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9



175
177

PLATE 1a.

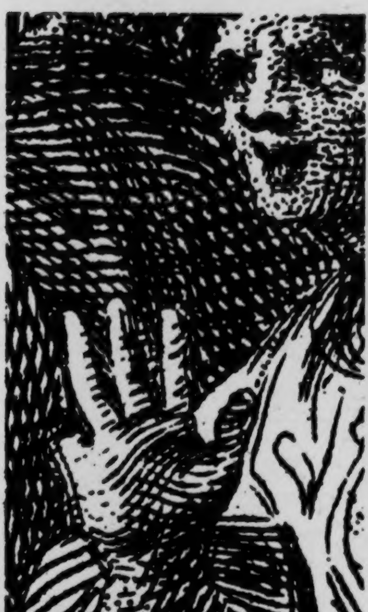


PLATE 1b.

PLATE 1c.

304
782
175
←

292
764
765
→

[End Plate 1]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

634 the first of the Wesleyan missionaries arrived in 1822, this district was still intact, and Lawry recommended to London that: "The next District Proper for a Mission Station is that of Heefo."[14]

565 554 [619] When the first Tu'i Tonga divided his lands among his kinsmen, his kinsmen established their own *ha'a* and received their own titles indicative of their leadership.[15] It was the title of an individual that was passed on to another leader when the first titled individual was no longer capable of performing his or her duties. The title could pass to a son of the previous holder, or it could be passed to a brother. The title could go to the son of a sister or an adopted son. In aboriginal Tongan society, succession to title (and chieftainship) depended on a variety of factors, especially the decision of the corporate group. Any individual who had a position of authority and power in aboriginal Tongan society and held a particular title as evidence of rank *did not have* that particular title because of any inherent rights to the title. The individual held the title and any authority vested in the title only because he or she had the consensus of the governed group. The title-holder operated within a system that had checks and balances. Such balances, along with consensus and flexibility, ensured that the governed were willing to be influenced and led by the governing individuals.

649 554 [619] The three titles of Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu (along with the titled individual known as the Tamahā) thus represented the core of aboriginal Tongan society. All other titled and non-titled individuals were ranked against these major title-holders, and it is from these first three titles that all of the 'corporate land-holding and property-sharing descent groups' developed.

177 178 649 With the arrival of Europeans in the 17th century, aboriginal Tongan society began to change. When the various missionaries arrived in the archipelago they were perceptive enough to realise the ranking system involved. Lawry reported in 1823: " . . . the following is the order in which the present Chiefs of the Friendly Islands rank, viz:

554
1. Tooitonga [Tu'i Tonga]
2. Tooihatacalowa [Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua]
3. Tooicanacabooloo [Tu'i Kanokupolu]."[16]

[644] The rank and status of the fourth individual mentioned earlier, the Tamahā, are revealed in the account of another Wesleyan missionary: "Formerly there were three ranks of nobles in Tonga to which the term *Eiki* or Lord

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[14] Lawry n.d.: entry for Apr. 28, 1823.

[15] Although accurate and varifiable information pertaining to the first Tu'i Tonga, the legendary 'Aho'eitu (c. A.D 950.), is lacking, the procedures cited above (see note 11) in reference to the Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua, leads one to believe that similar procedures took place for the first (and subsequent) Tu'i Tonga. Although note 11 cites Collocott, the statement was (ostensibly) made by the last Tamahā [644] Amelia in 1844. The Tamahā, an extremely high-ranking individual, was "the highest earthly dignitary" in Tongan society (Gifford 1929:19). For additional specifics about changes in the status and ranking systems, see Urbanowicz (1975); for specifics about adoption and rank see Urbanowicz (1973:114).

[16] Lawry n.d.: entry for Sept. 13, 1823.

applied, of these the Tuitonga stood first, then the Tamaha, and next the Hau or civil ruler."(17) 175

The difference in the rankings given by Lawry and Thomas is because 643 there were Tamahâ before there were the civil rulers known as the Tu'i 554 Ha'a Takalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu. 644

The rank and status associated with the individual known as the Tamahâ were indeed very high, contrary to what Kaeppler has to say based 644 on 20th century projections as to how aboriginal Tonga functioned.(18) The French navigator Dumont d'Urville was astute in his observations of Tongan life, and observing the Tamahâ in 1827 he wrote: " . . . all the 644 people of Tonga, without exception, even the touï-tonga and the touï- 576 Kana-Kabolo themselves, had to accord the homage of *moe-moe*, which she was not obliged to honour anyone in this way."(19)

The *moemoe'i* was the indication of respect that an inferior had to show to a superior. The Wesleyan missionary Webb was quite correct when he 644 wrote that "the Tamahâ is the greatest personage in the whole group of islands".(20) Where the Tu'i Tonga was the representative of the gods, the [643] Tamahâ was virtually viewed as a god on earth.

Aboriginal Tongans developed a system of rank (based on kinship ties) [776] and status (based on achievements) which made Tongan society an integrated whole. Tonga was a rank-conscious society, with rank being 554 "relative" to those individuals gathered for a specific occasion. The model of Tongan society was that of a stratified one and, as such, redistribution systems developed (as in other parts of Polynesia) with the ranking individuals being the focal points of the system. In Tonga, this was the [643] Tu'i Tonga 'sovereign of Tonga'.

With the introduction of various Western material goods into the 177 stratified society, some individual Tongan chiefs soon sought to consolidate and improve their positions of "authority" in the islands. With the [661] introduction of Western technological devices, particularly metal tools, which are obviously a labour-saving device, Tongans inevitably had more free time on their hands as European contact increased. Perhaps it was [669] such free time, along with the eventual concentration of European weapons in the hands of a few individuals, which eventually contributed to the increased amounts of Tongan warfare in the 19th century. The role played [648] by material goods in the process of 19th century colonisation was an extremely important one, and Shineberg's comments in reference to 177 Melanesian society are perfectly applicable for Tongan society.

> The entry of European goods was the thin edge of the wedge into 171 their society. It was not long before the new things became necessities instead of luxuries, and the people [became] dependent upon a supply of western axes, muskets, and tobacco. It is well to remain aware, however, that the impetus for change came as much from within traditional society as without it.(21)

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17. Thomas n.d. MS:1.
18. Kaeppler 1971:183.
19. Dumont-D'Urville n.d.:27.
20. Webb 1843: entry for Mar. 1, 1843.
21. Shineberg 1966:146.

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161 In approximately 1800, Goldman's most useful "terminal date" for aboriginal Polynesian society in general, a numerical estimate of the Tongan population would probably fall within the range of 15 to 20 thousand people.[22] In attempting to interpret aboriginal and changing Tongan society from 1800 on, the figure of approximately 15,000 Tongans 114 is useful to keep in mind. Quite frankly, the failure to keep the size of the population in mind is one of the major reasons that there have been so many alternatives in interpreting aboriginal Polynesian society in general: Sahlins stressing the environment and Goldman emphasising status rivalry as the interpretive paradigm.[23]

There are obviously more Tongans in the 20th century than there were before European contact in Tonga, and various researchers have tended erroneously to project from the interaction patterns of 20th century Tongans to what they (the researchers) have believed to have been the interaction patterns of aboriginal Tongans.[24]

A considerable amount of convoluted thinking about Tonga has resulted 114 from the fact that researchers have not consistently taken into account 177 that aboriginal Tonga is not traditional Tonga, *and* the fact that many 20th century Tongans may have formed their views of what aboriginal Tonga *was* by reading European accounts of Tonga. Consider, for example, the following statement from Gifford's 1929 work:

> Of the published works Mariner's Tonga Islands [first published in English in 1817] is by far the most extensive and possesses the merit of great accuracy and understanding on the part of its author. Doubtless Mariner's work is to be regarded as the standard by which modern work is to be checked. A comparison of Mariner's records with mine near the completion of my [1920–1921] sojourn in Tonga revealed a surprising similarity in the two sets of data recorded more than a century apart. Judged by this standard the data recorded in this paper have a relatively high degree of accuracy in spite of 75 years of Christianity in Tonga.[25]

This is all well and good, but the above should be read in conjunction with a statement that Gifford made in an article for this *Journal* in 1924, and which *was not* repeated in the 1929 monograph: "Moreover, many a Tongan's clear conception of the affairs of his nation in the first decade and a half of the 19th century is due to his reading Mariner's 'Tongan Islands' translated into Tongan."[26]

642 Another, and perhaps the most important, factor which must be kept in mind when attempting to interpret aboriginal (or early-contacted) 177 Tongan society is the Tongan Constitution of 1875 promulgated by King George Tupou I (with the assistance of European advisers). With the introduction of this Constitution much of the inherent consensus and flexibility of aboriginal Tongan society was solidified into a pseudo-

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[22] Goldman 1970: xxviii.
[23] Sahlins 1958; Goldman 1970.
[24] For examples, see Kaeppler 1971, Gifford 1929, Sahlins 1958, and Goldman 1970.
[25] Gifford 1929:3.
[26] Gifford 1924:289.

Western framework. Scarr has pointed out that Tongans were advised in 642
the 19th century that, if Tonga wanted to avoid being taken over by
foreign powers, Tonga would have to take on the accoutrements of 177
Western civilisation. This "Westernisation" was epitomised by the written
Constitution and codified laws.[27]

With the change to a Constitutional Monarchy in 1875 a basic and important difference was rigidly introduced into the total fabric of Tongan life. Much of the aboriginal system of consensus and flexibility was done away with at that time. The Constitutional Monarchy may not have been created solely with the aim to restructure the patterns of aboriginal Tongan social organisation, but it certainly represented the 19th century culmination of the restructuring process which began with the first Christian colonisation of the islands in 1797.[28]

THE BEGINNING OF EUROPEAN CONTACT

Part of the Tongan archipelago had been contacted by the Dutch 177
navigators Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, and various contacts with
other Europeans eventually followed: Tasman (1643), Wallis (1767), Cook 175
(1773, 1774, 1777), Maurelle (1781), La Perouse (1787), Bligh (1789, 1792),
Edwards (1791), D'Entrecasteaux and Labillardiere (1793), and Malaspina
(1793). These contacts, which lasted from a few days to a few weeks, made
Tongans quite aware of Europeans (and European technological devices)
and also placed Tonga on Europe's map of the world. The publications 177
of the men associated with the expeditions spurred Europeans to send men
and materials to proselytise the peoples of the Pacific. In 1797 Tonga was 175
chosen, along with Tahiti, to receive European missionaries. As Oliver
has accurately pointed out, one cannot study Pacific events without placing
the events into the context of other activities on the planet.[29] In the late
18th century the great "Evangelical Revival" swept the European
continent, and the peoples of the Pacific began to change because of it!

The first missionaries to land on Tongatapu Island were of the Missionary Society of London (formed in 1795 and later termed the London Missionary Society or LMS). The LMS vessel *Duff* reached Tonga on April 10, 1797, after first leaving missionaries at Tahiti.[30]

Some of the missionaries remained on Tonga until 1800, but the attempt at religious conversion ended in a debacle. One missionary left the island shortly after he arrived while one (George Vason) married a Tongan woman and accepted the "Tongan way of life". Three missionaries were killed during a battle on Tongatapu in June 1799, and the remaining five huddled together for safety until they were removed in 1800.

The various reasons for the failure of this 1797–1800 LMS attempt in Tonga are many, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to isolate any one single factor. Certainly one cannot place the total blame of the LMS

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27. Scarr 1968:86.
28. "Restructuring: is used after Brookfield (1972:1) who writes of "Colonialism" as the "thoroughgoing, comprehensive and deliberate penetration" of an area by individuals "who aim to restructure the patterns of organization".
29. Oliver 1962:98.
30. Wilson 1799:96; Benson 1960:113.

93: Urbanowicz E-4 (1970-1971) 1978
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797 failure on the Tongans, as some seem to suggest. Wood wrote of the Tongans of this period and of their "lawlessness and fiendish cruelty", 175 and Lâtûkefu wrote of the LMS venture that: "This well-meaning effort was doomed to fail right from the beginning, for the missionaries were ill-equipped for this tremendous task, and the Tongans themselves were not ready for the new religion".(31)

To state that the missionaries were ill-equipped is only partially correct; to state that the Tongans "were not ready" tells us very little. Perhaps a better interpretation would also point out that the new religion bringers were not ready for the Tongans! The subsequent successes of the Wesleyans would seem to prove this point.

THE WESLEYAN MISSION

797 The problem that faced the Wesleyans was simple: how to convert the Tongans. The motive of the Wesleyan missionaries was conversion, but, viewed against a larger background, the Wesleyans also wished to succeed where the LMS had failed. The solution to the problem of Christian colonialism in Tonga included (1) better-trained missionaries and (2) increased supplies of western technological devices.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society began their colonial venture in Tonga in 1822 with the mission group led by Walter Lawry. Lawry and his wife and servants were in Tonga from August of 1822 until October of 1823, when he was ordered by his London Committee to be 797 "removed from Tonga to Van Dieman's Land".(32) Although his stay was short, and his attempt at converting Tongans a failure, Lawry was an 177 extremely important individual in setting the pattern for subsequent 19th century Wesleyan work in the islands. Lawry understood the necessity for a constant supply line back to Sydney for material goods for the mission. The Wesleyans of the 19th century realised that material goods diffused much more rapidly than philosophical or ideological systems. In 1823 Lawry acknowledged the importance of material goods for the success of the missionaries:

> . . . inasmuch as the only importance attached to the character of the Missionaries is derived from their being annually visited by their relations (as the natives term it) and replenished with such property as most effectively secures the natives in our favour. And we are all most decidedly of the opinion that had this measure been adopted by the directors of the [LMS] Mission begun here 25 years ago, it would have prevented its ultimate failure.(33)

The Tongans of the 19th century, to be sure, had their own motives for [649] interacting with the Wesleyans. As Lâtûkefu has pointed out concerning Taufa'ahau, later known as King George Tupou I: "It appears, however, that Taufa'ahau's initial acceptance of [Wesleyan] Christianity was only part of his general desire to adopt the ways of the white man, his wealth,

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31. Wood 1932:29; Lâtûkefu 1974:25.
32. Lawry n.d.: entry for July 25, 1823.
33. Lawry n.d.: Entry for Aug. 10, 1823.

superior knowledge and weapons of war, and also [quite incidentally it 797
would appear] his religion, to achieve his ambitions".(34)

This is quite similar to the 19th century Wesleyan missionary John 177
Thomas' first assessment of Taufa'ahau when he met that Tongan in 1828 643
at the time that Taufa'ahau was Tu'i Ha'apai "Sovereign of Ha'apai" and [634]
was requesting a missionary to live in those islands:

> Indeed the present offer by [Taufa'ahau] the head man of the [Ha'apai] islands would by some persons be considered a good thing. I think, however, but little about it, because it is natural for man in their state to make use of various means in order to obtain property and although I hope good will follow yet the heathen will tell many lies to obtain their object and when they have got the property under their arms, they will then do as they please with us, at least this is what we have experienced at Hihifo [on Tongatapu]. All his fair promises are little worth if he is under the superstitions of their own priests and hotuas ['*otua* 'gods'].(35)

The theme of "property" or the need for material goods runs throughout 797
the letters and diaries of the early 19th century Wesleyan missionaries.
The Wesleyan missionary Nathaniel Turner (in the archipelago from 177
November 1827 to April 1831) wrote to his Wesleyan superiors, thanking them for the fresh supplies, including:

> . . . a good supply of hardware, calico, &c&c, but [they] have unfortunately omitted one important article, viz. *beads*. . . . They are to us here what fish-hooks are in New Zealand. Their colours should be a dark and light blue, purple and green — let them be of sizes. There is a light blue bead nearly the size of a marble that is very valuable here. Some of these should be sent if possible.(36)

Indeed, so dependent were the Wesleyans in Tonga on material goods (and money to purchase the material goods) as a means to their Christianisation end that when their budget request had been cut, part of the mission expansion also had to cease. In the late 1820s Taufa'ahau wanted John Thomas in the Ha'apai group. Although Lātūkefu states that the Wesleyans needed "approval from mission headquarters in London" before sending Thomas to Ha'apai,(37) in 1829 Turner wrote that he received a letter from New Zealand authorising "no more than £300 for the prosecution of this mission" and "In consequence of the information received we shall be obliged to relinquish the idea of Mr. Thomas going to commence a new station at the Haabais, for which he was prepared and only waiting a fair wind".(38) Thomas eventually went to the Ha'apai 797
Islands and "converted" Taufa'ahau, one of the most important achieve-
ments (or perhaps even *the* most important achievement) that the mission- 643
aries accomplished in the 19th century. Without the support of Taufa'ahau it may seriously be debated whether the Wesleyans would have done as much as they did.

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34. Lātūkefu 1970:61.
35. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Mar. 28, 1828.
36. Turner, N. 1931; emphasis original.
37. Lātūkefu 1970:62.
38. Turner, N. 1929.

93: Urbanowicz E-4 (1970-1971) 1978
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797 Although Walter Lawry was in the Tongan Islands for a little more than
a year, his reports back to London influenced what was to follow.
[177] Specifically, Lawry stressed the supposed "ripeness" for a mission in
Tonga and the need for material goods for the successful completion of
[114] the mission's work. Lawry's successor, John Thomas, arrived with his
wife and another missionary family in June 1826. Thomas, more than any
other 19th century European, provided us with some excellent accounts
of Tonga.

It has been asserted above that in aboriginal Tongan society consensus
642 and flexibility were key concepts of the political system. An individual who
571 wanted to lead the people had to have support, and even the Tu'i Tonga
'Sovereign of Tonga' could not be appointed to office (or remain in office)
without the support of the people. Thomas recorded that "there is a union
amongst the Tonga people, especially the chiefs, so that they consult each
642 other before they determine anything".(39) With the systematic introduction
of Western material goods and eventually Wesleyan ideology in the 19th
177 century, a not-so-subtle restructuring of aboriginal religious beliefs and
the body politic began. Under Wesleyan encouragement, individual
[643] Tongan chiefs soon rose to power, and the most important was Taufa'ahau,
later known as King George Tupou I.

In the early years of the mission, things did not go smoothly for the
797 Wesleyans. The Tongans often told Thomas and Hutchinson what they
had earlier said to Lawry: "Your religion is very good for you, and ours
is very good for us."(40) Thomas wrote that the Tongan chief Ata feared
797 that if the Tongans "allowed the [Wesleyan] praying to go on the English
565 will come by and by and take their land".(41) The important role of the
individual Tongan chief must be stressed. If a chief was converted, his
people also converted with him. Thomas wrote: "It is said by the head
Chief, or King, of Tonga, Tubou, that if Ata turn, all Tonga will turn to
Christianity; and on this one point this important matter depends."(42)

797 The Wesleyans made numerous attempts to convert the last Tu'i Tonga
Laufilitonga but they failed, and he became a Catholic convert, a faith he
643 professed until his death in 1865. The Tamahā, on the other hand, did
convert to Wesleyanism and the Wesleyans scored quite a coup when this
797 happened. Thomas wrote that "Tamma ha had turned to God — also her
brother Fehokohabai, and all the people of Tungua [in the Ha'apai group]
644 have turned".(43)

The Wesleyan missionaries gradually gained a foothold in the islands,
797 first on Tongatapu and then elsewhere. With the aid of Taufa'ahau (and
the Tamahā) the Wesleyan missionaries eventually expanded their stations
[643] into the Ha'apai and Vava'u group of islands. The process, however, was
[644] slow, and the Wesleyan missionary Watkin (in the islands from 1831 to
1837) wrote on the mission in 1835: " . . . in Tonga [it] is almost confined
to Nukualofa, [and] a spirit of opposition to Christ appears to have grown

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39. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Feb. 11, 1828.
40. Lawry n.d.: entry for Dec. 21, 1822.
41. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Mar. 16, 1828.
42. Thomas 1828.
43. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Dec. 12, 1832.

accounts. As Thomas wrote in September of 1826:

> Early this morning a canoe arrived here from the Hapies [or Ha'apai] 669 (to the Inache [*'inasi*]) which brought intelligence that they were at [114] war at the Hapie Islands. The King [Taufa'ahau] of the Hapies and the Tui of Tonga (as he is called) have fallen out. However we expect it to be of short continuance to Tooi or King of Hapie is likely to be the worst of it, as the other islands are all against him.(57)

By the end of October the battle still raged in the Ha'apai Islands, and Hutchinson wrote back to England: "The war at the Hapies continues to rage. If the King of Tonga [Laufilitonga] should be overcome, we shall soon be in serious circumstances; and something of this is expected, as the people have received orders to prepare for war".(58)

Taufa'ahau was eventually victorious, and his star in the Tongan [643] firmament began to rise.

THE WESLEYANS AND ACCELERATED CHANGES

Although it may not have been deliberate missionary policy, the 797 Wesleyan approach was literally that of "divide-and-conquer" as they turned Tongan against Tongan. The three religious wars in 1837, 1840, and 1852 were ferocious. Of the 1840 war, Thomas wrote that he told the 669 Tu'i Kanokupolu Jiosaia Tupou that "the heathens [or non-Wesleyan 798 Tongans] had acted more kind a great deal than the Christians and that they were less disposed for war".(59) The Wesleyan missionary P. Turner, commenting on one battle, stated: "The heathens seem determined to die in their foolishness. I am told that they have made an oath to do so, before they will yield to the Xtns.(60)

Tongan society was altered from within and from without: from within 177 by Tongans who were desirous of change, and from without by Europeans who were advising and encouraging the Tongans to change. This internal 178 and external restructuring process, however, must be viewed as a complementary one. Without the presence of the Wesleyan missionaries Tongan 797 society would never have developed as it did.

The Wesleyans were aided in their restructuring process by the occasional 797 appearance of vessels of the British Navy in Tongan waters. On visits from passing British vessels Thomas wrote: "From what I have heard by the 648 natives in reference to the visit of His Majesty's Ship of War at Vavow, the effect will be very beneficial and lasting. The [Tongan] King and his people seem to think that religion is of more importance now than they were willing to believe."(61)

The Wesleyans also tried to get various ships to "remove" some of the 797 beachcombers in the archipelago. The British vessel H.M.S. *Seringapatam* arrived at the islands in 1830, and the captain removed some Frenchmen 648 who were "troublemakers".(62) 563

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57. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Sept. 25, 1826.
58. Hutchinson 1826.
59. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Aug. 4, 1840.
60. Turner, P. n.d.: entry for July 19, 1840.
61. Thomas 1830.
62. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for June 10, 1830.

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The British Wesleyans received tremendous moral support from the
797 visits of the British men-of-war but when the French Roman Catholic
priests attempted a similar method, the Wesleyans were not at all sympathetic.
797 The Catholic mission in Tonga began in 1842 and since the
Tu'i Kanokupolu was a Wesleyan convert, the Catholics concentrated on
643 the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga. The Wesleyan P. Turner wrote that the
Catholic priests "have induced some poor heathens [or non-Wesleyan
Tongans] to come over to them by making them false promises of help
from France." Turner continued: "And the Tuitonga who has just become
a Papist is to be the King of Tonga, and Geo. Taufaahau and some others
are to be put on one side as of no importance."

Turner also wrote that "these things I told to the priests and showed
797 them how unbecoming it was for them to meddle so much with the chiefs
and the government of the Islands" and "That all true ministers of Xt
preached the gospel and lived holily before God and men. But that they
were trying to intimidate the people by telling them of a [French] man-of
war wch. wd. come and give them help."(63)

[649] This is the same Wesleyan missionary who wrote of a visit by Taufa'ahau
to the Wesleyan compound in 1842, when that Tongan "came to ask our
opinion about punishing those who violate the laws of the land". At the
797 time Turner also wrote that the Wesleyan missionaries "desired not to
have much to do with the affairs of the land in a political sense" but
177 Wesleyan activities and statements belied that "desire".(64) At a later date
the same person wrote:

> And the [Tongan] King and chiefs are becoming jealous of our interfering with what they think their prerogatives. We have been recommending to them a better code of laws, but O no things must remain as they are and we are thought evil of for wishing to elevate them in the scale of civilization, and we have but little hopes of seeing them much better.(65)

797 Briefly stated, the British Wesleyan missionaries did interfere in the
politics of the Tongan islands. Not only did the missionaries restructure
177 traditional religious beliefs, but they also caused major changes in the
642 political system. With the aid of various Wesleyans, three law codes were
promulgated in 1839, 1850, and 1862. These codes would never have come
671 into existence had not the Wesleyans been in the islands. The three codes
797 eventually culminated in the celebrated Tongan Constitution of 1875.
Captains of various British vessels told the Wesleyans not to interfere with
797 Tongan politics. One wrote that he advised the missionaries "against
proposing laws to the natives".(66) but the advice was not taken. Lātūkefu
177 has written off the influence of the Wesleyans on Tongan politics.

> 642 In spite of the Society's official policy of 'no politics' its missionaries in Tonga *participated significantly* in the political development of that country during the period covered by this study [1826-1875] . . . the

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63. Turner, P. n.d.: entry for Nov. 5, 1848.
64. Turner, P. n.d.: entry for Feb. 28, 1842.
65. Turner, P. n.d.: entry for Nov. 28, 1849.
66. Waldegrave 1833: 187.

> missionaries' influence was crucial in deciding the direction which political changes took subsequent to their arrival. This was a natural consequence of the task which they had undertaken and of the circumstances in which they found themselves. . . . As politics *was so closely interwoven into the total fabric of Tongan society*, it was unavoidable that they would be affected by the new teaching. When the *religious basis of the old order was undermined, much of the framework of the traditional society collapsed with it.* Christianity became the foundation in which the new structure had to be built. It was inevitable that the missionaries should become the principal designers of the new social order, particularly in its early stages. *They were mainly responsible for the destruction of the old.*(67)

797 177 642

This statement is supported by an earlier unpublished work by Hammer.

> The period of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary activity in Tonga, extending from 1822 to 1855, was essentially a pioneering one. During this time the missionaries *broke down much of the native culture and customs*, and partly replaced them by Christianity and the way of life peculiar to Western civilization. *The changes were accomplished mainly through the medium of political power . . . it would appear that the missionaries did not fully understand the native culture in all its ramifications*, and that the task of replacing that ancient way of life by Christianity in its deeper sense had not been accomplished by 1855.(68)

Although the Wesleyans may not have fully "understood the native culture", they did know enough to entrench themselves firmly in the island and they did this by astute support of Taufa'ahau. [643]

CONCLUSIONS

Christian colonialism was ultimately introduced to Tonga through the Wesleyans (and their material goods) via weapons: 797 643

> This beatific state of religion had not resulted exclusively from the sweet reasonableness of the Tongan heathen to the moving sermons of the emotional Wesleyans. The instrument that had saved these people for Jehovah was George Tubou I [Taufa'ahau], [eventual] King of all the Tongans, a sovereign who carried the sword amongst unbelievers and smote members of the Devil's party as gladly as he preached to his subjects of the Sabbath. Before this servant of the Lord was gathered to his fathers at the age of ninety-six in 1893, he had Christianized, one way or another, all the islands in his domain, and if Tonga had become a byword for religious intolerance, it was only the logical consequence of the teachings of the Wesleyan preachers who shaped the policies of the preacher-king in the forties and fifties.(69)

[177] [642]

Indeed, the Wesleyans *did* shape the policies of Taufa'ahau in the 1840s and 1850s. Tippett attempts to stress the point, in writing about "civilization" in Tonga, that: "Immediately after its conversion to Christianity 797 642

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67. Lātūkefu 1967:537-8, 1974:218-9; emphasis mine.
68. Hammer 1953:170-1; emphasis mine.
69. Wright and Fry 1936: 243.

797 Tonga introduced its own form of civilization. The missionaries were
instruments and agents bringing it about, but they did not initiate it."
642 He further adds: "The one point I make firmly is that if the missionaries
[643] *aided* this, they did not *initiate* it. It was all the desire of the Tongan
people, and of the king [Taufa'ahau] in particular".[70] Unfortunately,
the 19th century evidence certainly does not support this opinion of the
non-initiatory role of the Wesleyan missionaries. The missionaries were
both the initiators and the major instruments of colonialism in Tonga.

It is Rutherford's contention that Tonga's "most rapid westernization
177 began in 1862",[71] but the evidence presented indicates that Westernisation
began before 1862. In some respects, Westernisation began when Schouten
177 and Le Maire first stopped in the archipelago in 1616. The true beginning,
however, of Westernisation was in 1822/1826 when Wesleyan missionaries
797 began their flow (and distribution) of material goods in the archipelago. In
1826 Tonga finally entered into sustained contact with the Western world.

428 Although Scarr has written of rigidity in Tongan social structure, spring-
ing "in part, from primogeniture,"[72] aboriginal Tongan society displayed
565 a great deal of flexibility. Consensus and flexibility stemmed not from
571 primogeniture but from the fact that a chief needed the support of the
people he was to lead. Strict rules of primogeniture were only introduced
[642] with the Tongan Constitution of 1875, a Constitution strongly influenced
[177] by Western European concepts of leadership and inheritance principles.
In aboriginal Tongan society rank was relative to the particular occasion,
554 and a chief was a chief because of the consensus of the people. After the
Constitution, a chief was a chief because of law. Because of these changes
[571] in the Tongan system, King George Tupou II (who came to the throne
[642] in 1893) eventually had related problems with a variety of Tongan chiefs,
[643] with whom, as Barney points out, he was "already very unpopular"
in 1900.[73]

The motives of the early 19th century Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga
799 included the will to succeed where the LMS had failed and to Christianise
the archipelago. The methods that the Wesleyans used included the
[177] systematic and steady introduction of material goods into the archipelago,
[648] combined with the visits of British men-of-war. As one of their methods,
the Wesleyans used the "division" of territorial "rights" with the LMS.
In the 1830s the Wesleyans received "exclusive rights" to Tonga and Fiji
provided they would not attempt to convert the inhabitants of the LMS
territory of Samoa.[74]

177 This brief paper has attempted to demonstrate that in the 19th century
certain Europeans were extremely instrumental in restructuring Tongan
797 society. The point must also be stressed that certain Tongans were not
mere passive pawns in the overall political process. Some Tongans aided
the Wesleyans and manipulated and restructured the system to their own

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70. Tippett 1971:108; emphasis original.
71. Rutherford 1971:x.
72. Scarr 1968:4.
73. Barney 1972:263
74. See Garrett 1974. For a recent explication of Catholic missionary work in Samoa, with passing reference to the LMS activities in Samoa, see Franco 1976.

distinct advantage. This point comes across in Lâtûkefu's work(75) and is 177 stressed in Cummins' review where he points out that "in the process of change and modification that resulted from missionary involvement in 797 political affairs, the Tongan chiefs and people were by no means clay in the potter's hands."(76)

Decktor Korn's work is pointing out the need to re-think Tongan social 114 structure for, indeed, "a noble view is a faulty basis for generalising about an entire society".(77) The analyses of Gifford,(78) Sahlins,(79) Goldman,(80) and others must be put into perspective. Barney(81) has more than adequately pointed out that the "literate revolution" was an important factor in the political processes of Tonga after the mid-19th century. It is more than clear that "twentieth century Tonga is not aboriginal Tonga"(82) just as the late 19th century was not aboriginal Tonga. As stated elsewhere:

> There is a certain amount of timelessness inherent in some ethnographic reports: a timelessness which stems from the quest of the synchronic description *cum* analysis of culture . . . . Change obviously takes place over time, yet all too often statements in the published accounts have compressed many of the unique aspects of Tongan culture into a homogenized whole.(83)

When researchers lump all of the Tongan data into a fictive "ethnographic present" statement, not only do they do the data an injustice, but they also do Tongans a gross injustice!

EPILOGUE

> It almost seems as if Anatole France had uttered a truth which were 000 valid for the whole Western world, when, in his *Penguin Island*, Catherine d'Alexandrie offers this advice to God: "Donnez leu une ame, mais une petite"!(84)

The 19th century missionary refrain did appear to be "Give them a soul, 797 but a little one!" In numerous respects, 19th century missionaries did not aid the Tongans in becoming first-class Tongans, but rather encouraged the Tongans into becoming second-class Victorians! A classic example of the 19th century Wesleyan paternalistic attitudes towards Tongans is a statement made by the Rev. T. Adams in 1853:

> It is only by the judicious maintenance of salutary discipline that our present triumphs can be secured and provisions made for the stability and perpetuity of the work which we are labouring to promote. *We think the time has not yet come to consent to native agents in Tonga*

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75. Lâtûkefu 1974.
76. Cummins 1975:106.
77. Decktor Korn 1974:12.
78. Gifford 1929.
79. Sahlins 1955.
80. Goldman 1970.
81. Barney 1974.
82. Urbanowicz 1973:119.
83. Urbanowicz 1975:559.
84. Jung 1927:xxviii.

[ca. 1470 - 1643]

is referred to as the *Tui Haa Takalaua*. According to tradition the 174
reason for this change in the system of government was the violent 643
deaths of several *Tui Tonga*. In this way the ruler hoped from now on 178
to keep out of harm's way (Lawry 1851, p. 65; Collocott 1924, p. 177; [173]
Gifford, p. 48). This was indeed the case, but in the long run the *Tui Tonga* himself was to lose much of his power and influence.

In the 17th century we find another alteration in the government of the country. The *Tui Haa Takalaua* then reigning, called Moungatonga, appointed his son his deputy. In fact the latter now became the *Hau*. Usually he is referred to as *Tui Kanokupolu* — a title which really refers to his position as head of a distinguished family. Here, too, the father preferred a life of esteem and luxury, but without direct power (Lawry 1851, p. 65; Thomson 1894, p. 309 ff.; Collocott
1924, p. 180; Gifford, p. 87). A short time after this, with the coming [175]
of Le Maire and Schouten in 1616, the historical era begins.

2. *From the first visitors to the civil wars (1616-1793).*

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It is no simple matter to relate the visits of certain Dutchmen to 643
certain rulers. Thomson (1894, p. 310) regards the first *Tui Kano-
kupolu* as a contemporary of Le Maire and Schouten, and there are 177
no reasons to disbelieve this. These Dutchmen do not supply any data concerning this point, as they visited only a few islands in the extreme North of the Tonga group (Sharp, p. 73). Tasman, who arrived at Tongatapu in 1643, offers some more data. As the name of the "Coninck off overste" (king or captain) whom he met there he gives Latouw or Aisij (Tasman, p. 75). We also find the name of Latou in Le Maire (p. 58), while Cook (1803, V, p. 391) and Georg Forster (p. 256) also mention the names Latoo or Latu. We assume that this must be the title of *Tui*. From Tasman's information we get the impression that he met a very distinguished chief, but whether this was the *Tui Tonga* or one of the other top officials cannot be ascertained (cf. Tasman, p. 60 ff.). Tasman brought a number of drawings back from his visit — at least his journal contains a number of prints of Tongatapu. The value of such 17th century pictures, from an ethnological point of
view, is rather small (Pott, pass.). Basing himself on traditions, Gifford [114]
places this visit in the reign of the 31st *Tui Tonga*. Thomson, on the other hand, believes that it was the 28th *Tui Tonga* who received the Dutchmen hospitably (Thomson 1894, p. 311). A conclusive answer to this problem is impossible for us.

[1773-1777]

175 177 643 648 Not until Cook's visits do we tread on firm ground. When this traveller landed in 1773, he made the acquaintance of several important people. An aged, distinguished islander dined with the English company and appropriated all sorts of presents which Cook had his men hand out (Cook 1803, V, p. 87 ff.). Wilson (p. xlviii) calls this greedy man "Toobou". This was probably Tupoulahi, the 7th *Tui Kanokupolu* (Gifford, p. 87). Another person, even higher in rank, then made an appearance. Cook gives his name as: Kohagee Too Fallangou (1803, V, p. 95). According to Thomson (1894, p. 313) this was Latelibulu, described further by Gifford (p. 83) as the *Tui Lakepa Latunipulu*, a relative of the *Tui Tonga*, who was highly esteemed.

Shortly after this first occasion, in 1777, Cook paid another visit to the Tonga Islands. He now landed on Nomuka, one of the islands south of the Haapai Group (Cook 1803, IX, p. 97 ff.). He was extended [634] a hospitable welcome, and Finau Ulukalala I invited him to go with him to the Haapai Islands, where he apparently reigned.[4] On Lifuka Cook was given a grand reception. They exchanged presents and all kinds of festivities were organized. The way in which Finau was honoured convinced Cook that this man was the king of all the Tonga Islands. However, when the *Tui Tonga* himself, Paulaho, came to the Haapai Islands, Finau after all proved to be of a lower rank (Cook 1803, IX, p. 162 ff.). Invited by Paulaho, Cook now also went to Tongatapu. Here he found that besides the *Tui Tonga* there were other important people on the island. Most important of these was the aged Maeliuaki (called Mariwagi by Cook), the *Tui Haa Takalaua*, who since the decease of Tupoulahi had also held the office of *Tui Kanokupolu*. During this stay Cook also made the acquaintance of the 12-year-old son of Paulaho (cf. Walther, p. 83 ff.). This lad was paid royal honour by Maeliuaki and his brother "Tubou" (Cook 1803, IX, p. 181). This brother was later to reign under the name of Mumui as the 13th *Tui Kanokupolu*. Tubou was a [551] sort of family name (Gifford, p. 88; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 95). 175 177 643 648 609 About this period Thomson remarks that Cook was treated anything but politely by the Tongans (1894, p. 314 ff.). The leaders allowed their people to rob him and they were not at all grateful for the many presents that Cook gave them. Moreover there seems to have been a plan to attack the Englishmen and rob them of their possessions. This

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[4] There have been several bearers of the name Finau. We shall distinguish between them by using the indications I to IV inclusive. See further note 10.

[1777-1793]

plan was not carried out, however (Dumont d'Urville 1842, IV, p. 374; Farmer, p. 55; Thomson 1894, p. 315). Of course, one may wonder how this plan became known to later visitors. [A] 175 177 648 [643] [609]

It has been proved that there were still contacts between Tonga and Samoa in this time, while the Fiji Islands were also included in these contacts (Cook 1803, IX, p. 307). The data give us a strong impression that this last group came within reach of the Tongans only shortly before this time.[5] Various authors state that a loosening of the Tongan morals was due to these contacts with the Fiji Islanders. According to the anonymous "Geschichte der christlichen Missionen..." (p. 50 ff.) the Tongans greatly admired the inhabitants of the Fiji Islands. They followed their example as much as possible, which was noticeable especially from their increasing fighting spirit.[6]

Although the increasing coarsening of the Tongans may partly be ascribed to this, it would appear to us that other influences also played a part here. We may point to the white visitors, whose very presence disturbed the aboriginal pattern of life. The presents they so freely handed out, the use of firearms, the strife among the various leaders to appropriate for themselves the favour of the foreigners, all these are breaches in an existing order. Another thing we must point to is a struggle for power which had been smouldering below the surface for some time and came out into the open at this very time: the struggle between the representatives of the central authority and the rulers of the outer territories. This crisis was intensified further by the tensions between the various authorities on Tongatapu itself. 175 668 578

When Dentrecasteaux and Labillardière visited the Tonga Islands in March 1793 everything was still seemingly quiet. What did strike them was the curious relation between the members of the Tubou family (the relatives of the *Tui Kanokupolu*) and the Fatafehi family (the relatives of the *Tui Tonga*). Labillardière (II, p. 170 ff.) describes, for instance, how a son of Paulaho (the later *Tui Tonga* Fuanunuiava) received presents from the Frenchmen and how a short time later a son of Tubou (Tukuaho, son of Mumui, the *Tui Kanokupolu*) appeared on the scene, took the presents from him and even searched the future 175 571 578

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[5] Several remarks in the literature point to the recent discovery of this group of islands: Cook 1803, IX, p. 308 ff.; Labillardière II, p. 165 ff.; Mariner, p. 276 ff., 333, 495, 511 ff.; Lockerby, p. xvi ff.; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 111, 206; Lawry 1850, p. 253 ff.

[6] Sarah Farmer, p. 65, finds a great coarsening of the Tongans after 1792, but does not account for it. Thomson 1894, p. 318, thinks influence from Fiji the cause of the increasing licentiousness and bellicosity. [181]

A. [It was William Mariner who found out about the plot to attack and rob Cook. See sources 2: Mariner and 3: Mariner, this file--Analyst]

[1799-1812]

rebellion against the lawful authority (cf. Collocott 1928, p. 90). 175
Fighting broke out between the followers of the *Tui Kanokupolu* and 669
Finau's party. At first the latter scored a few successes, but after the death in battle of Mulikihaamea this changed (Thomson 1894, p. 325 ff.; Farmer, p. 104). His merciless conduct had many ill effects, and in the end Finau was obliged to withdraw to the Haapai Islands. From here he continued regularly making raids on the main island.

The Protestant missionaries of the "Duff", who were in a dangerous [797]
position on account of this war, tried to leave the island. They found an opportunity to do so when an English ship called at Tongatapu in 1800 (Farmer, p. 114).

First the office of *Tui Kanokupolu* was held for a short period by 643
Maafuolimuola, then in 1800 Tubou Malohi, a brother of the murdered Tukuaho, came into office. With a break of a few years, which he spent in the Fiji Islands, he retained this office until 1812 (Wilkes, III, p. 38; Lawry 1850, p. 67; Farmer, p. 123; Thomson 1894, p. 333; Gifford, p. 86). However, a new *Tui Haa Takalaua* was not appointed.

Another brother of Tukuaho, Tubou Toa, joined Finau and — with his know- 643
ledge and cooperation — revenged his brother's death by killing Tubou Niua 634
(Mariner, p. 137). After this Tubou Toa was appointed chief of the Haapai 669
Islands (Wilkes, III, p. 38; Mariner, p. 219). Finau would rule the Vavau Islands himself. However, a rebellion broke out against him here, as he was suspected of having had a hand in the death of Tubou Niua, who was popular on those islands. With difficulty Finau at last managed to subdue the islands
(Mariner, p. 178 ff.). All this did not prevent him, however, from raiding [177]
Tongatapu a few times, in which guns looted in surprise attacks on ships played [713]
an important part.[11]

On Tongatapu the leading figure in these years was Tarkai, who 669
ruled in the district of Bea (Thomson 1894, p. 333). At first he had 634
supported Finau, but now he worked for himself (Mariner, p. 119 ff.). Elisabeth Morey, who was on Tongatapu from 1802-1804 as a prisoner, mentions "Ducava" as the most important chief (Morey, p. 187). This may have been Tahofa, Tarkai's brother (cf. Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 95 ff.).

In 1806 the *Tui Tonga* Maulupekotofa died on the Vavau Islands 643
and he was succeeded by Fuanunuiava. The latter was strongly influenced by Finau. He even married one of his daughters (Mariner, p. 132).

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[11] Thomson 1894, p. 333; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 194. Numerous cases [648]
are known of ships raided in the Tonga Islands between 1800 and 1810.
Lockerby gives various examples of this: p. lxiii ff., 10 ff., 95 ff., 181 ff., [609]
200 ff.; cf. Mariner, p. 58 ff.

ever-competent assistance of the A.D.C. 574
punctuated our days and nights.

Daily Feasts

During the first course the delegates 575
came from the far-away islands of 462
Vava'u and Ha'apai and the nearer Eua. 873
so they were daily entertained by a
different local village which provided 574
them with three handsome meals, the 264
midday dinner being served on low tables on the *Langa Fonua* back ver-
andah. A lorry would arrive between [262]
11.30 and 12, a team of servers gaily
garlanded would leap forth and unload [252]
great plaited coconut frond *pola* or stretchers laden with delicious food—long yams or taro down each side forming a protective wall for the pyramid of whole sucking pigs (the pig population in 1955 was 30,000), chickens, shellfish, fresh fish, salads, water melons and the popular *lu pulu* (corned beef cooked with coconut cream and wrapped in taro leaves) as well as a special local cassava and caramel pudding also wrapped in green leaves.

We would sit, a company of about [533]
35 to 40, on the floor round this long
laden table and eat with our fingers, [534]
helping ourselves freely while the host [535]
team entertained us with ukulele, songs and high-spirited dances in which many of us took part as a healthy digestive to
the superb meal. Speeches from the [537]
visitors and hosts took place throughout
the meal, the orator frequently weeping [201]
as a gesture of appreciation of such generous hospitality.

Then would follow the afternoon ses- [177] ●
sion, which on three days appropriately consisted of a talk on food values and a cooking demonstration.

Sunday was the final feast of that first week, at the house of the A.D.C. and his wife, the Hon. Vaea and Tuputupu, where European custom of linen and cutlery mingled with the lavish, genial festivity of Tonga.

The average attendance was 35 at these five-day courses for women leaders from different areas.

Courses For Village Instructors

Tonga has much the same difficulty 621
as other countries throughout the world 873
regarding village work, namely, the 575
problem of keeping up interest without 462
extraneous "leadership. The morning 177
sessions were consequently directed to-

wards programme planning related to 621
village needs of each age group as well 873
as simple methods of club organisation. 575
Group discussion on the problems of 462
village life and the opportunities for 177
their solution through *Langa Fonua*
produced the request that courses of instruction
be held for sectional leaders
from the different districts in subjects
related to homecraft and health, particularly
sewing and cooking, so that each
village had its own trained local instructor
who could take her part in enriching
the programme of the branch
meeting.

The afternoon classes consisted of 873
sewing (patchwork and patterns) and 575
cooking, including a brief introduction 462
to food values and the simple home
cooking of basic foods as well as invalid [261]
and weaning diets. It is for concentrated [294]
courses on these subjects that the [177]
request came from the delegates and was
forwarded to the Central Committee.
Lively songs opened and riotous games [533]
closed the daily sessions. [524]

The leaders went away with a few [177]
new ideas for both the educational and
recreational side of their village programme,
but primarily with some realisation
of what might be achieved in community
education through *Langa Fonua*,
especially if there were sufficient
trained voluntary project leaders.

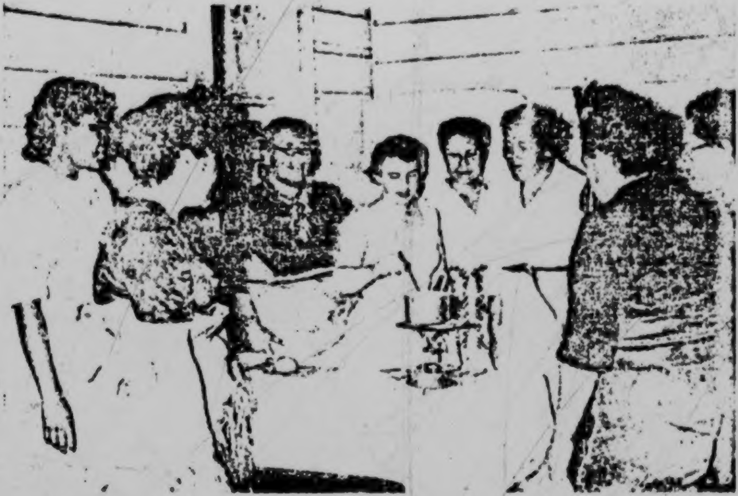
Variety Of Visual Aids

Visual aids on such topics as The [177]
Village Survey, The Woman in the
Home, Building a Programme, Dangers

[P. 27-C] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28-B]

97: Stewart G-3 (1960) 1961 OU9 Tonga OU9

462
575
873
291
302
177 ●



[P.27-D]

Miss June Summerton giving a cooking demonstration.

of the Fly and Worm, Election of Office-bearers 873
and Project Leaders, The Balanced 575
Diet, all helped to focus attention, 462
and dramatisation of a successful branch 177
meeting summed up the week's suggestions.
For each course we had a [124]
series of quite superb interpreters from
among the delegates. During the last
week several sessions were taken by
Princess Mata'aho, who had helped us
on arrival with valuable translations of
cooking recipes.

As a means of demonstrating the im- 873
portance of local resource personnel 575
in village programmes, help was sought 462
from the Medical Department for three 177
of the morning sessions. The Public 744
Health Inspector discussed with the
group the findings of the recent village
inspections and the means of coping
with unsolved sanitation problems; the
Sister Tutor from Hospital talked of
infant care and home nursing, answering
innumerable questions of every variety.

Water is one of Tonga's main needs, 312
and WHO has been holding discussions [648]
with the Government on increasing the
supply. A Filipino engineer, Mr. B.
Adan, is working on a pilot scheme of
sinking a well with village assistance as
a preliminary to further development.
He held a popular and prolonged session [873
with each course explaining the tech-
nique and demonstrating how villagers 177]
could co-operate in the maintenance of
a healthy supply of water.

Annual Show In October

The work of the *Langa Fonua* is 575
gathered up annually in their October 462
Show with its competitions in various 543
types of Tongan crafts, sewing (including
garment making), cookery, garden
produce, flowers and poultry. It is the

/7/

FOREWORD

114 101 This work is essentially the result of my research journey to the Tonga Islands. From October 1951 to June 1952 I stayed in this Archipelago and worked in five Tongan settlements: on the small islands of Nomuka, Lifuka and 'Uiha, on the larger Vava'u Island and in the "capital city" Nuku'alofa. In June/July 1952 I visited Samoa and Fiji for comparative study.

121 The concept of "culture" that underlies this work embraces everything that man brings forth in his struggle with his environment and his fellowmen, that is to say, economy, technology, as well as society and the"spiritual aspects" (namely, religion, art, knowledge).

[177] The change in this culture brought about by European influence is here referred to as "cultural change."

128 In the first part of the work, the Tongan cultural change in the various areas of native life is examined, the present condition being compared with the past (that is, at the time of beginning European influence).

In the second part, the general course of that cultural change is described and then compared with the cultural change among three other primitive communities, in order, thereafter, to attempt an interpretation of the causes of this development in Tongan culture.

The third, concluding part of the work contains a general consideration of cultural change among primitive peoples, brought about by European influences, and an account of the various methods used in examining it.[A]

The, in part, quite detailed description of the present state of Tongan culture proposes to enable the reader to check specific conclusions, to make comprehension easier for the non-Oceanist, and, in addition, to give a general picture of a present-day Polynesian culture beyond the special problem of cultural change.

[A] [This section, comprising pp. 332-351 of the foreign text, has not been translated for the OU9 Tonga. file. --Analyst]

137 /12 cont./

241 of the island, left standing as a protection for the plantings.

174 Polynesians, probably coming from Samoa, reached this Archipelago 1000 to 1500 years ago, and settled many of its islands. All the Tonga Islands, from Niua Fo'ou and Niua Toputapu in the north to 'Ata in the south, formed a kingdom headed by Tu'i Tonga. The [173] latter lost power after approximately 1470, when it passed over in part to collateral lines (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu) of the 175 ruling family. A revolt in the year 1799 introduced a period of 177 civil-warlike confusion that did not end until 1852. At this time [669] European influences (5) has long since reached Tonga. For in the year 1616 Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou were discovered by Shouten and Le Maire, in 1643 Abel Janszon Tasman found 'Ata, 'Eua, Tongatapu, Nomuka, Tofua and Kao, and from the year 1767 (Wallis) the Tonga Islands were increasingly visited by European ships. In 1795 the first whites settled in the [797] Archipelago, and the systematic missionary work in the island group began in the year 1826. At the end of the civil wars and after the 175 643 first quarter century of successful mission work, Chief Taufa'ahau of Ha'apai, who possessed certain rights to the ruling title of Tu'i Kanokupolu, headed the united Christian state of all Tonga Islands, as King George Tupou I. (6)

642 161 648 /13/ Today the Tonga Kingdom with a population of nearly 50,000 natives

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5. By "European" influences we mean, above all, West European influences, especially English and, related to these, Australian, New Zealand and North American influences.

[113] 6. A more detailed description of the development from 1616 to 1852 in G. Koch, Die Fruhen europaischen Einflusse auf die Kultur der Bewohner der Tonga-Inseln /The early European influences on the culture of the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands/. Manuscript dissertation, Gottingen 1949.

648 /13 cont./
[242] is a constitutional monarchy under the protectorate of Great Britain.
[161] An appropriate treaty of friendship and protection was signed in May
1900. In 1905 a revisionary treaty was concluded, which was followed
in the course of the years by various supplementary agreements.
According to these agreements, Great Britain protects Tonga against
outside attacks. A representative of Great Britain with the title of
"agent and consul" /cited in English/ resides in Nuku'alofa. As a
member of the British colonial administration he is responsible to the
High Commissioner for the West Pacific. His duties and rights as an
intermediary between the British and the Tongan government include:
advising the Tongan government on foreign matters, control over
finances, approving the appointment of Europeans to the service in the
Tongan government, jurisdiction over British subjects and foreigners.
643 Apart from such restrictions, the administration of the Tonga Kingdom
645 rests in the hands of the Tongan government which consists of the
646 sovereign (at the present time Queen Salote Tupou, G.B.E.), the
Council of State (Privy Council /cited in English/), the cabinet and
the legislative assembly, parliament /cited in English/. The various
647 government posts are in general occupied by Tongans. A New Zealander
[645] holds the post of the finance minister. In the individual ministries
[563] white employees perform important work for the Tongan government; in
general, they are more or less dependent on their Tonga superiors. (7)

7. Details about the functioning of this administrative apparatus in the chapter: "Governmental development and present structure" p. 157 ff.

563 At present, whites (altogether about 200) live on only three of the
36 inhabited Tonga Islands.

181 In this investigation, therefore, we are dealing with a primitive
177 people that has been under European influence for centuries and today
still possesses relatively great freedom of self-determination.

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/15/ I. The Change in Tonga, as a Result of European Influence,
With Respect to:
1. The Tongans
2. Character

If we answer in the affirmative the question: "Is there /such a thing as/ a national character or a folk character?" in the sense that a larger group of human beings is distinguished by definite character traits which (with a definite "range of variation"), besides other varying fundamental traits, are common to most of the members, then the question may probably also be asked: "To what extent can such a national character change?", or, in this case: "Does the cultural change on the Tonga Islands have (or did it have) an essential influence on the typical character traits of the natives, and what results are recognizable currently?"

More than three hundred years ago began the invasion of the strange and astonishing European world in Tonga. First came the impressive, large sailboats of the friendly or brutal whites, with their canons and muskets and many Occidental marvels--from iron to cotton. Then the first Europeans settled down in the Archipelago--deserting, degenerate sailors and puritanical, proselytizing missionaries. There followed a dark period of civil war confusion with numerous, sometimes merciless open combat and underhanded massacres. Then a new state came into being, closely connected with the church; a European democratic constitution was adopted which was to grant freedom to the commoners and take away from the aristocracy many of the ancient privileges. A treaty was entered into with Great Britain; a revisionary agreement had to be signed. More and more European goods flowed into the country. The Tongans became acquainted with copra production and a cash economy, and definitely felt the fluctuations of the world market even as far as the smallest island.

/15 cont./

177 181 In Nuku'alofa and Neiafu the whites erected rather large buildings which very nearly robbed the two localities of their village character. A four-year world war cast its shadow on Tonga; the natives experienced the closing of German Business establishments. Later, paved streets on the two main islands /16/ were built, the first cars came to Tonga, radio stations were out in operation on three islands and operated partly by Tonga. Natives were trained to assist doctors and were soon operating on their countrymen in the European manner. The school system introduced at the very beginning of the mission period was improved. Another world war came which eventually threatened to draw Tonga into the area of operations. The Tongans saw how Japanese and people of German blood were interned. Americans and New Zealanders took over the protection of the Archipelago, war fleets sailed into the expanded harbor of Nuku'alofa, and an airport was built on Tongatapu. Thousands of white and black soldiers lived in the camps on Tongatapu, and 4700 Tonga received military training. And then, after the war and the periods of temporary scarcity, quantities of European goods again flowed into Tonga, the natives were soon paid fifteen times the pre-war price of copra, and anyone who had a desire for a cabinet style sewing machine or a bicycle, satisfied it, since money and goods found their way to the smallest and most remote Tongan island.

This great, all-powerful European invasion as such, along with the change in the life and culture of the natives resulting from it could certainly have had an influence on the "Tongan character."

It therefore seems noteworthy that, for the time being, there has been no psychic weakening of the natives. All the Tongans, that is, aristocrats as well as commoners, are proud, dignified, confident and self-assured in their manner, among themselves as well as in the [461] presence of Europeans. In everyday life this native can generally not be induced, either by his countrymen or by Europeans, to engage in

/16 cont./

177 18 (461) work which in any way smacks of coercion. They work for others in order to be of help, out of friendship and love, or also, of course, to earn a desired wage, but only if they "happen to feel like it." In essence, the Tongan's self-assurance has by no means been touched though we must admit that he is full of deeply felt admiration, full of respect for the mind and education of Europeans and their way of life (even though he knows little about it). Many of the young

177 181 829 intellectuals seriously try to understand and learn more about European ways. Yet in their way of life, their conversations among themselves, and their demeanor toward Europeans the Tongans of all levels show no depression or inferiority complexes. Rather, they are free, open, proud and self-assured in their manner, with an admixture of genuine, cheerful humor which, for example, always makes them ready /17/ to scoff and to laugh at presumed or genuine weaknesses of whites. Many an individual, despite due recognition of the superior knowledge and greater capability of Europeans, does not see in them a shining, pure ideal, but observes them keenly, and is ready for carefully considered criticism if whites, instead of conducting themselves in accordance with the admiration and esteem accorded them by the Tongans, set "bad examples" (i.e. drunkenness, undignified behavior toward Tongan girls, "worldly" behavior). (1)

[184] 1. In the conduct of the natives toward Europeans there is, of course, a difference between the small, remote islands which are seldom visited by whites and seaports like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu. On the small islands the Tongans seem at first more reserved, some occasionally even shy, and English-speaking ones are afraid to talk to a stranger in English, whereas in the seaports the conduct of the Tongans seem freer and more self-assured as a result of frequent dealings with whites. However, the basic conduct may be said to be generally the same, particularly since, among the natives of

829 /17 cont./

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the small islands, the strict observance of reserve imposed by the old customs must be taken into consideration.

[178] The "assured imperturbability" (2)

[113] 2. G. Forster in: Geschichte der See-Reisen und Entdeckungen im Sudmeer /History of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas/. vol. V. Berlin 1780, p. 146.

unchanged since ancient times, and the great self-assurance (3)

[113] 3. For example, Annales de la Propagation de la foi /Annals of the spread of the faith/. vol. XVIII. Lyon 1845. p. 440.

of the Tongans seem all the more remarkable since these native farmers in their villages do not see their European counterpart, but only the city white man who, as a generally more clever person, intelligent and tougher, and usually with enough money, finds his way to the islands. Thus the Tongans know little of the unhappy European who has failed in his professional and economic life; in general they know nothing about the ragged and hungry human beings of the European slums. Rather, they see largely a selection of intelligent and capable urban Europeans and from these they automatically generalize about Europeans. A Tongan who thus never compares himself with the European farmer in non-industrial areas, knows anything about the extensive specialization in the West. The natives living on the small islands, most of whom today are still able themselves to fulfill all the tasks more or less easily that come up in their communities, from planting and fishing to house building, believe that the European can easily fabricate a ship or a plane, a bicycle or a flashlight. These Tongans regard the European as much more capable and superior than he actually is, and yet they have retained their old self-assurance.

Various reasons may account for that. Above all the considerable

/17 cont./

177 181 829 strength of the natural Tongan self-assurance must be mentioned /18/ which (like the rest of their typical character traits) probably grew out of blood characteristics, historical development, and the life style of this people, and was nourished by their enduring, generally peaceful, carefree life on the islands, even during the European intrusion. (4)

[669] 4. Even the civil-war-approximating confusion that ended in 1852 did not affect all the islands of the Archipelago to the same degree; aside from the high points of fighting, it was not very intense and was broken by rather long peaceful intervals.

177 181 186 563 565 Their self-assurance increased or sought strong support in the following facts: The Tongans (with certain limitations) have kept their own small kingdom, and their awareness of not being a colony fills them with pride; the Whites living in Tonga, while observing a certain distance, have not taken any racially discriminatory actions; many Tongans, with their skin color brown in comparison with the dark-skinned natives familiar to them in the Solomon Islands and in Fiji, feel closer to Europeans and today largely reject the term "native" for a Tongan; (5)

5. For example, the designation "Tongan medical practitioner" /cited in English/ was introduced in place of "native medical practitioner" /cited in English/.

to a certain extent, the commoners' progressive "liberation" from dependence on their chiefs during the past nine decades (6)

6. It is regarded as a matter of natural courtesy no longer to call commoners (tu'a) as such in their presence.

has contributed to this general assertion of self-assurance, as has the commoners opportunity of advancement in various professions (clergyman, teacher, physician, salaried employee) resulting from this development, and the growing opportunities [ranging] from acquiring

177 /18 cont./

181 186 [563] [565] European goods to the accumulation of material "wealth" (through copra production, trade); the dissemination of the Christian teaching of the equality of all men before God may have also buttressed the Tongans' self-assurance in the presence of Europeans. Among some of these natives the conviction that they will never be able to become "like the Europeans" may probably also have led them to cling to their ancient self-assurance, realizing as they did the values of their Tongan culture. (7)

[644] [245] [178] [291] 7. Perhaps the attitude of the Crown Prince and Prime Minister Tungi should also be understood in this sense; along with all the intensive Europeanizing plans for his country, and after completion of his studies in Sydney, he again dresses in the Tongan vala (a cloth wrapped around the waist and reaching to above the knees, often down to the ankles) and the ta'o-vala (a fine, plaited mat slung over the upper part of the vala like a wide belt); he recommends this apparel (along with the customary European shirts) for all Tongan government employees, and likewise promotes other Tongan customs that seem important in his eyes.

177 181 178 Along with this strong self-assurance the Tongan has maintained a certain conservative attitude. The natives, though flexible and open to everything new, nonetheless cling very much, sometimes downright rigidly, to parts of their ancient life style and their tradition. /19/ For example, in covering a house with sheet metal, they go to great trouble to build ancient Tongan round ends and reshape the metal accordingly. On the smaller islands at any rate, Tongans who own a bed, a table and a chair sleep on a mat, sit on the floor and eat with their fingers. Every Tongan can procure tea, coffee, cocoa, lemonade and so [276] on, but the kawa drink is still in the center of all social gatherings and is consumed now at least as much as in the past.

181 The majority of Tongans are today just as goodnatured, happy,

/19 cont./

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426 brought him a profit of £T 75 (about
434 700 German marks).

In the villages of the small Tonga Islands almost every group having
181 a meal together will invite one or more passersby to eat with them;
264 the guest is given the best, and at the larger festivals which, since
574 the "democratization," have moved more within the commoners' realm
(private persons, kautaha or cooperative labor pools, and churches
as organizers), they usually do not economize in expenses.

181 European influence has been able to change but little their
177 general good nature and hospitality, especially since life in the
villages has remained easy and carefree. Yet the influx of money is
181 to be observed. On the small islands there are relatively few
177 natives who /20/ hand over to their fellow villagers the products of
184 their plantations and other goods for money, (11)
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> 11. Often they exchange value for value, for example a length of tapa for a pig. However, giving without direct quid pro quo, this old system of Tongan community life (a perpetual assurance of reciprocity) is still, on an island like Nomuka, more frequent than barter; it is practiced mostly in the Ha'apai group, less in Tongatapu and Vava'u, and seems rather suppressed in places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu.

and they are generally felt to be outsiders in the community. In places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, on the other hand, there are many of them and there, in the gradually urbanized settlements with European commercial enterprises, selling is taken for granted among the Tongans.
181 Yet business acumen is little developed among these natives. (12)
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> 12. For example, Tongans who help the "medicine dispenser" on the plantations of Nomuka would rather accept a packet of tobacco than a seven shillings wage per day, though in the shops of the same island they have no

/20 cont./

181 trouble getting twice the amount of tobacco
434 for their money; in the Ha'apai group the
435 Tongans who start businesses on their island
"forget" the price of individual goods, which
are then often sold for considerably less than
on the main island.

181 Toward the European, too, the Tongan is good-natured, generous and
177 hospitable; however, among the natives who have many dealings with
439 Europeans there are a few who try to exploit and overcharge the Whites--usually in an inept manner, to be sure. Yet it seems noteworthy that the Tongans of the small islands, amid the flood of money of the postwar period and in view of their great interest in European goods, have not succumbed to copra- and money-fever. The reasons for this are less self-discipline and will power than the relatively small natural needs, as well as the basic Tongan trait of imperturbable equanimity.

181 These natives have also kept their cheerfulness--apparently undiminished. (13)

[113] 13. See also G. Forster, loc. cit. IV, p. 359; Voyage de Dentrecasteaux. ed. by M. Rossel. vol. I. Paris 1808, p. 308/309; Ch. Wilkes, Narrative of the United States exploring expedition /cited in English/. vol. III. London 1845. p. 26; H.N. Moseley, Notes by a naturalist /cited in English/. London 1879. p. 287.

181 The majority of Tonga have a strong sense of humor. Naturally,
522 boys and girls are particularly cheerful and merry, even to the point of boisterousness. The older ones, while observing a certain self-control and restraint, are not much different, so that even in between the lamentations of a cortege a cheerful comment accompanied by a fleeting smile may by noted. Tongan humor often satisfies European
[831] demands, frequently it is rather simple and silly for the serious White, and sometimes it leaves nothing to be desired in the way of

/20 cont./

181 [522] sexual explicitness. (14)

[831] 14. Cf. even J. Martin loc. cit. II. p. 177.

Lighthearted--and [capable of being] untroubled--that is the impression the observer has to this day, of the majority of Tongans.

181 /21/ Courtesy within the village community /15/

576 15. See also Farmer, loc. cit. p. 150.

178 on the smaller islands has scarcely diminished. In a place like
184 Nuku'alofa, however, because of the larger number of people (about
[369] 5000 inhabitants) and the gradual urbanization (motor traffic, shops, etc.) a certain measure of estrangement has taken place, though any Tongan inhabitant can come uninvited to any other for a meal. Here
[887] one may notice that in general only the old people greet a European
[177] passing by. A certain relaxation of good manners, especially among
181 the young Tongans in the major towns, is largely attributed to the
576 influence of the foreign troops stationed on Tongatapu during the
177 last war, (16)
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[673] 16. The negative influence of foreign troops through money surplus, in part bad personal examples and incitement to acts which were unknown to the Tongans or seemed morally intolerable (selling and usury where formerly one gave and made presents, theft, i.e. procuring something in devious ways, drinking and methods of producing alcohol, prostitution).

particularly the presently rather frequent theft. (17)

17. At the time of foreign troops you could often get many things effortlessly; some Tongans with "freer" attitudes thus tend to obtain, likewise "effortlessly," desired articles where a purchase or at least a request is customary.

181 However, such property offences have by no means become widespread
685 even in a seaport like Nuku'alofa (18)

[485] 18. The only rooming house in Nuku'alofa has unlocked rooms and closets!

/21 cont./

181 177 831 The presence of troops on Tongatapu for many years of course had an adverse effect, and these influences fanned out from the main island to the smaller islands. However, it must be said that even today numerous marriages, at least on the /22/ part of the wife, are strictly adhered to (22) and that they attach great importance, despite a certain freedom of premarital relations, to the chastity of marriageable girls. (23)

181 577 831 Measured by a Central European standard the morality of the Tongan women is higher than that of the Tahiti women. (24)

181 823 Their special love of their country--together with a strong feeling for the beauties of nature (25)--has remained a noteworthy aspect of Tongan character, despite their great interest in distant countries about which the islanders are now learning, and despite the obvious fascination with the expanded Tongan seaports. Their deeply rooted feeling for their native land is such that, for example, many Tongans of the small islands in the Ha'apai group, where the land is no longer adequate to feed the growing population comfortably, prefer, despite many government recommendations, to remain in their villages on their island, instead of going to the main [533] island where they could obtain sufficient and good land. This love of their native land is also reflected in the songs composed nowadays by the Tongans, more than half of which extol their island landscapes. The seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, despite their relative accessability--numerous native cutters cross the Archipelago daily--and

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22. Mentioned already in Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 167 ff.

23. See p. 106 ff.

24. According to observations of the author in Tonga and Tahiti.

25. For example, Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 301 ff., already mentions it.

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[133) 29. Even the fertile island of "Eua which is the only Tongan island with running water and lies close to Tongatapu has had an astonishingly sparse population until recent
[484) times. In part the reason is said to be the often difficult crossing between Tongatapu and "eua because of the frequent strong surf, people shrink from such discomforts.

Gregariousness was (30)

30. For example, Cook, loc, cit p. 289.

and still is a further outstanding trait of the Tongan. The natives
181 of both sexes prefer working together whenever they can arrange it.
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461 In every village there are coöperative pools (kautaha) in which the
571 women plait mats and make lengths of tapa and in which the men
carry out larger plantation work. In addition they unite in single undertakings of various kinds (for example, fishing, house building), and most men form evening kawa gatherings in the village where they discuss the day's happenings, plans for the future and events of the past, sometimes until daybreak.--In sociability the Tongan comes to life, and amid talk, fun and laughter the work progresses better.
181 In the course of European influence and cultural change this gregarious
178 impulse has been considerably furthered by the fact that individual
177 settlements united into villages, (31)
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31. The village settlement in Tonga and with it the separation of place of residence and plantation goes back to the civil wars and the influence of missions. See chapter on settlement and community, p. 134 ff.

new ties in church groups arose, and the dependence of the masses on their chiefs greatly diminished.

181 The old controversy as to whether the Tongan should be called
461 lazy or industrious can be answered, on the basis of present findings, by saying that he is neither lazy nor industrious by Central European standards. On these relatively fertile islands that have no drastic

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35. Psychological studies of work, however, show that similar tendencies also exist in Central Europe and are mostly suppressed as a result of differing circumstances.

There are, of course, some natives who cannot be called industrious even according to Tongan ideas, but must be regarded as lazy. They spend their days sleeping or chatting and they live more or less poorly from their overgrown, seldom visited plantings or on the supplies of their neighbors, friends or the rest of the villagers. Yet such types are not in the majority; they are felt to be exceptions in the community.

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Since the Tongans even in the past were described by various observers partly as industrious, (36)

36. For example, Forster in: Geschichte... /History/. loc, cit. IV. p. 359, V. p. 152.

partly as inactive and lazy (37)

[113]

37. For example, Annales.../Annals/ loc. cit. XVIII. p. 423; W. Waldegrave, "Extracts from a private journal" /cited in English/ in: The Journal of the Royal Geographic Society of London. vol. III. London 1834. p. 194.

we may conclude that the attitude of these natives has not changed fundamentally, especially since decades of influence by missions and the government were unable to instill in them much of a "sense of dute." (38)

38. Typical for the lack of European "work discipline" of which the Tongan himself is often aware and which is based more on lack of ability than a lack of good will is the case of the quite capable Tongan physician A. When he was offered the management of the hospital in Nuku'alofa in the wake of the gradual replacement of European government workers with properly

/26 cont./

181 461 177 178
> trained Tongans, he pointed out that he was not capable of developing the enterprise further through independent, sober, regular work like a European, that a decline would have to be reckoned with and that he would request that a European be retained for this position.

181 461 245 178 However, there has been a change insofar as a new type of work involving all kinds of effort, namely copra production, has spread in Tonga to the smallest inhabited island, and along with it has come the thinking in terms of money which has given a certain impetus to increased work in order that the desired goods could be bought and the customary, often large church contributions, as well as the taxes could be paid. However, the copra work has not been a strong enough influence to upset the Tongan rhythm of life and work. This fact must, in the first place, be traced back to the imperturbable, stoic nature of the Tongans. (39)

39. Even today many coconuts on the Tongan plantations rot because the owners do not happen to "feel like" gathering them.

Secondly, the number of coconut palms on every plantation is naturally limited, so that the respective copra production cannot exceed a certain optimum (which is, however, almost never reached). Furthermore, as has been mentioned, the actual, natural needs of these islanders are small.

181 461 177 /27/ A few Tongans working for Europeans have, however, become accustomed to a different pace of work which is marked by certain haste and restlessness. (40)

40. For example, the author noticed one Tongan who for some time drove a bulldozer for the Americans on the Tongatapu airport; another who, as house painter (partly for piece-work wages) and auto mechanic, earns a considerable amount and, with an old truck, established an "independent trucking business."

/27 cont./

181 In general, the Tongans have kept the cleanliness and love of
515 order characteristic of the Polynesians. The huts inside usually
[356] look quite tidy and clean, and in personal grooming people are
fairly conscientious. This has increased to a certain extent through
teaching of hygiene in all schools, so that one scarcely meets a Tongan
with long, black-bordered fingernails or toenails. However, on the
181 Tongan plantations orderliness often leaves much to be desired and the
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178 neatly plaited fences praised by earlier observers (41) are today to be found neither on the plantation (where at most a single barbed wire constitutes the fence) nor in the villages. (42)

[247] In the latter there is also not always painstaking order and cleanliness, and one seldom comes across a property owner who has planted flowers and ornamental bushes for beauty. (43)

181 Most of the wooden houses in need or repair are so neglected that they
351 are practically falling apart. The untidiness of many plantations is
177 usually due to the often rather long approach to them required by
461 their owners and the proliferating weeds resulting from climate con-
[356] ditions, whereas the lack of orderliness in the villages may be
regarded as a direct result of European influences which also brought

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[113] 41. For example, J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 163; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV, p. 323/324; J. Wilson, A missionary voyage to the southern Pacific Ocean/cited in English/. London 1799. pp. 102, 245; Ch. Wilkes, loc. cit. p. 13.

42. Only a few villages have a (usually uncared-for) stockade-style fence (coconut palm trunks) to set off plantings.

[113] 43. Compare with this G. Forster, loc. cit. pp. 325, 340; J. Cook, Voyage dans l'Hemishpere Austral /Voyage in the southern hemisphere/ vol. II. Paris 1778. p. 68.

181 /27 cont./
351 about the deterioration of various Tongan crafts (that is, caused
177 them to die out or become crude), the natives either having lost
461 interest entirely in the necessary work, or having adopted more
convenient, in their eyes "more attractive," substitutes or means
of production, often without acquiring a genuine understanding of
the new /process/. (44)

> 44. In this connection see the origin and present aspect of the villages (p. 134 ff.) and the "modern" house types (p. 187 ff.).

181 The Tongan can still be regarded as undependable, insofar as he
805 often fails to keep promises or appointments made both with his /28/
822 own people as well as whites, without ever feeling as having committed
177 a discourtesy or even an injustice. The long European influence has
also not been able, save for a few exceptions, to accustom the Tongan
to the concept of time. In making appointments he frequently mixes
up today and tomorrow, and especially, with the time of day and the
hour, he is rather casual, even if he owns a watch. In Tonga where
one lives far from the world's hustle and bustle, European dependability
and punctuality, without which we can no longer manage in the
complicated life of our large cities, are, of course, unnecessary.
[577] Not arriving on time, not keeping a promise won't matter much on the
islands, and such a "lapse" is not held against anyone by the Tongans.
181 This is simply natural in the Tongan way of life. However, in one
805 area the natives have become accustomed to a punctuality that can
794 almost be called exactness, namely /the attendance at/ religious
177 services. With old and new clocks they endeavor to keep to the time
(202) announced on individual radios or received from other islands in their
group; promptly at the beginning of the frequent services (that is,
on the dot if possible) the big drum is beaten or the bell rung and
without delay they proceed to church where, usually next to the
pulpit or the preacher's table, there is a pendulum clock or an alarm

181 /28 cont./

805 794 177 [202] clock, so that the duration of the service will not exceed or fall short of the prescribed length. (45)

45. On Nomuka, for example, the shrill ringing of the alarm clock often breaks into the final hymn.

All faiths in Tonga, especially the recently become independent Tongan churches, practice such punctuality, even though on most islands it has been many years since a white person has influenced the course of church life. This type of exactness is part of the Tongan religious feeling. The fact that this punctuality in church worship, practiced for decades, has not encroached on daily life proves this.

181 771 177 In general, the Tongan shows a piety which is undoubtedly not inferior to that of his forefathers in pagan times, (46)

46. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 120/121, 135, also I. p. 108.

which probably increased during the change brought about by the influence of missions, and perhaps became even more profound because the new religion, Christianity, promised immortality even to commoners. (47)

47. A more specific description of changes in the religious area in the chapter on "Religion" pp. 369 ff.

181 771 The majority of Tongans are today definitely churchminded. However, as in pre-Christian times, (48)

48. For example, J. Martin, loc, cit. I. pp. 159, 389.

there are definitely cases of skepticism /29/ about divine omnipotence, augmented to the point of open criticism or emphatic disbelief. (49)

49. Non-churchgoers, opposition to ecclesiastical moral code, atheism.

181 537 The Tongans have always been excellent speakers. Even for a

/29 cont./

181 European it is a particular pleasure to listen to the well-formulated
537 speech of an older--or even younger--native often delivered with
brilliant rhetoric. The ability to speak freely and with self-
[212] assurance which is characteristic of most of these islanders is impressive,
and it has not been lost in spite of the almost universal
knowledge of reading and writing. Through the "liberation" of the
181 commoners who were able to move up to more important positions involving
565 the need to make speeches ("town officer," /cited in English/
178 "district officer," /cited in English/ preacher, lay preacher, teacher,
177 host and guests at festivities), the circle of speakers has been
537 considerably enlarged resulting in having the European influence
contribute indirectly to the furthering of this rather general gift.

181 These natives were and are quite intelligent. With their
153 intellectual gifts they outdo some of the other South Sea peoples,
which is evidenced, for example, by numerous examinations in the
Central Medical School /cited in English/ in Fiji where some of the
native intelligentsia of the British South Sea colonies is concentrated
and where Tongans were frequently able to attain first place. The
superior intelligence of this people has been shown in the past and at
present by their great interest in learning and their special ability
181 to take on something new. Interested in virtually everything strange
153 and new, regarding European knowledge as the key to recognition and
185 rank among their compatriots, almost all Tonga strive to absorb
everything that can be learned, and even on the smallest islands the
goal youngsters strive for is to be allowed, after their village
school, to attend a college on Tongatapu, whereas parents, often
through certain privations, take pride in helping their children
receive this education. (50)

[565]
[178] 50. The "liberation" of the commoners

181 153 185 [565] [178] 181 177

/29 cont./

undoubtedly increased ambition, the thirst for knowledge, and eagerness to learn in Tonga; see also the chapter "Knowledge" p. 413 ff.

Just as the Tongan in the past was willing to take over from the Fiji, for example, essential elements of the art of war, (51)

51. J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 72/73

boat building, (52)

52. Idem., loc, cit. II. p. 275.

the treatment of wounds, (53)

53. Idem., loc, cit. II. p. 242.

and the language, (54)

54. W.C. McKern, "Archaeology of Tonga" /cited in English/., B.P.B.M. Bulletin 60. Honolulu 1929. p. 122.

from the Samoans, for example, dances (55)

55. J. Martin, loc, cit, II. p. 330/331.

and songs, (56)

56. Idem., loc. cit. II. p. 333.

so he proved himself very skillful, in the course of his contact with the European culture, /30/ in learning and copying in the various areas of everyday life. (57)

[285] 57. Often one notes a positive desire and joy in copying; for example, in April 1952 on Lifuka the author met a Tongan road worker in in the bush who had plaited hats from halved young palm leaves in the shape of European sun helmets (helemeti) and policemen's caps (tata fakapolisi).

[153] These islanders are not only quite skillful (58)

58. That is, the majority, not all of them. Just as among other peoples there are practical and impractical types, here too there are impractical natives to be met in their own Tongan life, alongside the aston-

/30 cont./

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177
153

ishingly large number of practical Tongans; for example, on Nomuka there was a Tongan living in the bush on his plantation who was incapable of climbing a coconut palm, while another native of this island, in using an outrigger, was simply unable to keep on a straight course.

in handling gasoline lamps, sewing machines, (59)

[294]

59. In November 1951 a Tongan woman using a hand sewing machine copied a German style shirt belonging to the author to fit her husband, after she had briefly seen it while laundering it.

bicycles and trucks, they have not only great independence in applying European building methods (60)

[346]
[252]

60. For example, in 1946, the finished Catholic church in Fungamisi (Vava'u) of concrete construction with a steeple 16 meters high was designed and built solely by Tongans; in Pangai/Lifuka in 1950 a Tongan built a well functioning baker's oven under primitive conditions, after he had seen one like it in Nuku'alofa.

usually without systematic learning (often just by watching), but they also carry on with church work, the school system and public health service on most islands, independently, without direct European help, and a number of Tongans even founded two Tongan Wesleyan churches in order to be free of dependence on Europeans in this sphere. (61)

61. See chapter "Religion" p. 369 f.

181
177 However, his considerable intelligence does not help the Tongan toward a proper feeling for, or an actual understanding of, the European world. The Archipelago is isolated and too distant from the large countries of the world, and the European influences that reach the small islands are essentially only of ecclesiastical and material

/30 cont./

181 nature (money, tools, clothing, food), besides the limited transmission
177 of knowledge by Tongans in the village schools (partly by
white persons in the colleges) and the not fully efficient health
[538] service. The only literature published in the Tongan language is
[207] purely ecclesiastical, and there is no Tongan radio service. The
modern European world which, with its characteristics, its wants and
objectives, is somewhat complicated, open and not amenable to simple
answers even for Europeans, must always remain to a certain extent
alien and unintelligible to the Tongan, not only because his disposition
is, in part, of an entirely different nature, but also
because he is offered only disconnected, isolated parts [of the whole
[829] picture]. The latter probably give most Tongans the idea that
"European" means first and foremost: /31/ being clean, well-to-do,
[183] knowing a lot and being able to do a lot. This is the ideal the
islanders more or less consciously strive for; however, they do not
do so uncritically, for by their conduct and by their words, for
example, they emphasize, at least on the small islands, that they
are proud of not being as attached to money as are the white people.

157 Besides the mass of Tongans to whom the character traits
156 described in the preceding section apply, there is also a minority
177 of extreme, highly Europeanized types, a few of whom may probably
be best explained by the following examples:

1. Tongan T., 41 years old, the son of a chief on Tongatapu. College education there; visit to Fiji; military training in New Zealand. Regarded as matapule. (62) Was occupied at the Tonga court, among other things as chauffeur. Took a "vacation" and has been living on Nomuka for several months.

[565] 62. The matapule are members of a once highly privileged noble class; in the narrower sense, attendants to a titled chief in special ceremonial services.

/31 cont./

157 Clothing for everyday wear khaki trousers, European shirt and white
156 tennis shoes, along with sun glasses and a sun helmet. On Sundays
177 wears gray trousers, shirt, colorful "Waikiki jacket," socks and
black low shoes. Eats the customary Tongan-European diet; sleeps on a
mat. T. tries to appear a "man of the world," to tower above his
friends as a leader. Has not married. Goes with many girls. Has a
[454] small savings account in Nuku'alofa. Says he wants to save more money
in order to build a house in Nuku'alofa in the European style, to
[829] furnish it and then to marry. He is contemptuous of typical Tonga
work such as women's mat plaiting and tapa making, regarding these
as useless occupations. T. is intelligent and gifted with a natural
sense of humor. He has no firm outlook, is casual, lazy, has not
worked for months, seems to have no home and takes turns living off
relatives or friends to save money. Though, in view of his idleness,
he leads a life similar to that of the chiefs and matapule of
ancient Tonga times, his presence in the village, despite the
universal Tonga kindness and hospitality, is felt to be unpleasant
after a few months. T. appears to the observer as a "rootless type"
who has lost raport with truly Tongan life.

2. Tongan M., 42 years old, son of a respected family on Tongatapu. College education there. Student of more than average achievement. Trained as medicine dispenser (apothecary). Much contact with white physicians. In the course of the years he has managed stations on "Eua, Lifuka and Niua Fo'ou and has treated diseases on his own. In the last war a great deal of contact with English and Americans. Has read several English books and many English magazines. Has worked as "dispenser " /cited in English/ on Nomuka for three years, and cultivates his planting, usually with slight expenditure of work. After the death of his first wife, married his former housekeeper and now has eleven children. For everyday, wears the Tonga

/31 cont./

156 *vala* and shirt (both mostly of blue cotton twill), for Sunday, a
157 *vala* (often of flowered cotton), a white shirt, and for church a
177 *ta'vala*, tie and European jacket. Always goes barefoot. Eats customary /32/ Tongan-European food; sleeps on a mat with a headrest. Is regarded as *matapule*. Is treated by the small congregation of his (minority) church as a chief. M. is a lay preacher, attends all church services, has his regular prayers at home and works himself up into powerful religious feelings. Keeps himself rather isolated from the inhabitants and is not actually regarded by them as a member of the village community. M. makes an effort, contrary to Tongan custom, to pay for all services rendered him (with money or goods), since he wishes to have "no obligations" (which means rejection of the old village assurance of reciprocity), usually also does not help with community work in the village. Is egotistical and does not fullfil his obligations to hold certain festivals. With all the self-assurance he displays he is actually insecure and often afraid of "doing something wrong." He no longer knows many of the names of objects still in use in Tongan material culture and also has no clear conception of some of the methods of making them. M.'s inclination to laziness is intensified by his heavy set figure. By nature he is good-humored and happy, but under the influence of his life so far he has become calculating and crafty. Knowing something in many areas of European life, with many-sided interests, M. believes he understands the world of whites, but also realizes his unfortunate position by summing it up in the statement: "Our development here in Tonga is as though a man wants to climb a coconut palm, gets halfway up and can then go neither up nor down." M. wants to quit his job in two years in order to raise livestock on 'Eua and keep a small store. However, it is doubtful whether he will succeed in this since he has absolutely no specialized knowledge for the first project and, like most Tongans, he lacks

/32 cont./

156 knowledge for the first project and, like most Tongans, he lacks com-
157 pletely the ability to keep his money together. To the observer he
177 seems ultimately an unfortunate, mixed type.

3. Tongan S., 24 years old, born a commoner; after attending college in Tonga spent several years in New Zealand; there continued education along with practical work. Contact with partly nihilistic white intellectuals. Returns as a sharp critic. Marries the daughter of a Tongan businessman (merchant and owner of a department store) in Nuku'alofa. Moves to Nomuka and establishes a shop. S. usually dresses in long white pants and a short-sleeved white shirt, eats European food almost exclusively (this partly because of the fact that he has no planting on Nomuka and can live comfortably on the income from his shop). He is reserved and courteous, seems at once unfinished and strongly influenced by undigested foreign ideas. S. has become a convinced atheist. Is also almost passionately critical of the Tongan government which in his opinion favors the nobility and discriminates against and impedes the commoners. Works circumspectly and has his head full of great plans for the future (for example, wants to go into canned fish production, wrote to USA). Is generous and, outside his business activity in which he calculates sharply, seems to adhere to the old Tongan custom of "giving without direct return service." After having at first a rather isolated position in the village, he succeeded, after some months, in winning over a few new Tongans with his tennis playing. The village community has not yet acknowledged him as its own (for example, no invitation to larger festivals), but a growing number of villagers buy /33/ from him, especially since he is often able to offer goods unavailable in the other stores of the village. S. appears to the observer to be an as yet unformed type of modern Tongan entrepreneur.

/33 cont./

156 4. Tongan M., 27 years old, born a commoner on Nomuka. Schooling
157 on Nomuka and in college on Tongatapu; quite a good student. Taken
177 into government service in Nuku'alofa. Weekdays wears white vala (sometimes also white shorts) and white shirt, often also sandals, and Sundays a tie, ta'o-vala and European jacket for church-going. Eats the customary Tongan-European food (but inclines more to pure Tongan); sleeps on a mat. (This simple way of life is partly due to his small monthly income.) Works in Tongan treasury and during a few free hours cultivates his planting outside Nuku'alofa. His tedious work with figures satisfies him, especially since his position in public and in the community places him on a higher, respected rung. He is very anxious to learn more and more and to work still better, and in this he struggles with his somewhat phlegmatic nature which, however, he overcomes, so that he appears industrious. M. is conscientiously religious. He has great respect for the cleanliness, the education and the competence of Europeans. Is serious and has natural dignity in all utterances and acts. Along with other Tongan so-called "intellectuals" (physicians) M. also criticizes the present political conditions of his country, wants to see Tonga still freer and more independent (for example, loosening economic ties with Great Britain). He is not married, and his very serious manner makes it difficult for him to approach the female sex. However, during the last few months he has begun to pay attention to a certain girl, but is frustrated by his fear of not being able to provide for a family with his small income in Nuku'alofa. M. spends his vacation regularly on Nomuka, since he constantly longs for his native island and his family. There he works during his vacation in the store of his step-brother or on the plantations. He has not lost his pleasure in the old Tongan way of working and living; is well liked on Nomuka and is fully appreciated and respected by the community. In his native village, M.

/33 cont./

156 organized a small group of Tongans who raise pigs and sell them, and
157 with the proceeds make it possible for young Nomukans to attend
177 college on Tongatapu; he himself makes certain financial sacrifices to help the Tongans studying in New Zealand. To our way of thinking he may be regarded as an idealist. To the observer, M. seems a representative of the good young Tongan intelligentsia. If Tonga became more European this type, though encumbered, could have an ageeable influence on the development of the small kingdom.

It is difficult to say whether such extreme types will some day become general types, whether such a fundamental change of Tongan nature will slowly be brought about. It also depends largely on further general development of Tonga; for example, to what extent the government's plans for an intensive Europeanization are realized (for example, light industry [such as fish canning factories] for the overpopulated Ha'apai group).

181 /34/ From the foregoing it will be seen that the character of the
177 Tongan today is quite similar to that of his forefathers (except for
178 the extreme types), even though it has undergone certain limited changes in the course of European influence. This native has remained essentially unchanged because European influence on the islands has not been strong enough to be able to undermine the Tongan's nature, his basic disposition so firmly rooted in him, the chief characteristic of which is a self-assured equanimity which can scarcely be shaken.

177 And this characteristic will probably also limit the future development in Tonga, and be a safeguard against a precipitous, intensive Europeanazation. For, until now, almost every European style action of an offical nature undertaken in Tonga has been slowed down, impeded or revoked.

/37 cont./

144 birthrate--are no longer included. One can imagine that the dis-
563 semination of "European blood portions" among this people, that 30 years ago had a population of only 25,000, could be considerable. The actual extent of this European influence, however, can probably never be clearly determined, since one may not suspect every Tongan child born blond of having a portion of European blood, and since Cook found hundreds of "truly European faces" (see above) which undoubtedly resembled the ancient Tongan people. The noticeable admixture of Melanesian blood may in part be very old, in part traceable to the active intercourse between Fiji and Tonga up to the present time.

142 Other European influences, such as diseases or alcohol, have not
164 visibly influenced the physical appearance of the Tongan. The
[177] observation of Ellis in 1777: "we did not see one instance of
[732] deformity amongst them," /cited in English/ (78) holds good even today, for it may be said that one scarcely meets a cripple in Tonga, and the natives with their sturdy build and their good posture give an altogether healthy impression--such as one does not find in the streets of a European metropolis; even the old Polynesian affliction of elephantiasis does not appear to the extent that it does in Tahiti, for example.

142 /38/ According to today's findings, therefore, neither the
144 character nor the physical appearance of the Tongan seems to have
177 undergone a profound change in the course of the centuries of
European influence. Certain changes brought about by admixtures of
[563] European blood, for example, --insofar as they are recognizable--
have usually been advantageous, since in such cases the Tongan apathy was repressed and these more lively, versatile and enterprising natives generally got along better in "modern" Tonga.

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78. W. Ellis, *loc. cit.*, p. 91.

/38 cont./

164 Leprosy occurs only to a slight extent. (82)

82. In 1950, for example, nine cases were sent to the leprosy station in Makogai/Fiji (Report of the Medical Department...loc. cit. p. 8).

164 Since we have no intensive and complete observations from the
175 past it is very difficult to give more details about the change that has taken place in diseases among the Tongans. In the old sources (83) we do find skin deseases (probably especially frambesia), eye diseases, colds, consumption and elephantiasis mentioned as diseases that came to the attention of the early observers. Typical
164 European influences are probably the major /39/ influenza epidemics.
177 The frequent occurrence of pneumonia is partly to be traced back to imported clothing, since the Tongans in all villages now also clothe the upper part of their bodies (shirts, blouses, dresses), and after rainfalls they usually do not change their wet things but let them dry on their bodies. Though pulmonary tuberculosis seems to be an old indigenous disease in Tonga, the low resistance and the apparently increasing number of diseases of the natives can very probably be regarded as a result of the change in their way of life (clothing, partly also food and dwelling) brought about by European
[262] contact. One result of European influence, specifically the somewhat changed diet, (84)

83. J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc, cit. VI, p. 275; J. Wilson, A missionary voyage.../cited in English/ loc. cit. p. 264; Voyage de Dentrecasteaux loc, cit I. p. 320; Voyage pittoresque autour du monde /Picturesque voyage around the world/. Published by Dumont d'Urville. vol. II. Paris 1835. p. 75; Ch. Wilkes, Narrative.../cited in English/. loc. cit. III. p. 33/34.

/39 cont./

164 177 262 84. See the chapter "Food" p. 275 ff.; the present very high prices for copra (chief export product) make it possible for every native to buy wheat flour, sugar (both often by the sackful), canned meat, fish and fat, and other food imported from Europe.

could be the frequently observable dental defects of young Tongan men and women, (85)

[752] 85. According to circumstances, defective, aching teeth are not filled but extracted, at any rate on the small islands.

as well as the striking occurrence of partial baldness among middle-aged and older males. (86)

86. This is not yet mentioned in the old sources.

166 177 It seems noteworthy that venereal diseases are not widespread in Tonga.

[161] Summarizing, one may say that in this Archipelago the increase (or intensification) of diseases caused by European influence have had no devastating effect on the population which, in the last 30 years, has doubled and in the preceding decades (with the exception of the influenza epidemic of 1918) remained on approximately the same level.

Health Care

657 744 There is an organized system of health care today in Tonga, the beginnings of which go back to the missions, while now it is exclusively run by the government. All natives have a right to free medical and dental (tooth extraction and filling) treatment financed by the Tongan state. 657 744 759 This treatment is at present carried out in the entire Archipelago by a white physician known as "chief medical officer" /cited in English/, by a second (pensioned) white physician who as "medical officer" /cited in English/ has an advisory function, by approximately 20 Tongan assistant physicians ("medical practitioners" /cited in English/) and assistant dentists ("dental practitioners" /cited in English/), by

/39 cont./

657 four medical dispensers ("pharmacists," "dispensers" /cited in English),
744 one white nurse, approximately 25 Tongan nurses /40/ and a Tongan assistant
759 staff. Of the Tongans active in health service the medical and
[874) dental practitioners are trained in the Central Medical School
/cited in English/ in Fiji, the rest are trained in the Archipelago.
657 The personnel working in the health service are used primarily in the
744 Nuku'alofa Hospital on Tongatapu, secondarily in the Neiafu Hospital on
743 the island of Vava'u that lies about 300 miles farther north, thirdly
759 in the auxiliary hospital on Lifuka which lies approximately between
these two islands. In two villages on Tongatapu, as well as on
four other islands there are "pharmacies," "dispensaries" /cited in
English/ that are served by Tongan assistant doctors or medical dispensers
who also take over the treatment of the simpler cases. Moreover,
on Tongatapu a motorized infant welfare service has begun
operations.

744 The Tongans working in health service are quite intelligent and
657 capable natives, and in general have the good will to carry out increasingly
759 more and better work. However, in accordance with their
743 un-European mentality (their entirely different conception of life and
177 work), they find it difficult to carry out this European system perfectly
enough so that it has the complete effectiveness which we in
Europe take for granted. (87)

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87. For example, in none of the hospitals is there as yet any cooking done for the patients. Since food preparation is left to the relatives, no proper diet can be carried out. In the main hospitals, too, the Tongan physicians find it difficult, as the present writer experienced, to give the prescribed shots and medicines regularly. The dispensary on Nomuka has for years been threatening to collapse; through the broken windows and the dilapidated corrugated iron roof rain showers fall on the rusted

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> instruments which are nontheless still used. The dispenser working there often forgets his stethoscope when he makes house calls (he keeps it hanging in the open window in the rain); he often makes a diagnosis without touching the patients, and as medicine he dispenses mainly two kinds of tablets; the quarterly health inspection entrusted to him (dwellings, water supply, latrines) on the four islands in his charge he fails to carry out even annually, and then only very superficially.

744 657 563 177 [752] The few whites working in Tonga can naturally not take the drastic action they would in a colony, though they make a successful effort to keep "the machinery running." There are, however, several examples of surgical operations quite skilfully carried out by Tongan physicians, and in general this European system of health service has undoubtedly brought about many an improvement for the natives.

744 164 177 514 One achievement of the modern health service is the repression of the hookworm disease which formerly occurred rather frequently. It was combatted by the Tongan government with aid from a Rockefeller grant; around 1930, cement latrines were widely introduced. Today most Tongan families (88)

> 88. The author's count in 'Uiha/'Uiha and Fungamisis/Vava'u in 1952 showed, for example, that of 100 households (45 respectively) 83 (40 respectively) have cement latrines.

have such latrines which they /41/ can buy at a very low price from the government and "finish" as they wish.

744 164 [758] The fight against tuberculosis, however, is still very much in its beginnings. It is altogether unclear how many natives are afflicted with this disease; the simple mass examinations in the schools have not been able to give a reliable picture. The wherewithal is apparently lacking for combating it on a large scale. On the smaller islands of the

/41 cont./

346 342 362 The construction of some schools and especially of many dwellings built in the European "shanty style" also leave much to be desired from a health standpoint (for example, uninsulated corrugated iron roofs), there having been as yet no effective remedy.

757 The Tongans are largely indifferent to the health service. In most cases of illness they first try self-healing with ancient Tongan herb medicines and massage, sometimes with a small admixture of magic, and if this does not help and the case seems very serious, they go to the doctor. At the same time, there are a few /42/ natives who run to the doctor with a headache or a slight stomach upset, as well as a few who do without any kind of medical help. (92)

92. On Nomuka the author saw a woman who, after eating a poisoned shark liver, was very ill and, despite grave danger, did not wish to see the assistant doctor who lived only 300 meters away.

[743] In places where an auxiliary hospital or "dispensary" /cited in English/ is situated close by, the Tongans are beginning to come in with minor cases (coughs, constipation, diarrhea, cuts, boils). 757 177 The Tongan physicians regard the present situation as being a considerable improvement over the condition 40 years ago. A certain change has surely taken place in the last decades. [656] Thus the old Tongan healing art (93)

93. Various elements of the Tongan healing art were borrowed from the natives of the Fiji Islands (for example, Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 242.)

which was not always fortunate, (94)

94. A series of spontaneous attempts at healing often took the place of a diagnosis.

was forbidden by a governmental law and was also virtually repressed 278 178 by the growing European-type health service. However, some of the

/43 cont./

757 8. Diarrhea in children (common type). The grated rind of the mo'osipo root and mo'osipo leaves pounded between two stones are together wrapped in kaka 'i niu (see no. 3) and then put in cold water. The sick child is supposed to drink two mouthfuls of this liquid.

752 10. Cuts. The leaves of the ate plant are pounded between two stones, wrapped in a piece of clean tapa and squeezed out so that the liquid runs into the cut. This remedy is also tried in the case of tetanus. The leaves of the Tongan cotton plant (vavae Tonga) are used in the same way in treating wounds.

757 11. Carbuncles. The yellow leaves fallen from the 'ovava tree (Ficus obliqua Forst.) are chewed and applied to the affected part along with the saliva.

12. Filariasis. The grated rind of the pukovili tree is wrapped in kaka 'i niu (see no. 3) and put in cold water. The patient must drink this twice a day.

177 /44/ The change initiated by the European system of health care will undoubtedly become greater in the course of the next few years, especially since the coming generation, if only as a result of school training, will have more confidence than have their elders in the European medical art. But even today, with respect to their attitude toward "modern health care," the Tongans probably do not compare unfavorably with European peasants in the non-industrialized zones.

b) Care of Body, Hair Style

Care of Body

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515 Naturally, contact with the European world led to certain changes in the care of the body. The Tongan preserved his old sense of cleanliness, (97)

97. Cf. J. Cook, Beschreibung...

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/Description/. loc. cit. VI. p. 281.
Voyage de Dentrecasteaux. loc. cit.
I. p. 310.

but the means employed for keeping the body clean changed. Soap and towel found their way to the smallest island. This development was encouraged early on by the missionaries. Because of the low cost of soap (Australian "palmolive" /cited in English/ and "lux" /cited in English/ cost only 7 d.T. = 0.28 German marks), no Tongan nowadays takes the trouble to make the old cleansing agents (for example, from the bark of the fiho'a shrub), although these are still known and in times of scarcity (for example, during the second World War) may definitely be used. -- 515 Very seldom does one see adult natives bathing in the sea. Only children, say between three and 13 years, like to splash about in the sea and the surf. Yet the adults are mostly skillful swimmers. However, they avoid the sea water as much as possible "because the salt has a disagreeable effect on the skin," (98)

98. This was already mentioned by Cook (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 281).

and after such a bath a special freshwater sponge bath seems necessary. The majority of Tongans wash themselves thoroughly with freshwater (collected rain water) at least once a day, mainly in the evening, 515 after work in the plantings, for instance. For this purpose most 343 families have on their grounds small "bath huts" (99)

99. Counts in 'Uiha/'Uhia and Fungamisi/Vava'u showed that of 100 households (45 respectively) 81 (25 respectively) own bath huts.

made of plaited coconut palm leaves (pola), old timber, sheet metal or corrugated iron, and on a surface area of about 2.5 square meters they have a zinc tub or an old wooden bowl as the only piece of equipment.

/44 cont./

515 equipment. In times of drought (often October to December) the
[132] supply of rain water is sometimes so scarce that people
temporarily forego the daily thorough bathing.

515 /45/ Although in the schools, in the subject of hygiene, there
302 is general instruction in tooth brushing, and European toothbrushes
are easily obtainable, only very few Tongans have so far used them.
However, fingernails and toenails are cut quite short so that there
[412] is almost no rim and the nail surface is often circular. Nails
are mostly cut with the large bush knife. Ancient Tongan cutting
[178] tools (shells, bamboo) are no longer used. For shaving, the two
302 shells, the pumice and the shark's tooth (100)
177
(113)

100. Cf. J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. 181; J.J. Labillardiere, Relation du voyage a la recherche de La Perouse /Account of the voyage in search of La Perouse/ vol. II. Paris 1800. p/120; E.A.W. von Zimmermann, Australien /Australia/. loc. cit. vol. I, part 2. p. 640; J. Martin, An account... /cited in English/. loc. cit. II. p. 282.

have long since been replaced by razor blades which can be bought on most of the islands. However, not all Tongans own a safety razor. Many shave simply with the blade held in their hand, which is more a scraping than a cutting, and is reminiscent of the pumice stone. Even in the smallest village a great many natives are generally neatly shaved, some have a stubble varying in length (101)

101. On Sundays, however, even the latter are almost always smoothly shaved.

302 and a few wear more or less well cared-for full beards. This state
565 of affairs seems in general to resemble the pre-European era, though
the commoners in olden times probably groomed themselves less carefully than the nobles. (102)

302 102. Cf. W. Ellis, An authentic narrative...
177 /cited in English/. loc. cit. I p. 92; if the
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/45 cont./

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> statement of Meinicke (C.E. Meinicke, Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans /The islands of the Pacific/, part II. Leipzig 1876. p. 75) is correct, there was a common beard style in Tonga in the second half of the 19th century, probably in imitation of the European example.

As a result of the presence of American troops on the main island, the short moustache became popular among many younger, eagerly imitative Tongans, but now it gradually seems to be "going out of fashion."

Although European perfumes and scented skin creams are today available on almost all islands of the Archipelago, and younger Tongan women in particular like to buy them, the ancient Tongan fragrant oil (lolo Tonga) is still laboriously prepared in all villages and is extensively used by almost all natives of both sexes. This Tongan oil has been able to maintain its place (103)

> 103. Cf. J. Cood, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 281; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative /cited in English/ loc. cit. II. p. 93; J. Martin, An account.../cited in English/. loc. cit. II p. 346; S.S. Farmer, Tonga... loc. cit. p. 143.

thus well because, aside from the work involved, it costs nothing compared with the relatively expensive European products, and secondly, because Tongan noses are probably much too accustomed to the typical scent of the lolo Tonga which pervades the atmosphere [565] of humans and dwellings. Nobles and commoners alike use it, and it may be assumed that production and use have even increased compared with the past. (104)

> 104. Cf. J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 281.

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/46/ We give here the process of production of Tongan oil:

The inner part of the tui tui (fruit of Aleurites moluccana [L.] Willd.) and the (fragrant) leaves (or blossoms) of the shrubs moengalo (Melastoma denticulatum), nukonuka (Decaspermum fruticosum),

/46 cont./

303 sinamoni (Cinnamomum--?) and pasiole (Pogostemon nepetoides) are
pounded between two stones and mixes with oil (made from pressed,
grated coconut meat). This intermediate product is then kept for a
night in a bowl in the house and the next day it is placed in the
sun. The substance is kneaded and pressed over a metal sheet and the
now fragrant oil runs from the slightly tilted metal sheet into an
enamel bowl placed to receive it. Plant remnants carried along are
afterwards fished out of the oil in the bowl with a piece of tapa.
Then the bowl is left standing in the sun so that the water still
present in the oil can evaporate; finally the lolo Tonga is poured
into glass bottles which are closed with tapa stoppers. The oil is
[462] now ready for use. Production is entirely women's work.

303 This lolo Tonga and its method of production are basically an
415 ancient Tongan cultural asset. The European elements such as glass
177 bottle, enamel bowl and sheet metal are convenient substitutes for
Tongan mechanical aids that were once laboriously produced (for
[137] instance, calabashes). The natives also like to use the leaves of
various plants imported by Europeans; the last two aforementioned
shrubs, for instance, are not indigenous to Tonga.

303 The recipe mentioned above was obtained on Nomuka. Though the
184 procedure remains the same, the ingredients of fragrant leaves,
blossoms, fruits and roots vary, and most women probably have their
own "secret recipe." Thus one woman in Pangai/Lifuka uses, besides
coconut oil and the Aleurites fruit, langakali blossoms (Aglaia
samoensis), mohokoi blossoms (Cananga odorata [Lam.] Hook f. and
Thomson), heilala fruit, pipi fruit and pako roots, while another
in the same village adds to these ingredients siale (Gardenia
taitensis D.C.), tevunga, pasiole, sipaisi and kilimau. (105)

[643] 105. In the past, great chiefs also liked to use an oil that was enriched with sandelwood

303 /46 cont./
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[643]

instead of the blossoms and leaves mentioned (cf. J. Martin, loc. cit. p. 346.

302 The lolo Tonga is used day after day by men, women and children for the body and for the hair (especially after washing). There are few Tongans who reject the native oil because it "soils" the clothing (white shirts, for instance). Undoubtedly this oil has a beneficial effect on the skin, and it helps the natives very much to keep their thick, mostly curly or wavy hair in order.

Hair Style

[177] Hair styles have changed as a result of European influences. Only a few aged men in the Archipelago wear the hair style that is commonly regarded as that of ancient Tonga: their hair is cut short at the sides, but not on top where it is combed back. The male population today wears a truly short haircut that can be /47/ arranged in two principal ways. In one case, they cut the hair short at the temples and at the back of the head, and take away enough of the top length so that when the hair is combed back it is loose (that is, wavy or curly). This hair style is worn by the younger natives, in their twenties or thirties. In the second instance, they cut the hair short at the temples and the back of the head, and cut the top part rather short, so that when it is combed back it makes a sort of "crew cut." This haircut worn chiefly by older men is said by [177] various Tongans to have been copied some time ago from ("civilized") natives of Niue. (106)

106. However, even G. Forster already mentions, for 'Eua, short-cut hair that stands up "like bristles" (G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 325).

[565]
[184] Other ancient hair styles, as for example malu malu, the hair hanging down over the forehead, a style worn by renowned warriors, (107)

/47 cont./

302 107. E.W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/ loc. cit. p. 205.

[565] [184] are no longer seen, and even the nobles do not differ from the common people in their hair style.

(177) People cut each other's hair using a comb (European plastic comb) and scissors. Many natives, without special training, are so adept at this that they achieve a perfect cut even outdoors in a stiff breeze. (108)

108. There are even Tongans who cut their own hair in front of a mirror!

[237] [178] The old Tongan custom of treating the hair with coral lime (lahe)(109)

109. J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 279; burnt coral lime mixed with water.

was still generally practiced at the end of the last century, (110)

(113) 110. For example, B.F.S. Baden-Powell, In savage isles and settled lands /cited in English/. London 1892. p. 319.

but has become so "unfashionable" today that one seldom meets an aged native who limes his hair. Instead, Tongan oil is commonly used, occasionally also European pomade. (177)

302 178 As in olden times, young people's hair is cut shorter than that of adults; often, as a matter of expediency, it is entirely cut off. However, "shaving" the head, (111)

(113) 111. J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 181; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 282; O.W. Brierly, "Brief geographical sketch of the Friendly Islands" /cited in English/, in: The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London. vol. XXII. London 1852. p. 102.

or letting individual tufts of hair stand, (112)

112. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 325.

302 /47 cont./

178 can no longer be observed.

302 177 Just as some younger Tongan males have copied certain fashionable haircuts from whites (trimmed short all around, sideburns, etc.), the variety of hair styles of Tongan women must also be regarded as copies of European models which the women come across in magazines and newspapers on the small islands and see in the movies and on some white women on Tongatapu and Vava'u. [565] As a result of the "liberation" of the commoners, long hair /48/ is not any more the prerogative of the daughters of chiefs, (113) and short hair is no longer seen. (114)

302 Tongan women wear a knot at the back of the head, topknots, braids (two to four), braided knots, rolls or semi-long hair (a mop of curly hair). The younger women "try out" all kinds of hair styles and enjoy changing them (for instance, in the course of a conversation they will tie up their loosely hanging hair into a top knot), whereas older women prefer the plain knot at the back of the head. Today [177] most people comb their hair with a European colored plastic comb which they sometimes also fasten into their hair as an ornament. The [412] old combs artistically fashioned of small rods and coconut fibers have not been made for a long time, and even the carved wooden combs that were made until recently on the Niuas, have been almost entirely replaced by the cheap and colorful synthetic products. The [177] coiffures are mostly knotted and held in place by themselves; occasionally, European hairpins are also used. No Tongan woman nowadays uses coral lime for her hair; almost all of them prefer the

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113. Cf. E.W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/. loc. cit. p. 129.

114. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 325; J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... /Picturesque voyage/. loc. cit. II. p. 79.

/48 cont./

302 Tongan oil for dressing their hair.

Small girls sometimes wear a very short haircut like boys, so that they are often scarcely distinguishable from them; more often, however, their hair is left to grow long and is then cut so that it does not reach below the shoulders. The latter style is probably in contrast to ancient Tongan customs.

302 178 Summarizing, one may say that the modern hair style of Tongan men, and especially of Tongan women, shows an outright, joyful imitation of the new, along with a rather lighthearted renunciation of the old.

c) Clothing, Ornaments, Tattooing and Circumcision

Clothing

291 [177] European textiles and articles of clothing have been, and still are, an important influence in Tonga.

291 554 In former times, the men were either "almost entirely naked," (115) that is, because of their inferior status or for their work they wore only a loincloth of tapa (116) or a leaf apron; (117) or, if they were privileged persons or were taking part in a festival, /49/ they wrapped themselves in a vala, that is, a rectangular piece of tapa slung about one and half times around the hips. (118)

115. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 326; V. p. 138.

[287] 116. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280; the tapa was and is made of the bast layer on the inner side of the bark of Broussonetia papyrifera. For details see p. 216 ff.

117. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78; S. S Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands.../cited in English/. loc, cit. p. 144.

/49 cont./

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554 118. The vala reached to the ankles in the case of persons of higher rank; it was secured with a tapa or fiber belt and the upper part fell in folds over this belt, so that in cold or damp weather it could be slung over the shoulders. Cook quotes the average size of the vala as being "six feet wide and at least eight and a half feet long" (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280) whereas Mariner says: "about eight feet by five or six"/cited in English/. (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 346).

Along with this garment, or instead of it, mats of various quality and size (119)

119. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 327; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative.../cited in English/. loc, cit. I. p. 94.

were worn, depending on the rank of the persons in question.

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[184] Today most men, commoners as well as nobles, wear a vala of European material (in all kinds of colors and patterns, but preferably black for work, and white for Sundays, festivals, etc.), which is approximately the size of the old Tongan vala made of tapa; it is simply wrappped around the waist and is held in place by itself or by means of a belt of leather or synthetic material. Underneath this vala the men often do wear European shorts. On the upper part of the body, which in former times was almost always naked among all classes, they wear a shirt of European cut (a sport shirt, more often with long sleeves rather than with short ones), sometimes also merely a jersey. (120)

120. The vala encircles the shirt below the hips.

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177 Shirts are bought readymade in various colors, or else women buy only the material and sew them themselves on small hand sewing machines common in Tonga, or even on the console type Singer machines, (121)

291 294 177 [426] /49 cont./

121. On a small island like Nomuka there were already four lowerable sewing machines in 1952. The hand sewing machines in particular are willingly lent from house to house.

[462] just as they, naturally, also hem the vala. (122)

122. This work is sometimes also done by men.

291 [671] [177] [797] In Tonga the shirt was introduced by law as a result of missionary influence ("decent clothing"). Thus today in the villages one does not see a Tongan with the upper part of the body uncovered, though on the plantations many will seek relief on hot days and take off their shirts. True, the law did not prescribe the shape and condition of the shirt, so that for some natives it seems sufficient, at least on weekdays, to place a circular rag around their necks. Every 291 292 Tongan observes a definite hierarchy in his wardrobe: the first outfit (his best and newest things) is commonly worn to church on Sunday, the second outfit (that is, the one for Sundays that is already somewhat worn) is donned for festive occasions and for the kawa gatherings, while the third (that is, the outworn second) serves for everyday and, along with definite work clothes, is still very serviceable for various activities, especially in the plantings.

292 [621] /50/ For church-going, for a festival or a fono (123)

123. A village gathering, especially for the purpose of hearing explanations by government representatives with regard to specific village matters.

the ta'o-vala is worn, a more or less finely plaited mat (depending on one's wealth), secured with a plaited coconut cord (kafa). (124)

124. The customary types of ta'o-vala mats are the ones made of the various pandanus species, ta'o-vala tofua, ta'o-vala kie, ta'o-vala tapa 'i la; less frequently used is the rather shabby ta'o-vala tangai made from a dyed European sack.

/50 cont./

292 Commoners wear the *ta'o-vala* when they appear before chiefs, just
[565] as the latter don their *ta'o-vala* when they have dealings with the
people. Even the most "modern" Tongan who wears trousers as a
[178] matter of principle, changes into a *vala* and *ta'o-vala* for a *fono*,
for instance. With the *ta'o-vala* he shows his respect toward
authorities, (125) and it is commonly considered bad taste to wear the *ta'o-vala* over
292 trousers. Crown Prince and Premier Tungi, who studied in Australia
177 and visited London, sets a good example by wearing the *vala* and
ta'o-vala day after day, and recommends this attire to all administrative employees. Some Tongans "who take pride in their appearance" --in the seaports as well as on the small islands--wear a tie and a European lounge jacket for church on Sunday, along with the customary attire (shirt, *vala*, *ta'o-vala*).

291 In contrast to olden times, therefore, nobles as well as commoners
292 wear the same type of clothing. The elegant and valuable mats have
184 even come down to the domain of the people, since many commoners use
565 them as *ta'o-vala*. Some of the commoners own more and better clothing
than the nobles living on the same islands. (126)

[113] 125. This ancient custom is already noted in: *Geschichte der christlichen Missionen auf den Freundschafts- oder Tonga-Inseln* /History of the Christian missions on the Friendly or Tonga Islands/. Bremen. Cincinnati, Ohio. 1857. p. 173.

[434] 126. For example, the nopele ("highest ranking chief" see p. 95 of text. FS) T. told the author that he could no longer keep step with this development, and that he owns only a few shirts (T. lives on rather small rents from his landed property and on /the yield from/ his plantings, whereas some Tongan of the younger generation are engaged in copra production and, as commoners, are economically the stronger ones).

/50 cont./

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177 Instead of the ordinary vala described above, some Tongans (besides the Tongan medical practitioners) wear the vala faka-Fisi borrowed from Fiji (Central Medical School), which has a belt that is stitched on and can be buttoned, as well as two inset pockets. Moreover, European trousers have become somewhat common, especially among the younger generation. This development was furthered by the second World War, that is, by the presence of foreign troops on Tongatapu and the training of a few thousand Tonga in European uniforms. However, the majority of natives still wear the vala, although for certain work (for instance- house-building) trousers are more
[313] appropriate. For lumber work in the bush on Nomuka (on November 21/22, 1951), for example, /51/ of 22 Tongans, 15 wore vala (seven young men, eight older ones) and seven wore long or short pants (six young Tongans, one older one), (127)

127. These 22 Tongans almost all wore the vala to church on Sundays, for the kava gatherings, for festivals, etc.

whereas at a court session (on November 19) on the same island all 21 in the audience appeared in the vala. On a Sunday afternoon (the end of October 1951), in the urbanized seaport and chief city of Nuku'alofa, where generally more /drawing of vala faka-Fisi appears here/ trousers are worn than on the small islands, 22 of the 35 natives observed wore vala and 13 wore long trousers. Here too the Tongans
[292] wearing trousers almost all own a vala for special occasions.

291 The following list may show the specific combination of articles of clothing:

/52/ On November 28, 1951, a sunny day with a sharp breeze, a group of house-builders on Nomuka, along with a kava-group sponsoring this work, wore the following clothes:

100: Koch--72 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

/51 cont./

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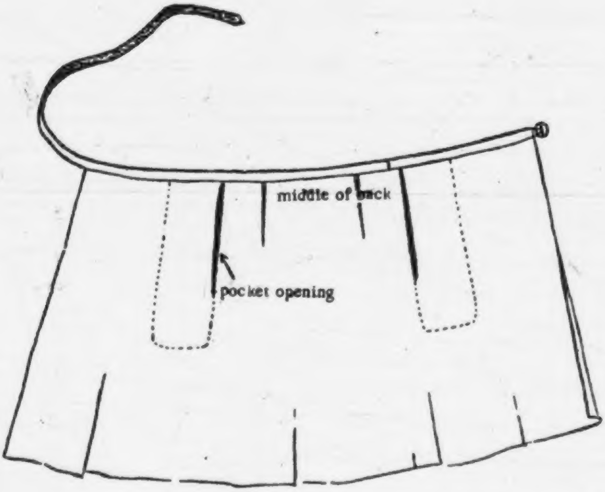

vala faka-Fisi
(Expedition Collection, No. 84)

291 /52 cont./

A. House-builders

young Tonga	white shirt	gray vala
" "	" "	black vala
" "	blue "	gray vala
" "	black "	dark blue vala
" "	naked torso	black vala
" "	white gym shirt	light beige shorts
" "	white shirt	long gray pants
" "	red "	long brown pants
" "	white "	long gray pants
" "	" gym shirt	long light gray pants
" "	purple overalls	

/52 cont./

291 be uncomfortable. They adhere to this not so much because of the law, but because they realize that the shirt means civilization, an approximation of the respected world of the whites, and that the naked torso /53/ is something "barbaric." (129)

[126]
[123]

129. The author had difficulty, in photographing Tongans, to persuade them to remove their shirts, for they did not want to look "like savages"; when they go fishing, many Tongans enter the water fully clothed, that is, with shirt and vala.

[186]
[565] The vala owes its firmly entrenched position, however, not only to a certain national pride, but also to the fact that it has become an article of clothing of the commoners who were once underprivileged.

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[752] The Tongans usually go barefoot, as in olden times. Some natives wear shoes after a foot injury, to let the wound heal, and today there are also some young Tongans on the small islands as well as in the seaports who wear white tennis shoes, only because they find it "nice," because it looks "European," whereas some employees in the government and in the large department stores like to wear leather sandals. Most Tongans also still go bareheaded. Only now and then they wear old felt hats, sun helmets and hats plaited of halved coconut palm leaves; (130)

130. For example, simple-shaped hats that college students like to make, and others that imitate certain European models (tata faka-polisi=police caps, helemiti=sun helmets).

sometimes they also wrap a cloth around their heads as a protection against the sun, just as people formerly protected themselves against the sun's rays, for example, on the plantations and on the sea, with various kinds of head coverings. (131)

131. Cf. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 167; J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

/53 cont./

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The Tongan women who once wrapped their tapa vala around their waists directly below the breasts and let it hang down to their ankles, (132)

[565]
(184)
132. Apparently nobles as well as commoners; the former probably with a tapa piece of larger dimensions.

and in addition wore a narrow mat around their waists, (133)

133. G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 326/327; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 347.

have, in the course of missionization, become accustomed to clothing the upper part of their bodies. However, the voluminous, sacklike mission garments still customary in 1910, often with lace trimmings at neck and sleeves, and with a vala cloth that was slung over or under this and reached almost to the ground, have today changed to the extent that they are shorter and more fitted. Most Tongan women have already become accustomed to European underwear (including brassieres). Mail-order catalogs from firms in Australia or New Zealand, magazines, newspapers, films and the few white women themselves--besides the shops in the seaports--give the female natives of the entire Archipelago enough incentive always to sew their own "modern" creations. Some young Tongan women no longer wear the vala, /54/ justifying this, not always honestly, by saying that it is "too warm" for them; they prefer clothes that in shape, length and decollete are very close to European models. As in hair styles, feminine vanity and the imitative impulse quickly forget the old and the traditional. Yet the vala (134)

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134. Either underneath of on top of the dress, as preferred.

is still part of the dress of the majority of Tongan women (that is, all older women and the majority of younger ones). (135)

135. On a workday, for example, in 'Uiha/'Uiha (a typical village of the Ha'apai group), of the 63 women counted, 54 of them (30

/54 cont./

291 177 178 older ones and 25 younger ones) wore a *vala*, whereas nine (one older and eight younger ones) dispensed with it. A similar count in the small village of Fungamisi, which borders on the urban seaport of Neiafu/Vava'u, showed 20 Tongan women (eleven older and nine younger ones) with the *vala* and five (two older and three younger ones) without it.

291 In compliance with the wishes of early missionaries, no Tongan
177 woman is now seen in public with naked breasts. Even ten-year-old
797 girls bathe fully dressed. However, in the villages of the small
[515] islands young women and girls still work in their huts with naked
[184] torsos, and some of the village women's naked breasts thrust through
[831] torn undershirts and tattered blouses probably have a more provocative
effect on the male inhabitants than did the natural, unclothed female
torso of former days. For, the well-meaning puritanical missionaries
were unable to go on providing for the constant supply of costly, full
291 covering. Since the Tongan woman scarcely knows how to take care of her
296 clothes--she will actually go into the bush wearing a new silk dress--
and cannot keep acquiring new ones, the female everyday clothing on the
small islands is often quite untidy. Things are better in the seaports,
292 and the Sunday-best of Tongan women throughout the Archipelago is pretty
(184) immaculate. For church, festivals, etc., women wear a *ta'o-vala* (like
the male population) over their dresses; often this is also replaced by
the lighter *ta'o-vala kie-kie* (136)

[824] [294] (176) 136. The *ta'o-vala kie-kie* is a narrow belt plaited of strips of pandanus leaves (*lou tofua*-like) with a black design, and with pendant strips plaited in the same way. It was "invented" some years ago as the colleges and soon became popular with women, and sometimes also men. See p. 308-310 for how it is made.

and a bast belt, the *mana fau*,(137)

/54 cont./

292 [824] (294)

137. This is plaited from bast of the Hibiscus tiliaceus, has long, pendant bast fibers and is entirely in natural color. See pp. 321/324 for method of production.

as well as the much-worn kie-kie lou fau. (138)

[824] (294)

138. A belt likewise plaited on Hibiscus tiliaceus bast, with long pendant bast fibers, but more artistic and dyed with European colors (for instance, crimson, purple, blue, pink, green, vermilion); also a variation called kie-kie Lopa decorated with red tree seeds (Adenathera pavonina). See p. 323-324 for method of production.

291 Tongan women still commonly go barefoot. Some wear sandals or white tennis shoes, more in the seaports, naturally, than on the small [177) islands. A few also struggle with European /55/ women's shoes. --Turbans made of undyed tapa (feta'aki) sometimes temporarily wound /around the head/ as a protection against the sun are reminiscent of similar head coverings of times past. (139)

139. Cf. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

292 177 Hats (tata lou 'akau) (140)

140. Cf. pp. 320-323.

292 [824) (294) plaited of leaf strips of pandanus (lou tofua and lou kie), which older women only wear for church and younger women and girls also on other festive occasions or merely as a sun shield on Sundays, go back to mission influence. (141)

141. The "sun hats" mentioned by Cook (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280) were very probably different.

[794] They were introduced at that time by missionaries for women and girls who had made a confession, as a sign of their membership in the congregation.

294 296 178 Among the new tasks of sewing, washing and mending, (142)

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/55 cont./

142. The former tapa clothing simply wore out and was replaced by new clothing.

the Tongan women have become most adept at sewing. In tailoring and sewing (especially with the help of hand sewing machines) they 296 achieve astonishing skill. In the task of laundering, the Polynesian feeling for cleanliness can fully unfold; often vala, shirts and dresses that have been worn only once disappear in the zinc tubs where, amidst a great expenditure of curd soap, without previous soaking, often only in lukewarm water, they are scrubbed clean on glass and zinc washboards, an abuse which most clothing can withstand for only a limited time. Most Tongan women seem to be on a war path with mending; for all too often the progressive deterioration of their albeit always clean clothing goes on unchecked, and the ragged thing is (tardily) replaced by something new--as was formerly the case with tapa. However, as has been mentioned, there is a difference to be (184) noted between the small islands and the seaports; the clothing in the latter seems better cared for.

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The European-Christian influence on children's clothing has been less persistent. Referring to ancient Tongans, Mariner said that children up to about two years were unclothed in the house, (143)

(114)
143. J. Martin loc. cit. II. p. 347; it is not clear whether this note applied only to the families of chiefs or to commoners as well.

and Dumont d'Urville reported that boys went about naked for a long time, though little girls were apt to be clothed, (144)

144. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

whereas in 1857 the Mission announced that "the youngest Christian child...(wore) white tapa around its hips." (145)

145. Geschichte der christlichen Missionen... /History of Christian Missions/ loc. cit. p. 41.

/55 cont./

291 Yet nowadays, on the small islands (as well as on the outskirts of
the "chief city") one sees children (especially boys) run around
naked up to about five years (in exceptional cases up to nine years)
[296] even /56/ on Sundays. The reason for this is the indifference and
convenience of the parents who, because of the rapid deterioration of
fabrics resulting from improper treatment naturally find it very
difficult always to dress their numerous children (as many as 12)
"decently." As a rule, however, people make an effort to dress their
[177] children in small vala or panties of European fabric, and if possible,
[292] make small shirts for boys and little dresses for girls to wear on
Sundays, often with the addition of small ta'o-vala for the boys.

291 Summarizing the change in Tongan clothing, we note primarily
177 the replacement of the tapa and a definitive acceptance of full
178 covering. Tongan women, when dyeing (koka'anga) the long lengths of
[386] tapa, often wrap a piece of old tapa around their hips to protect
their fabric clothing from color spatters. If they come as guests
[574] to a festival they will sometimes wear, as a vala, the tapa they have
[431] brought their hosts as a gift, and at many large dances (146)
[535] women and men (if they take part) still like to adorn themselves
with tapa. Aside from that, however, tapa as clothing has disappeared from Tongan life. Moreover, in the villages and in public no Tongan man or woman may defy the general fashion of clothing the upper part of their bodies. Yet the change is not as complete as in other areas of Polynesia, for example on Tahiti. For most of the Tongan men and women still adhere to the form of the vala and wear the belt mats (ta'o-vala)--probably no less than in ancient Tonga. Footgear and headgear have not become common.

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146. For example, the laka-laka, ula, ma'ulu'ulu and me'etu'upaki. For details see "Dances," p. 395 ff.

/56 cont./

291 Thus the field of clothing shows how old indigenous cultural
177 assets and new imported ones exist side by side and in part have been
178 blended to a unity that seems natural to the natives. The Tongans
adopted the European fabrics because they are far more practical
(washable and more durable) than tapa, because, with their printed
patterns and the brilliant colors some of which they had never
seen before, they seem desirable, and because they are products of
Europe which they admire. Convenience was a lesser consideration,
[296] for the money for purchase of the fabrics must be earned, keeping
[432] them clean requires assiduous care, and the tapa continues to be
[287] laboriously made--for festivities, as sleeping mats, etc.--to such
an extent that in most villages of Tonga, and even in the "chief
city" of Nuku'alofa one can still hear the pounding of the tapa
mallet almost every workday.

/57/ It is doubtful whether in future the vala will be replaced altogether by trousers and the short dress. Though for certain work, trousers are much more practical than the vala, yet the latter is easier to make, to put on and to clean, and above all more comfortable in the warm climate. To judge by the present state of affairs, the majority of Tongans will probably retain the vala. Certainly it will continue to exist in the exalted realm of solemn occasions and festivities--provided the Tongan government does not officially introduce a different development in the wake of special Europeanization measures.

Adornment

301 The adornment of the Tongans has also undergone a change. Today
178 the natives adorn themselves relatively little compared to the wealth
of adornment mentioned in the old sources about Tonga. In the pre-
[237] [824] European and early European era there were necklaces of snail shells,

301 565 237 (113) /57 cont./

152. Cf. J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 311 ff; H. Plischke, "Ein Brustschmuck von Tonga-tabu und die Verarbeitung von Walknochen in Polynesien" /A chest ornament from Tonga-tabu and how whalebone is worked in Polynesia/ in Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Fachgruppe II, Mittelalter /?/ und Neue Geschichte. New series. vol. II no. 7. 1939. p. 137.

and the large feather-headdress. (153)

153. Compare J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 280.

301 177 178 797 The causes for the disappearance of this ornament are probably to be sought in the general deterioration of the old crafts which in Tonga (as on the other islands /58/ of Polynesia) began with the import of European goods and tools, as well as in the attitude of the puritanical missionaries who were surely not favorably disposed toward adornment.

301 824 (178) Nowadays Tongans prefer perishable plant adornment. The necklaces (kakala) of blossoms, leaves and seed capsules familiar since ancient times and already mentioned by Cook, (154)

154. J. Cook, loc, cit. p. 281.

Ellis, (155)

155. W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/. loc. cit. p. 94.

and Dumont d'Urville, (156)

156. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la Corvette L'Astrolabe.../Voyage of the corvette L'Astrolabe/. loc, cit. IV. p. 285.

are worn by young men, girls (also women) and children on many occasions. (157)

157. For example, at festivals, cooperative work

/58 cont./

301 237 are also seen nowadays on some Tongan women and a few men. But they
301 have been altered by inlays of silver ornaments (rhomboids, crosses,
237 dots) obtained from melted silver coins. Several Tongan "experts"
326 in Nuku'alofa and Neiafu make these rings which are dispersed from the
301 seaports throughout the Archipelago. Inventive Tongans make rings out
177 of a tortoise shell substitute, namely the black celluloid rims of
326 bicycle pumps, and also decorate them with silver designs. Occasion-
301 ally one sees tortoise shell bracelets which in /59/ workmanship and
[237] inlays resemble tortoise shell rings and in shape are simple spirals.

Some Tongan women own gold finger rings (162)

(177) 162. A few Tongan men also wear these in imitation of the European custom of wedding rings.

and gold and silver bracelets; a few have necklaces of the same
301 material. This European adornment has not become very widespread
177 during the last decades. The gold rings were heavier in the recent
past than the ones preferred nowadays. Among the few "durable
ornaments" worn nowadays we must count the plastic combs which some
Tongan women wear in their hair and which to some extent replace
the beautiful old rodlet combs. (163)

163. G. Forster, loc. cit. p. 328.

302 The only survival of face painting seems to be the coloring of cheeks with the blood of freshly killed pigs that is sometimes practised by young boys.

301 The colorful belt of hibiscus bast, kie-kie lou fau, (164)
292 164. See page 323.
535 which was mentioned under clothing and which often replaces the ta'o-
824 vala of women and girls, may also be regarded as adornment, as may the
dance shirts worn by Tongan women on the occasion of big dances, (165)

/59 cont./

301 292 535 824 165. For example, kofu lou fau knotted of colored hibiscus bast for the laka-laka, ula and tau'olunga dances; kofu lou 'akau, of white tapa (feta 'aki) with mohokoi leaves (Cananga odorata), which are stitched on with hibiscus bast for the laka-laka and ma'ulu'ulu dances; sala sipi-sipi of tapa (feta'aki) dyed with European dye for the laka-laka, ma'ulu'ulu tau'olunga dances. Dance shirts are also made of white tapa (feta'aki) studded with shimmering shells or red seed capsules. For dances some /women/ like to adorn themselves with maile leaves (Alyxia species) around neck, waist and wrists.

and the tapa vala trimmed with leaves, worn on similar occasions by women and by the men who may possibly take part. In the kie-kie lou 292 535 177 301 fau, the dance shirts and the dance vala, old and new cultural assets are fused, the Tongan basic material and ancient basic forms being "enriched" with European dyes, imported plants and novel form elements (for example, sleeves, decorations).

301 184 565 There is no longer a distinction made between nobles and commoners in the realm of adornment.

301 177 178 In general, it made be said of today's adornment in Tonga that the former varied richness it represented for the native has gone and was in no sense replaced by European cultural assets. The plant adornment, as well as the (partly altered) dance garments are the only important vestiges which, to be sure, are still very much bound up with Tongan life.

/60/

Tattooing

304 [178] [182] In the art of tattooing there was an even greater change, which we may characterize as degeneration.

In ancient Tonga all men, with the exception of the highest dignitaries, (166)

166. Probably on account of special taboos.

/60 cont./

304 However, a large number of men and older women in Tonga wear tattoo
178 marks (*tatatau*) in the form of letters (block letters), namely their
initials, chiefly on the inside of their forearms. (171)

171. Their forearms are usually bare (short or rolled-up sleeves).

[532] In addition, one sees a few men who have pictorial tattoos, such as
birds, (dove, the Tongan heraldic animal), lions or two crossed flags.
These are generally worn on top of the forearm or on the chest.

Thus we find an essential change in Tongan tattooing: the old ornaments have been lost and in their place /61/ have appeared the prosaic, though in Tonga greatly esteemed letters, as well as a few European symbols. And tattooing shifted from the parts of the body generally clothed (hidden tattoos) chiefly to the unclothed forearms (visible tattoos).

Usually the operation is undertaken at the age of 16, which
probably corresponds to the age for ancient Tongan tattooing. In
[177] place of the old comblike bone instuments the Tongans now use
European (sewing) needles (*hui*),,thorns of orange twigs (*tala 'i moli*)
and needles of the *kakatisi* tree (*tala 'i kakatisi*), sometimes also
[386] shark's teeth. As in former times, they take the soot of burned
Aleurites or, since it is more convenient, the soot on iron cooking
pots, mix it with water, apply this black liquid to the skin part to
be tattooed (on the design), puncture the skin with the needle
through the color solution and then wipe off the soot water--along with
the blood--from the surface of the skin. After a few days the punctured
skin becomes blackish and the tattoo is fully visible. Occasionally
they now also use red ink instead of the soot water. The length
of time required depends on the energy of the person being tattooed
and his ability to withstand pain; about an hour is the average. In
[463] general, any Tongan can perform this type of tattooing, but there are

304 /61 cont./
178
463
some natives who are especially experienced and expert. The present non-specialization is one reason why tattoos usually lack all refinement and appear clumsy.

304
178
Even these simple tattoos seem to be becoming gradually fewer, though many young men and some girls still have them done. A person who has himself tattooed does it because he regards it as "beautiful," as an adornment; moreover, the undertaking satisfies the need of many young Tongan men to appear strong and brave. However, tattoos are no longer an indispensable attribute of manliness; no one holds a non-tattooed person in contempt. Many an older Tongan regards his tattoos as a curiosity from the past and advises his children against "disfiguring" their bodies. In fact, it is not certain whether today's method of tattooing is a degenerate remnant of ancient Tongan tattooing art, or whether the latter died out some 100 years ago and the "modern procedure" was then borrowed--perhaps from European seamen. However, the term tatatau is the same today as it was in ancient Tonga. (172)

172. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 265.

/62/

Circumcision

304
The ancient Tonga custom of circumcision (173)

173. Compare J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 264/265.

(kakau or tefe) has persisted undiminished to this day. All male Tongans, probably without exception, are circumcised. The custom is so deeply rooted in the people that centuries of European influence have led to no decrease, and an adult Tongan, indeed, even a boy of 13 or 14, would be ashamed if he were not circumcised; in any case, he would be talked about in the village. [177]

Commonly, boys between the ages of six and twelve (most often nine or ten) submit to circumcision. Their parents make the appointment with the person undertaking it who usually circucises several

/63 cont./

304 852 meaning to it. (175)

175. Many Tongans are of the opinion that circumcision is necessary for reasons of cleanliness (see also J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 280.

A small festivity in connection with circumcision was still common 40 or 50 years ago. Relatives and friends were invited and a castrated pig, which was raised over a period of two or three years expressly for this purpose, was roasted. The old sources do not report anything about speical rites connected with circumcision, and there probably were none. However, the attitude toward circumcision seems to have become more matter-or-fact. (176) (178)

176. Shifting circumcision to hospitals and small stations--that is, away from the village community--no doubt partly contributed to this development.

304 177 178 Apart from that, and from the use of European instruments and new methods, and a lowering of the age for circumcision (177)

177. Circumcision is said to have taken place in ancient Tonga at the age of 14 (Geschichte der christlichen Missionen.../History of Christian missions/. loc. cit. o. 48); village community life and common schooling of youngsters are probably the reasons why they are now circumcised between the ages of six and twelve.

the ancient custom is still in full force.

2. THEIR SOCIAL ORDER

A. Family Life

a) Marriage, Family, Kinship

594 581 588 The Tongan family consists of husband, wife and children. As a rule, marriage is contracted properly according to law and Tongan custom (festivity). There are also "common-law" marriages (that is, couples live together without sanction of the law and the church), but there are regarded as exceptions. (178)

/67 cont./

593 837 ancient Tongan custom, for Mariner already reports "that no man is
[178] understood to be bound to conjugal fidelity," /cited in English/ (191)

191. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 175.

but he adds that most men remain reasonably faithful to their wives and that excesses in extramarital relations on the part of the men are not looked upon with favor. Today in Tonga there is something
587 resembling "successive polygamy" in which the marriage partners
586 dissolve the marriage and enter into one marriage after another. Thus, in April 1952, among the 82 marriages formally adhered to in 'Uiha, there were 12 in which the partners had separated without a regular divorce. In eight cases the husband, in four cases the wife "departed" (acting on their own initiative, usually to relatives in another island of the Archipelago), with no thought of even returning,
178 and soon entered another marriage. This free attitude toward married
586 life is reminiscent of ancient Tongan times when, according to
587 Mariner's calculation, some two-thirds of all women were married, of these half stayed with their husbands, while the rest were married and quickly divorced again, only to be remarried three, four or five times during their lives. (192)

192 J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 167/168.

[562] Since freedom to dissolve the marriage in ancient Tonga was almost entirely the husband's privilege, we must note here a certain change in favor of the wife.

581 However, Tongan marriage seems more stable today than it was in
178 old times, (193)

586
177 193. Also compare the figures given above with reference to unmarried individuals in 'Uiha and Fungamisi.

especially since, through the Christianization of Tonga, /68/ it was reinforced to a certain extent by religion, and lawful divorce is no

/68 cont./

581 178 longer as easy as it formerly was. (194)

586 177 194. According to Mariner, a divorce by the husband occurred "with no other ceremony than just telling her that she may go..." /cited in English/ (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 173.)

587 586 Nevertheless, many a nonchalant Tongan thinks nothing of leaving his spouse and establishing himself in another household in the village, in order to enter another marriage without being in a hurry about legal divorce with its attendant costs.

585 162 178 The number of married persons is larger today than it was in pre-European times, if the statements of the generally quite reliable Mariner are correct. (195)

195. Mariner says one-third of the women are unmarried (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168.)

592 565 178 There is no reason to doubt that in the past the household of the majority of commoners working as farmers consisted of approximately the same number of persons as today. (196)

(589) (463) 196. The unmarried women lived mainly as servants on the properties of the chiefs (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168), just as male commoners were used as cooks and humble workmen (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 92.

[597] Certain numerical differences could only have come about through the adoption of children, in case this was as common as Gifford assumes. (197)

197. E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. p. 26; compare with this the numbers given above of today's adopted children.

592 565 The rather impressive household of nobles resulting from polygamy and numerous servants has, however, with few exceptions, been reduced to the general standard (of commoners).

/69 cont./

593 784 his head in the mirror, without being actually stopped by their parents.

593 784 178 [513] The brother-sister taboo has remained stronger among all classes, although it too has been eased. Brother and sister may not, for example, sleep in the same house if they are more than nine or twelve years old. This taboo is still commonly observed in Tongan-style houses, and another small house is built for the sons, while the daughters may sleep in the house of the parents. In the [177] [513] European-style wooden houses one may occasionally observe this custom being relaxed, with the siblings sleeping in different rooms (with closed doors) of the same house. According to the ancient taboo, the brother was not permitted to come to the house of the sister, nor the latter to the brother's house. This prohibition has been relaxed; [516] for the siblings may go enter each other's dwelling by example, the sister wishes to enter the room in which her brother is sitting, near the entrance, she enters through another entrance, and her brother does not remain lying down or casually sitting, but gets up, straightens out his vala, and then sits down with properly crossed legs. [264] The taboo against brother and sister eating together has been relaxed to the extent that the siblings may partake of a meal in the same place and at the same time, but they must not sit next to, or near, each other. Whereas in old times, brother and [521] sister were not permitted to converse, and necessary question always had to be asked from outside through the hut's wall and answered from inside, today they speak together freely, but by no means about off-color subjects, and they conscientiously avoid all "bad words." According to the old brother-sister taboo, they were also not permitted to go for a walk together. Nowadays, this sometimes occurs.

This noticeable weakening of both the child-father taboo and the

/70 cont./

887 work along with them to the extent that they are able or disposed, to and try to make themselves useful, the way they have apparently always done. At the same time they enjoy the respect of the younger ones. (202)

202. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 97.

177
178 Thus one may say that the old family structure of the broad masses of the Tongan populace (including the commoners) has endured with scarcely any change. Monogamy of commoners and the structure
[797] of their households were quite in keeping with the ideas of the
[595] missionaries who were the most important representatives of
[592] European influences during the decisive decades. Ancient Tongan
[585] marriage was strengthened by Christian doctrine, as well as by the
[423] church wedding, (203)
[642]

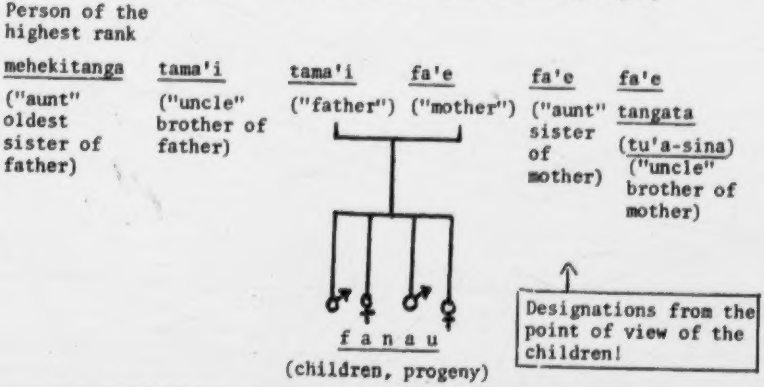
203. Including registration with public authorities.

and by individual land ownership (lifelong tenancy) resulting from the new Constitution of 1875. The epoch that began with Christianization,
177 on the other hand, brought certain, to some extent decisive, /71/
797 innovations in family living. The frequent church attendance, family prayers, and the absolute hallowing of Sunday, as well as children's daily school attendance introduced by the missionaries, created, at least temporarily, a new family organization. Yet even
[581] the most zealous puritanical missionaries have to this day not succeeded in entirely suppressing the freer Tongan attitudes toward marriage. (204)

[837] 204. Typical seems the case of the married Tongan F. who is an intimate friend of various girls and women of his village, and assured the author that for a long time after each nocturnal visit with his girl friends he was very careful to observe "whether anything happened from above"; yet he had to say that he never experienced a punishment from heaven for his behavior.

/71 cont./

601 The ancient Tongan kinship terms have remained alive. Though
177 English is taught in the village schools, of all inhabited islands
[191] European kinship concepts have not been adopted, and even rather
[871] competent English-speaking natives have considerably difficulty
explaining their relationship to a particular person to whites who
601 are unfamiliar with the language of their country. Without going
554 into the complexity of Tongan kinship terms more deeply, (205) let us give here a brief survey of the more immediate family:


Person of the highest rank
mehekitanga
("aunt" oldest sister of father)
tama'i
("uncle" brother of father)
tama'i
("father")
fa'e
("mother")
fa'e
("aunt" sister of mother)
fa'e
tangata
(tu'a-sina)
("uncle" brother of mother)
♂
♀
♂
♀
f a n a u
(children, progeny)

Designations from the point of view of the children!

604 The mehekitanga, the father's (eldest" sister is the most
554 important of all the persons mentioned here. The children of the family have the greatest respect for her, and this is still to be seen in certain rules of avoidance; for example, the children are not permitted to eat any food of the mehekitana. (206)

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205. These terms have been described in detail by Gifford (compare E. W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. pp. 27 ff. and elsewhere.

206. Also, no part of the same orange, for instance.

/71 cont./

604 Their feelings are therefore freer and more natural toward their
554 maternal aunt, the fa'e (sister of the mother), whom they generally
love more. The /72/ brothers of the father (tama'i) enjoy a high
position. Above all, his oldest brother is a leading authoritative
personality in the family. His advice is followed, as in old times.
Those who disregard it are looked upon by the public as "badly brought
up." The fa'e tangata or tu'a-sina is the person of lowest rank.
The children (207) of his sister(s) have all kinds of privileges with regard to him. (208)
These are symbolically displayed in public when, at wedding feasts,
they may sit on the lap of their tu'a-sina, and even empty a cup of
604 kava over him. In everyday life, according to ancient Tongan custom,
425 one is entitled to take from this uncle's possessions whatever one likes
or needs (with or without asking for it). Everyone knows that a
[671] Tongan law of almost seven decades forbids this and punishes it as
[685] "theft"; yet in the small villages of the remote islands people still
quite generally take from their mother's brother whatever they happen
to want. It is only in the urbanized seaports where, through trade
[177] with whites, the European idea of property has become more common
(good on payment only), and among the rising generation who are
having a more intensive schooling, people have become more thoughtful
and no longer, without hesitation, appropriate things of greater or
medium value. However, most Tongans help themselves when they are
with their tu'a-sina. They will eat their fill at his place, fetch
products from his planting, and also take objects, pigs, chickens,
etc. To be sure, they will often first ask, that is, they will
announce their wish or intention, and will, on occasion, even pay,

207. Boys as well as girls; the younger ones, if need be, must give way to the older ones.

208. For the children in the female line these even extend to the children of this uncle.

/72 cont./

604 as they see fit, for a pig they have taken. Some Tongans will also
425 take something belonging to their uncle without asking him, and feel
that such acts are not stealing, since they will openly answer their
uncle's questions about his lost property.--The author met a Tongan
on 'Uiha who, as recently as 1937, took a house belonging to his
uncle. (209)

> 209. Many a tu'a-sina will also voluntarily give pleasure to his nephew with more important objects.

604 In a few families where there has been a rift this old custom is
425 naturally not acted upon, since the taker will have to reckon with
685 the fact that the "injured" one will react with a legal complaint
578 (if he dares do so within the village community). The extremely
604 wide range of this custom which even today, in spite of almost seven
425 decades of contrary European influence among all classes, still
177 prevails (though to some extent relaxed) shows how very much the
178 Tongans can cling to their ancient social order.

592 As in former times, the family in a wider sense still has an
554 eldest (ulu i he famili) who has a certain control over the entire
/73/ group of kin (in the paternal line) and acts authoritatively
on important occasions. For example, in case of a death he calls
together the individual related families and consults with them
about the nature and procedure of the funeral ceremony. This
"eldest is often the grandfather's (oldest) brother or the latter's
592 oldest son. Today, however, age does not seem to be the only
554 decisive factor in the succession, since middle-aged Tongans may
556 absolutely assume the position of "eldest" by reason of their
178 wealth in material goods and their greater influence resulting
from it. Even though, in former times as well--according to the
memory of various individuals--, Tongans achieved the position

/74 cont./

848 to begin with are regarded with suspicion in such cases. Most
582 young Tongan men seem to marry another girl than the one with whom
836 they have had pre-marital intercourse.

836 Apart from the aforementioned limited decrease of pre-marital
177 intercourse as a result of European influence (mission work), the
178 present situation as described corresponds more or less to ancient
Tongan times. For Mariner already tells us of the freedom of unmarried girls (212)

212. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 176.

and of certain difficulties in winning a girl (unmarried woman). (213)

213. The same, loc. cit. II. p. 174.

178 Then, as today, unmarried men seldom try married women (214)

836 214. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 176.

837 and promiscuity and prostitution are scarcely noticeable on the small
548 islands. (215)

215. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 174/175.

177 However, the often inglorious behavior of foreign troops on Tongatapu
548 during the Second World /75/ War has led to the fact that in Nuku'alofa,
562 for example, various Tonga women offer themselves for money, and in
the seaports a certain roughness of young Tongan men in their conduct toward females may probably be traced back to the influence of war.

Nuptials

581 Tongans usually marry out of personal affection and practical
584 affection and practical considerations. Often the parents of the man
or girl try to dispose them toward a "better" match, and the couple will sometimes ignore the parents' will ("flight marriage," see p. 96). Childhood betrothals arranged by the parents (216)

216. These are mentioned by Mariner for roughly one-third of the married women (to men of higher rank than commoners) (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. p. 167).

/75 cont./

584 apparently occur more seldom today. Kinship marriages (cousins) are
582 very rare, since the brother-sister taboo extends to this degree
of relationship and is still very much in effect. However, as in
former times, people like to marry on the same island and in the
same district--though avoiding all kinfolk.

832 The Tongan ideal of feminine beauty has changed. The obese type
177 with very fat legs is no longer favored, but rather the well-rounded,
somewhat sturdy girl is preferred. This change of taste undoubtedly
came about through acquaintance with the European ideal by way of
films and photographs in magazines and newspapers. Yet the beautiful
white girl type is still too thin for most Tongans.

581 A young man who likes a girl because of her beauty and/or her
domestic efficiency and her character well enough to marry her may not
at once become friends with her publicly. An unmarried Tongan man is
584 generally not permitted (217)
to go for a walk with a girl in the village. The girl's reputation
(558) would be ruined if, for example, she were seen sitting alone with
a young man on the beach by moonlight. Such "English customs"
[177] are still disapproved by most Tongans. European manifestations
832 of tenderness--such as a kiss on the lips--have not found general
177 acceptance. (218)

574 The best opportunity to become acquainted with a girl, to be
584 together with her, is still the social event of a kava gathering.
276 (219)

571 217. That is to say, on the small islands; in the seaports this custom is being relaxed.

218. The nose kiss (*'uma*) is, however, still very common; this touching of nose to nose (while holding one's breath) is done chiefly when relatives greet each other after a rather long separation.

/78 cont./ A

585 292 177 "European wedding," that is to say, one in European wedding dress, (224)

224. Namely: long white dress, veil and shoes for the bride, white suit and shoes for the bridegroom (with a flower in his buttonhole); often with flower girls and an English wedding cake.

is rare, even in the seaports. This type of wedding is arranged either because people want to imitate the example of whites or for the simple reason that they are not in a position to be extravagant with traditional Tongan things (mats), and the European wedding finery is perhaps more easily obtainable; both reasons may also come together.

585 602 The bridegroom with his relatives now fetches his bride and her relatives from her house and leads her to his place. /79/ Close relatives of the bridal couple (especially the respective tu'a-sina [see above]) follow the bridegroom and bride in this procession, carrying the wedding baskets (kato alu; see p. 317), in which lie a European bottle with Tongan oil (lolo Tonga), a head rest (kali) and other personal articles, each on a ta'o-vala (225)

225. See page 308.

585 178 184 This custom is, however, becoming rather infrequent nowadays. In a town like Fungamisi (neighboring village of the seaport Neiafu/Vava'u) a kato uli is no longer seen at any wedding, and in a village like 'Uiha (on the more remote island of 'Uiha) only a few weddings take place with a wedding basket, whereas in Felemea, situated on the same island, one may see the kato alu being used more often, and even Tongans who normally use a European pillow for sleeping, have a headrest carried behind them at their wedding.

585 574 554 At the bridegroom's place a long roofing of plaited coconut palm twigs (also often of corrugated iron) is erected, underneath

/79 cont./

585 574 which all the guests seat themselves along with the couple who occupy
[554] the place of honor, namely the chieftain's place. Even at a simple
585 wedding there may be 80 persons assembled. It is now three or four
574 o'clock in the afternoon. Kava is prepared, (226)

276 226. See page 144ff.

and the bride, as the principal person, is given the most honorable, third cup, even if it is a wedding of commoners and a chief is present as a guest. In this kava circle the bride and bridegroom sit on the
[604] laps of their respective maternal uncles (tu'a-sina). Following this,
585 the mats and tapa brought as gifts by the two kinship groups are dis-
574 tributed, after the bridal couple have received their share, and
431 the contents of the earth oven (or ovens, see above) are distributed among the relatives of the bride and groom. This food is not immediately eaten (or only part of it) while most of it (227)

227. Sometimes a regular meal is eaten.

585 is taken home. The bride also goes to her paternal home along with her relatives, while the bridegroom remains behind.

It is only on the following evening, or even after two or three
(177) days, that the bride returns with her relatives; her mother or her mother's brother (tu'a-sina) carries her bed (mats, (228)

228. They consist chiefly of the fala paongo, fala tutu'ila, fala fihu.

tapa and usually a European sheet and pillow) into the house of the
[574] bridegroom. The relatives (229)

[276] [202] [178] 229. According to the original custom, only older women who acted as witnesses; today, however, a rather large circle of individuals of both sexes.

of both sides gather together in a kava circle which lasts into the night, amid talking and singing: they are waiting for the marriage to be consummated. The next morning, the sheet (or tapa) is

/79 cont./ The next morning, the sheet (or tapa) is
585 examined and if it is /80/ stained with blood they fire a shot of joy
[202] with an old shotgun, or in some other way make known their pleasure
that the bride's virginity has been proved. The sheet (or the
sleep-tapa) is publicly displayed and then carried from the bride-
groom's place to the place of the bride's mother. The contents of an
immediately prepared earth oven, in addition to mats and tapa, are
brought by the kinfolk of the young man to the family of the young
wife--in recognition of the fact that her mother had carefully watched
[602] over her daughter. The young wife is kept on her sleeping place, is
bathed by her relatives, combed and adorned, lovingly treated like a
sick person and nursed with good food.--If the wished-for sign does
not appear on the sheet, nothing happens the next morning. The young
wife is then obliged to perform ordinary, everyday work, that is,
rake leaves, cook, wash, etc. The villagers see this and know what
has happened. (230)

230. A few Tongan maintain that for this reason "smart" girls who are no longer virgins arrange the date of their wedding (that is, the consummation of the marriage) to coincide with the days of their menstruation.

585 The last part of the wedding, however, is no longer common in
178 this form. Often the marriage is consummated the first night after the wedding, and many times the stained sheet is no longer displayed. Various Tongans who have some knowledge of European conditions reject this custom as being "low," barbaric.

[177] A few couples have recently also imitated the European example of the honeymoon by traveling to a small island after the wedding celebration.

585 On the whole, a great deal of ancient Tongan tradition has been
177 preserved in the wedding procedure. Indeed, the tradition seems to
178 the observer to be the essential, decisive element to which the civil

/80 cont./

585 and ecclesiastical ceremonies were simply added, just as other
177 European characteristics (for example, the large canisters of
178 zwieback which today are so important) were adopted as a matter of
course, so that everything has undergone an amicable fusion. The
585
565 upper classes (231)
--up to the royal house--cling more tenaciously than the commoners to
the old wedding customs (with respect to clothing as well as the
585 punctiliously preserved ceremony). Probably the lavish use of Tongan
565 apparel seen at many weddings of commoners is not to be interpreted as
292 tradition handed down from olden times, since the broad masses were
178 formerly obliged to work for the nobles; (232)
rather, most of the people probably /81/ gradually came into
possession of valuable mats and long lengths of tapa only after their
"liberation," in respectful but purposive imitation of upper-class
customs.

585 Today, among commoners, it may also come about that young couples
583 --with the silent approval of their parents--stage a "flight marriage,"
178 that is to say, run away and have a civil and church marriage. This
saves the parents the economic burden of the wedding celebration.
585 That, along with the rather frequent abolishing at the regular
178 marriage of the delayed consummation, (233)

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178 231. These very probably practiced all such customs even in olden times more extensively and conscientiously than did the broad masses.

[422] 232. Compare J. Martin (loc. cit. II. p. 109) on the women of the lower classes in ancient Tonga: "...what they make is not their own property, but is done by order of their superiors." /cited in English/

[565] 233. According to E.W. Gifford (Tongan Society, p. 193), the marriage among commoners was in former times consummated during the first

/82 cont./

846 festivities. It is simply customary for relatives (especially those
574 of the mother) and neighbors to come, in order to see the newborn child
846 and to bring gifts, such as tapa, (small) mats, a basket of yams, a
574 431 chicken, or European articles such as baby powder, for example. They
are offered food that has been prepared in advance, and soon (after
[602] one or two hours) the visitors return home. It is only after the birth of the first child in the family that the father with his kinsmen prepares a very large earth oven for the kinfolk of his wife, they form a kava circle and the two family groups exchange gifts of mats and tapa. Some families also repeat this celebration after subsequent births.

853 The Tongan mother begins feeding her baby by chewing a piece of coconut meat that has been heated in the fire, then wrapping this in a piece of raw tapa (feta'aki) and putting this in the child's mouth to suck. After two days the baby is given the mother's breast (huhu). In two or three months the supplementary diet is begun. The mother skins bananas (of the siaine species) that have been roasted in the fire, chews the bananas and gives them to the child which is also fed yams (for example, 'ufi-lei) baked in the earth oven and chewed (or crushed), bread fruit, sweet potatoes and /83/ coconut milk. (236)

853 236. The juice squeezed out of coconut meat.

177 However, this typical, ancient Tongan baby diet is today, in many cases, replaced by European food. Instead of the chewed coconut meat in raw tapa, the child is given warm sugar-water and in place of the aforementioned supplementary diet the baby is often given soaked pieces of bread and zwieback that have been chewed or crushed with a fork (spoon). Occasionally, a bottle with cow's milk is given instead of the breast. (237)

237. On Lifuka, for example, a woman raised the eight children of her adopted daughter

/83-cont./

853 177 with sweetened condensed milk, in order to "spare" the young mother "and keep her beautiful."

853 178 Formerly, mothers nursed their children for a very long time. Today, the average nursing period is eight to nine months, in extreme cases, 14 months. Since, in a long nursing period, the babies cannot get [744] enough strength from their mother's milk, and the mother herself should be spared this burden, the Tongan health service tries to reduce the long nursing period by the mothers' education.--After an initial liquid, soft diet the children are given the same food as adults, as soon as they have enough teeth.

846 The woman who has given birth lies on her bed (sleep mats and tapa, possibly also a European sheet and pillow) about ten days. Then she gets up and attends to the child herself. Frequently, however, her mother (or her sister) help her for another month or so. At first, the woman in childbed generally eats only light [262] food. For example, she will eat Tongan food such as boiled yams or (177) boiled chicken, and drink /the milk of/ a coconut warmed in the earth oven; or else she will live on European food, for example rice (that has become popular in Tonga) or white bread, zwieback and tea.

854 177 Commonly, babies are now wrapped in European-type diapers. Women buy them readymade or they will obtain a length of material and cut it into the required pieces. In some cases they also make panties of European material or buy them readymade. Often, however, even bigger babies crawl about without any clothes at all. European soap is commonly used in caring for the baby, sometimes also baby 856 powder. At approximately nine months the little ones start their first walking exercises.

851 In accordance with the parents' religion, the child is soon (within three months) carried to church for baptism, which is fol-

/83 cont./

851 followed by a small celebration.

527 852 The Tongans pay little attention to birthdays. Only the completed first year of a child is generally celebrated. The father's contribution to the festival is a well-filled earth oven (with pig[s], yams, taro, sweet potatoes, kape, manioc pudding, etc.), but the mother's relatives also generally contribute food (for example, a roast pig, a /84/ rich-cream cake, European-style), and there is an exchange of mat and tapa gifts. The celebration usually starts with a hymn and a prayer (this among the Wesleyans is often spoken by the pastor), then follows the feast at which 20 or 30 relatives and friends take part and at which the mother with her one-year-old child is given the place of honor. After the meal, the group breaks up.

527 852 177 [805] This festival marking the completion of the first year of life, which is celebrated by commoners as well as chiefs, is, at least as far as the date is concerned, a European-influenced arrangement, for in ancient Tonga an accurate calendar was unknown and birthdays could not be determined. The prayer and the presence of a pastor also show European influence.

165 163 Infant mortality is average. For example, of the 25 children born on the small island of Nomuka in the course of a year, four died. Today, in general, the number of births by far surpasses the deaths in the total population. (238)

[161] Since Tongans in the past very probably never numbered more than 25,000 persons, (239)

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[113] 238. In 1950, for example, 1798 births and 501 deaths were registered in Tonga (Report of the Department of Justice for the Year 1950 /cited in English., Nuku'alofa 1951. pp. 3/4).

239. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 4; W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 4.

/84 cont./

165 and since this figure has doubled in the past three decades, (240)
163
161
(113)

240. For example, for 1919. 22,689 Tonga are reported (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 6) and for 1949, 45,690 (Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Year 1949 / cited in English/. London 1950. p. 5).

we must assume that this birth surplus did not exist in the past.
(744) Undoubtedly, the improved health service is one of the reasons for
this change. However, if we consider the still very inadequate medical
help and the indifference and negligence of the population of most of
the small islands of the Archipelago, we must conclude that the
population increase has other reasons as well. Yet, since the Tonga
[842] in the past had no sort of birth control and it is not possible to
explain the present excess of births /over deaths/ by a "psychic
strengthening" of these natives, since there is no indication that
they were formerly "psychically weaker," it is very difficult to
interpret this change.

844 In general, we may say about the birth /process/ in Tonga that it
178 still takes place largely in the ancient Tongan manner, although
177 growing European influences must be reported. These may also be
seen in infant care (diet and clothing).

/85/

Death

761 The odd, yet to the Tongans already quite natural, coupling
177 of ancient Tongan traditions with Christian customs and European
178 material attributes, which we observed in wedding and birth, becomes
especially clear to us in /a consideration of/ death and burial.

763 For an old man who is near death the Tongans sometimes build,
343 as they did in olden times for dying chiefs, (241)

241. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 199.

a special small house where he is laid in preparation for death. This not only gives the dying person special dignity, but it is also

/85 cont./

763 a relief for his family, since one may not smoke, for example, in a
[343] house where there is a dead person, and children may not enter such
[565] a house. In most cases, however, at least among commoners, death
takes place in the family dwelling. The dying one, insofar as his
condition will permit, speaks to his family who are assembled at his
bedside. Until the end, they try, with medicines, to keep life from
764 going out. When he has expired, his wife washes his body with water
and European soap. A deceased wife is washed by her daughter. The
[784] child-father taboo is thus observed even in death. The deceased is
[593] then dressed by his wife in a new white shirt and a white textile vala
(a deceased woman by her daughter in correspondingly good women's
clothes). The body is covered from feet to chin with a white or light
blue satin sheet and over this (or around the body) are laid three (or
more) of the finest mats (kie Tonga or fine Samoa mats) which cover
the corpse completely from the neck down (feta'u=death clothes).

In the center of the house the corpse is then laid on mats (for
example, fala paongo, fala tofua) which are covered with tapa
(ngatu tahina). Often, perfume of eau de cologne is fetched from a
shop and is sprinkled on the deceased; his hair is rubbed with Tongan
oil (lolo Tonga) and is combed. The face of the corpse is covered with
[784] a hankerchief. The person who ministers to the dead man (or woman)
is thereafter subject to no taboo (for instance, food taboo).

The relatives of the deceased and of the surviving spouse arrive.
They kiss the deceased in Tongan fashion ('uma)^ and take a seat in the
house. The widow sits near the head of the deceased around whom the
sons, the daughters and the rest of the kinfolk gather. They pray,
weep and give themselves up to their grief. Gasoline /86/ lamps (some
[354] ten) lent by the villagers are placed around the corpse; they are a
[177] substitute for the traditional lamps or torches, (242)
[565]

242. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 200.

^ [i.e., the nose kiss. See footnote 218 on p. 109--Analyst]

764 /86 cont./

[354] and a deceased commoner is now probably given more lamps then was
(177) formerly customary and that was permissible, compared with chiefs. It
[565] is forbidden to smoke in the house or to drink kava or eat food. The
[784] village chief, the *matapule* and other villagers drink kava and eat in
[776] a neighboring house; they talk about the deceased and his good deeds.
[622]
[565] If the deceased was a member of the Wesleyan church (like most
[794] Tongans), the choir of the village church come and (usually standing
[533] in an adjoining room of the death house) sing hymns until daybreak.
This is perhaps a substitute for the old individual mourning songs.
(243)

243. Compare E.W. Gifford, *Tongan Society.* p. 198.

A few relatives have meanwhile gone into the bush in order to gather sticks (for example, of *siale mohe mohe*) which they lash with bast from the *fau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) to make the traditional latticed bier (*fata*). A kinsman has arranged with the pastor the time of burial; the date was, for example, proposed by the widow and the rest of the relatives agree. (244)

244. Many burials take place early in the morning; but afternoon is also a preferred time.

The time of burial has arrived. The satin, the handkerchief and the mats are removed from the deceased, the tapa on which he is lying is folded around him and tied with another piece of tapa. The bier is covered with mats (*papa* and *fala paongo*) and tapa (*ngatu tahina* or *ngatu'uli*). The deceased is laid on this; the satin sheet and handkerchief are again placed over him and everything is shrouded with one (or two) valuable mat(s) and a large piece of tapa (*ngatu'uli*).
[202] Then the church bells are rung and ten or 20 younger relatives (not
the sons) carry the bier to the graveyard. (245)

[184] 245. In Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) where the graveyard is more distant and the technical facilities are more progressive, the corpse is driven to the grave on a truck.

764 /86 cont./

the grave on a truck.

[602] The nearest relatives follow behind the bier, then the more distant relatives and finally the accompanying villagers. In villages that [533] have a brass band it walks at the head of the funeral procession and [177] plays a European "funeral march."

764 765 302 As a sign of mourning the widow, the sons and daughters of the deceased, as well as the children of the deceased's younger brothers and the close relatives of lower rank have their hair cut off; among all the other relatives (that is, also sons and daughters of the deceased's sister) the women wear their hair loose, the men /wear theirs/ [178] uncombed. This custom reflects the ancient kinship hierarchy. Other 764 765 304 178 formerly customary /87/ practices, such as the burning of spots on the body, the beating and rubbing of the cheeks until they are sore, and the wounding of the head (246)

246. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 223/224.

are no longer observed, just as the custom of sacrificing finger joints for the recovery of higher-ranking relatives (247)

247. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 222.

764 765 782 177 643 has not been practiced for a long time. Naturally, the sacrifice of a child (248)

248 Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 220.

and the widow sacrifice (249)

249. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 221.

(once customary apparently only following the death of the supreme ruler, the Tu'i Tonga) has long since been forgotten under Christian influence.

764 794 If the deceased was a Catholic, the body, beside which the priest (or catechist) said prayers during the night in the hut, is borne to church in a procession, and, after the appropriate rite,

/87 cont./

764 is brought to the graveyard. (250)
794

250. For this purpose the Catholic congregation in Fungamisi, for example, uses a European wooden bier which is covered with Tongan mats.

If the deceased was a Wesleyan, the pastor who, at sunrise, prayed with the relatives in the house, awaits the funeral cortege at the graveyard situated at the end of the village, where some ten relatives (or villagers) have already prepared the grave for the deceased. [554] The grave site is always selected by the family eldest (ulu i he famili). 764 For a burial, the Tongans frequently open a grave that is about three or six years old, or one that has been used for a very long time, in which, for example, ten skulls of former burials may be lying.

The present Tongan graves may, in general, be divided into three types. The first type, the older and probably the most common one on most of the islands of the Archipelago, consists of a four-sided lining of the pit with coral limestone slabs cut on the beach, and a covering slab of the same material. The second, undoubtedly more [177] modern type, has the stone slabs replaced by European cement (that is, the cement-sand mixture used in building), whereas the third type is merely a simple, unlined pit. These graves do not have a base slab, since the natives wish to avoid an accumulation of rainwater in the pit. However, they try if possible to place a slab (of stone, wood or corrugated iron) on the grave in which the corpse rests, usually without a coffin. (251)

[177] 251. Though European-style coffins are familiar to the natives, they are seldom made.

764
531 Over these graves are piled small mounds (square in shape with slanting sides or shaped like stepped pyramids) or whitish-yellow or whitish-gray (usually coarse) sand from sections of the beach, and these are often decorated with geometric patterns of black pebbles (from the beach or reef). A fresh grave is also decorated with

/87 cont./

764 kie-kie lou fau (252)
531 252. Compare p. 323-324.

or sisi kakala, (253)

253. Compare p. 82-84.

mounted between sticks. Some graves are also decorated with borders of
[177] shells or beer /88/ bottles, and in the vicinity of European settlements
or at the suggestion of a white pastor, the Tongans have begun using
crosses and other European-type grave structures of cement (less often
764 cast iron). The graves of Protestants, Catholics and members of the
[794] rest of the faiths in Tonga are the same, except that they have
[184] separate graveyards. The graves of chiefs usually differ from the
[565] resting places of commoners in size and more elaborate decoration. The
graves of the royal family are situated in Nuku'alofa; they are made of
concrete and in shape are reminiscent of the large langi, (254)

254. Compare W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 30ff.

the famous grave structures of the old Tu'i Tonga.

764 The village graveyards with their more of less disintegrated,
178 largely unornamented mounds of light sand are a development of recent
times. In olden times, when most of the people lived scattered on
the various islands, commoners buried their dead on their plantations.
(255)

764 255. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 201.

After arriving at the grave the mourners sing a hymn, the pastor
[533] reads from the Bible (for example, Psalm 90), and the deceased is
[179] lowered into the pit which is spread with tapa (over the old skulls)
of a mat (for example, fala paongo),. Then follows the sermon which
[533] includes the life history of the deceased. More hymns are sung.
Over the corpse, which is usually covered with an additional mat
(fala paongo), the grave is closed with a slab. The "eldest" turns

765 789 178 /89 cont./

257. Only the beating of tapa is generally not resumed for a few days or weeks.

[554] For a high-ranking deceased, however, a longer noise ban (of ten days or more) is still observed.

765 [531] On the morning after the funeral the women (that is, the female relatives of the deceased and possibly neighbors) fetch basketsful of sand from the beach and make a grave mound which they soon decorate with black pebbles (if available), small red and white coral stones and ki-kie lou fau (and sisi kakala) (see above). On this day, people also
765 594 216 frequently observe the old "pongi-pongi" which formerly went on for ten days: (258)

258. According to statements of aged Tongan.

notables (chiefs, matapule) of the village and other people come, kava is drunk in ceremonial order, and the relatives of the deceased distribute the contents of an earth oven which they have prepared.

765 After the funeral, the wife of the deceased, her daughters and sons (also accompanied by a few relatives) go every day to the grave to weed and keep the mound in order. Often a few villagers will gather for several days with the relatives for a kava circle, and the close relatives of the deceased continue wearing, every day (sometimes also at night) for some three months (or a year), the torn mat (tauanga'a, liongi, motumotu) which they put on for the burial ceremonies, (fastened with bast or a European cord), as a visible sign of mourning.
[177] The European custom of a black arm band has found limited acceptance.

After a few years the majority of the people scarcely pay any attention to the graves; this attitude is reminiscent of that of commoners in times past. (259)

259. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 201.

[178] [565] [574] [784] This burial procedure is usually the rule. However, there are certain deviations, since it is left to the relatives, at any rate

/89 cont./

765 among commoners, whether or not they will link the festival with the
565 burial of their dead (they may not, for example, because of poverty
574 or because the one who was buried was not a close relative). Thus
784 it may happen that the eldest of the family, after /90/ the pit has been covered over, will briefly announce that there will be no kava-drinking or earth-oven meal and no noise or work taboo. (260)

[114] 260. On January 5, 1952, on Nomuka, the author experienced the burial of a woman who had been isolated because of a serious case of tuberculosis and who subsequently died; in accordance with the wish of her relatives, no festivity and no work stoppage were observed. Again, after the death of an old man on February 2, 1952, on the same island, the work- and noise- taboo were dispensed with.

It is possible that here we find indications of a beginning decline in ancient customs.

764 Thus, in the sphere of death and burial we must also recognize
765 that the Tongan have by no means been immune to European influences,
177 some of which they adopted and combined with their old traditions, so
178 that here we experience a fusion of ancient Tongan with European /tradition/, which, as a cultural function, entirely satisfies the needs of the community in the crisis of death, and in which everything is felt to be natural, not foreign, especially since the present older generation was born into the change, which had in essence already taken
[565] place. Here too, as in the case of the wedding, (261)

261. Compare pp. 116-119.

the liberation of commoners contributed to the preservation and vitalization of ancient tradition by making more elaborate use, as far as possible, of mats and tapa, and by decorating the graves, often like those of chiefs. (262)

262. For example, black pebbles were formerly

764 /90 cont./

765 used only for the upper classes (E.W.
177 Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 201).
178 On the other hand, the relaxing of old customs (for example, the noise
[565] taboo and "pongi pongi") could indicate coming changes which might
bring about a loss of important old traditions and provide no adequate
substitute.

c) Names

551 For several decades Europeans in authority have made an effort
177 to introduce patrilineal family names in Tonga. Up to now, however,
they have had little success. Even though, in colleges, for example,
students are registered under their patrilineal family names, and
public authorities are making a great effort to clarify matters, if
only for tax purposes, nevertheless there is still great confusion in
551 eyes of Europeans who are fond of order. Few families have genuine
surnames, and even these are not always handed down. In some cases
people also change their names on various occasions in the course of
their lives. In general nowadays, every Tongan probably has two
names, one of which is often a Christian name; however, in most
cases only one is used, so that a person's second name is known to only
[553] a few. As a rule, at her marriage, a woman is given one of the
[585] /91/ two names of her husband. In the further development of the
newly founded family the following picture may emerge:

/91 cont./

551
553
The girl:

'ANA TALI

married the youth:

PULU 'ANAU

and after her marriage is called:

'ANA PULU

while the husband continues to be called:

PULU 'ANAU

or is sometimes also called his name joined with that of his wife:

PULU 'ANA

This couple's son is called:

POSESE PULU

their daughter is called:

MAILE PULU

But his son is called:

TEVITA POSESE

The following development may also occur:

Parents: TOMASI FA LATA FA
Son: SIONE VAISIMA his wife: MAILE VAISIMA
their daughter: TAMAE OLUOLU

In this case the son will always call himself: Sione Vaisima and will also sign his name thus. In the public register, however, he may be listed by his family name: Fa.

This "confusion" causes the Tongans, who are easy-going in such matters, little concern or annoyance, especially since, in small communities, everybody knows everybody else well, and there are a great many Tongans who are even known throughout the entire Archipelago.

551
553
177
The more people--almost instinctively--resist the regulatory efforts of Europeans, all the more eager are they to adopt first names of whites. These names they have taken chiefly from the Bible, and their adoption may have been the result of the strong religious feeling of the natives. A very large number of Tongans have the name

/91 cont./

551 Sione (John), many are also called Tevita (David), while others are
553 called Peni (Ben [jamin]), Paula (paul), Mosese (Moses), Taniela
177 (Daniel), Sosiua (Joshua), Aisake (isaac) or Samisoni (Samson). Many
Tongan women are called Meliame (Miriam), Lute (Ruth), Mele (Maria;
also an ancient Tongan name /meaning/: mistake, disfigurement) or Ana
[797] (Anna). Since the Tongan learned these names from British missionaries,
[194] their form may be explained as a transmutation from /92/ English into
[193] the Tongan language which is poor in phonemes (in which, moreover,
syllables always end in vowels). Other common names of English or German origin are: Siaosi (George), Viliami (William), Alipate (Albert), Feleti (Fred), Oto (Otto), Hamani (Herman), Kusitafu (Gustave) and Vika (Victoria). Objects manifestly of European importance likewise served in name-giving; for example, Pulu (munition), Telefoni (telephone) and Makoni (telegraph), just as famous composers were obliged to stand sponsor for the song-loving Tongans; for example, Haniteli (Handel), Mosa'ati (Mozart), Uebi (Weber), Paka (Bach), Haitini (Haydn) and Losini (Lortzing). However, the old Tongan names are not forgotten. They are used together with the new European names or by themselves (that is, usually double). The influx of European names seems to be stronger in the case of the male sex rather than the female sex. (263)

263. According to a count taken by the author on a number of islands, the ratio of European names to old Tongan names among the male sex is approximately 1:1.5 and among the female sex approximately 1:3.

In contrast to the newly introduced names which, as in Europe, are used only for the female or the male sex respectively, the same ancient Tongan names are given for both sexes, as in former times.
551 Many a father will lovingly choose for his newborn child an attractive
553 and significant name, as for example: Niu Tupu 'i Vaha (freely

/93 cont./

> 361 remote from their corresponding villages.
> 178 Here, for a few days, weeks or months (sometimes also years) live those men (seldom with their families) who wish to devote themselves intensively to their remote plantations, who give up the social life of the village and take the trouble to go the long distance to church. This is a development, though not a significant one, since it is very limited.

[565] Only Mu'a on Tongatapu was already at that time probably a village-like settlement of various chiefs. (268)

> 268. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 7; J. Wilson, *A missionary voyage*.../cited in English/ p. 285.

361 During the civil wars (1797-1852) the people of most of the islands
669 sought refuge in fortified places and soon became accustomed to living
178 together in townlike settlements, especially since, after the Christiani-
[712) zation of the Archipelago (1826-1852), this made frequent church-going
[177) much easier. In the beginning, these newly formed villages /94/ seem
to have been rather well kept. (269)

> [113) 269. Compare J. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage pittoresque*... *loc. cit.* II. p. 78; the same, *Voyage au Pol Sud et dans l'Oceanie...Histoire du Voyage* /Voyage to the South Pole and Oceania...Account of the voyage/. vol. IV. Paris 1842. pp. 138, 153, 352; Th. West, *Ten years in South-Central Polynesia*... /cited in English/ London 1865. p. 44.

361 Their deterioration set in during the growing European influences which
177 very much decreased the natives' interest in various tasks once carefully
182 and intensively carried out, and which, of course, also caused various
Tongan crafts to die out or become crude.

However, this deterioration of the settlements is only external.
621 The feeling of solidarity, the community consciousness of the Tongans
186 seems as strong as in old times. It may even have grown as a result

100: Koch--137 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

/94 cont./

621 of their common life in the villages. In some respects the village
[189] community seems to be one large family. True, every household has
[592] its own separate dwelling in the village. But the household is by
621 no means isolated in the community. For example, if a villager of the
425 small islands needs any sort of object, be it a particular mat of a
chicken or even a pig or a horse, he will ask a fellow-villager for
it and will receive it without a direct service in return. This is the
old system of "reciprocal insurance," for tomorrow the giver may be a
[576] suppliant. It is a rule of courtesy to grant the suppliant his wish,
just as it is an unwritten law never to take unfair advantage of this
421 mutual aid. The concept of property and right of ownership is far
425 less developed than in Europe. Perhaps the chief's power of disposal
[565] over the property of commoners in ancient Tonga is one reason for this;
[178] another reason may be the common production (that is, with the coopera-
[476] tion of several villagers) of essential things such as houses, boats,
[177] tapa and mats. It is at any rate interesting that European influences
[436] were never capable of eradicating this ancient custom of natural
621 material assistance, through the introduction of money. On the small
432 islands very few natives sell their products to their fellow-villagers,
554 and they are not exactly highly respected for doing so. On Tongatapu
177 and Vava'u the influx of money is, of course, greater, especially in
436 the seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu. But even in these small cities
632 every inhabitant can at least go to every other for a meal if he does
[571] not happen to have prepared one for himself.

186 In these towns, as on the small islands, the feeling of solidarity
621 unites the natives even beyond the divisive influence of the denomina-
795 tions. It often happens, for example, that Protestants and members of
794 other churches give money for the collections of the Catholic
congregations and vice versa.

476 /95/ Even "reciprocal insurance" also applies to work assistance,

/95 cont./

476 for a person may ask one or more fellow-villagers (aside from relatives)
to help with difficult undertakings on the plantations, in house
building or boat building. In general, everyone complies with such a
request, and the work is not paid, but usually acknowledged only with
[621] a good earth-oven meal. Here too community feeling is stronger
● (177) than European influences. Thus, in December 1951 on Nomuka, many
476 Tongans of the "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga" /cited in English/
571 helped their fellow villagers of the "apostate" "Church of Tonga" to
794 make cement tiles for a new church building; even the pastor of the
795 Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga took part in this work, and the brass
533 bands of his church provided music for the construction work of the
"apostates."

186 The far-flung kinship of the villagers among each other on many
181 islands is an important, though by no means the sole, cause of this
solidarity. It is rooted above all in the particular Tongan character
[178] traits of good nature and gregariousness, and is strengthened and
443 cultivated by tradition. Even the Tongan traders with their small
181 shops which, as a result of their European-like way of doing business,
178 could be a foreign body in the community, sometimes yield to old
customs. Thus it often happened on Nomuka, for instance, that a
[477] merchant who had run out of certain articles asked his competitor for
them and successfully sold them.

476 The more casual joining together of several villagers in a work project for one of them often takes on a more permanent form by becoming a sort of cooperative organization for mutual aid. For instance, five men may agree to found such a work group, a kautaha, in order to cultivate their plantations. On the first day, all five will work for number one on his land, then for number two, and so on. During this rotation no further member is taken on; however, for the next round they are often willing to increase the number of participants.

/97 cont./

476 527 574 each one brings a long length of tapa and two mats which they spread out before the guests and the judges (for example, the district officer /cited in English/, a few pastors and the presidents of the village kautaha). [533] The brass band plays an accompaniment to this, a group of young Tongans join in with a song and occasionally a woman will beat a large bass drum. [535] The women of the kautaha, young as well as old, are quite boisterous; when they bring out the individual pieces they often dance, sway their hips in time to the music, stride and dance over the outspread splendors, amidst the applause and laughter of the spectators. The judges seriously scrutinize and consider. The show lasts about two hours. Then the drum is beaten, the school bell is rung, the band plays and the coconut-leaf tables (pola kai), (271)

271. Or corrugated metal tables covered with banana leaves.

laden with food, are brought and arranged in long rows between the guests. [262] [177] [272] Whole roast pigs, baked fish, large crabs, corned beef, /cited in English/ chickens, new yams, bread fruit and bananas from the earth-oven lie piles up on the tables, crowned with earthenware plates of "English pudding" /cited in English/ (resembling gingerbread with a red floury sauce), small cakes and rich cream tortes, in addition to glass jugs with red and yellow, very sweet lemonade. A prayer is said, and people begin to eat. During this meal some ten speeches are made. The district officer or town officer thanks the women for always following the orders of their president and for preparing the entire festival so nicely. Other speakers thank the president of this kautaha and also the women. The president gives out prizes (often in the form of money) for the best pieces; a matapule also delivers a long speech about freedom in Tonga and obedience to the chiefs. A prayer ends the feast and people return home while the band still plays and the hosts fill baskets with leftover food to send to the houses of the

527 /98 cont./
574 which is often paid for in advance by collections taken in the con-
794
(262) gregation. After the meal the guests disperse. The meaning of this
(272) feast is to thank God with food and drink for His blessings, through
(782) the preacher as His intercessor. Undoubtedly this type of festivity
(177) may be traced back to mission activity, but it is now organized by
the Tongan festival. This is shown even more clearly in the large
574 faka-afe on the last day of the year. If, for example, eight preachers
793 of the congregation are to speak on the evening of December 31st, a
794 special banquet is given for each of them on this day. The pastor, the
eight lay preachers and their invited guests-- altogether 20 or more
individuals--go from one banquet to another, soon amply fed and with-
out appetite, but always intent on eating more and leaving a little
room for the next meal (out of courtesy to the host). In serious and
(537) carefully worded speeches they give thanks to God for having taken care
of the community throughout the year which is coming to an end, and for
always having given it sufficient food; nor do they forget, in these
speeches, to thank their respective hosts at great length.

527 The Christian festivals of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost have
177 not acquired deeper significance within the village community, To be
sure, preparations for Christmas, for example, are considerable: weeks
before, people busily make copra, stock quantities of European food
for selling (bagsful of sugar and flour, six-pound cans of corned beef,
etc.), and dress material, and they sew new gala attire. However, the
holidays then pass without special events; only a few young men get
drunk and beat each other up. Many Tongans even continue working on
(621) holidays, and the only function that unites the community (besides
(533) /99/ church attendance) is the performance in many villages of the
(431) large Wesleyan church choir which, during Holy Night, moves from
house to house, like English carol singers, singing British Christmas
carols /cited in English/ and other Tongan-English songs and, in

527 /99 cont./

177 [621] return, collects presents. Brass bands or groups of guitar players
[533] go about in the same way.

[431] It is not only on these festivals that the Christian religion
794 has taken on a certain importance in the community life of the village.
177 It is specifically through the integration of large sections of the
182 population in the many services of the various churches that it exerts
a certain influence on group formation in all settlements. Moreover,
[533] the bringing together of numerous adults of both sexes in the choirs
(each with some 50-150 voices strong) of the individual Wesleyan
churches has become important in the community life of many villages,
for the numerous evening rehearsals are a very welcome change in the
everyday life of the vocally gifted and song-loving Tongan men and
women.

527 Whereas the festivals mentioned (kautaha-show, faka-afe), the
574 church services and the choirs each unite only a certain part of the
182 village population (through membership or by special invitation), the
621 old Tongan custom of the sociable kava circle has remained an
institution of community life that is accessible to every adult male
Tongan.

276 In ancient Tonga more kava was probably drunk than on the other
islands of the South Seas. (273)

273. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 224; Johann Reinhold Forster's Bemerkungen... /Comments/ p. 416.

[797] Although the missionaries did not by any means encourage the natives
[178] in this custom, (274)

[113] 274. See J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific... /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 149.

it determines social life at least as much today as in the past and
[191] perhaps even more. In Tonga far more kava is drunk than in Samoa

/100 cont./

276 is filled, which the recipient must now empty in one draught. The work can be carried out by the girl alone. However, one or two young men may assist her in pounding the kava root and adding the water.

276 178 797 177 412 This procedure resembles the one customary in ancient Tonga. In those days, however, the kava roots were chewed; (275) the missionaries influenced the natives to perform this work with stone slabs and stone pestles (from the volcanic islands of the Archipelago). (276)

276 177 415 The old water vessels (hollow coconuts, calabashes, wooden bowls) were also replaced by European buckets. It is interesting that the Tongans never drink kava out of a European cup (even though porcelain cups or tin mugs are found in every house), but only out of coconut cups (277) which, with the wooden bowl, the mat and the bast bundle form a natural unit. The bucket which is a somewhat jarring note does not bother anyone, even though the natives have a certain feeling for bad taste (for example, a Tongan would never wear a ta'o-vala with trousers). (278)

276 574 The kava group (that is, the men gathered together to drink and socialize) (279)

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275. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 189/190.

276. See H.N. Moseley, Notes by a naturalist... /cited in English/ p. 287.

(178) 277. The banana-leaf cups observed by Mariner (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 197) are no longer made, probably because it is too inconvenient to bring the banana-leaves from distant plantations to the village.

278. See page 69-71.

(562) 279. Women do not as a rule drink kava; they often sit in another part of the house and listen to the conversation of the men.

/101 cont./

276 men /102/ mend their large fish net or if a group is carrying out a
574 building project, kava is served. Especially on the occasion of a
461 major undertaking, such as the building of a new house, there is
always a group of older Tongans present who do not join in but, united
in a kava circle, sanction the work through their presence in this
form. (283)

283. Also in construction work of a European nature (for example, building a cement tank for drinking water, making concrete blocks for a church building) this custom is observed.

276 527 Naturally, there is also no Tongan festival possible without kava. It
585 belongs to a wedding as well as a funeral, and it is served at all
764 other festive occasions--generally before the meal.

Very probably the role of kava in the social life of the village,
276 compared with its significance in old times, has not diminished, but
178 actually increased. For this too an important reason may be the
greater freedom and independence today of the mass of the people, the
commoners. The old custom of kava drinking is so deeply rooted in
(177) Tongan life that neither European influences of the past nor those of
the present have been able to displace it or even diminish it.
(273) (272) Alcohol, to be sure, is very difficult to obtain for the Tongans, (284)
but even easily available beverages such as tea, coffee, cocoa and
lemonade have not in the least displaced kava. It, along with the
(415) typical wooden bowl and the coconut cups today form a seemingly in-
destructable cultural asset. The large ceremonial kava gatherings
276 574 of chiefs which Mariner reports (285)
565 178 have today been simplified--in accordance with the gradual decrease
of power of the nobles--though they have not disappeared.

284. Only with a permit from the police minister or by the dangerous way of the black market or non-licensed brewing.

285. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 184 ff.

/102 cont./

000 of power of the nobles--though they have not disappeared.

621
178 Seen as a whole, the old, strong feeling of solidarity in the Tongan community has been preserved. Even today we see, especially in the villages of the small islands, the old mutuality which is neither communist nor is it made up of families isolated from each other. Every Tongan can still join any group in the village having a meal and can eat with them, and in most of the settlements every inhabitant may ask any other for objects or for personal help, and no one will generally refuse to fulfill his wish. European influences (such as money, the idea of property, different denominations) have up to now--except in special cases--not led to the individualization of families, which to us in Europe is so much taken for granted.

(574)
(425)
(476)
(177)

/103/

b) Social Stratification

565 The principal social classes in ancient Tonga were: the chiefs (*'eiki*), their personal attendants, counselors and helpers (*matapule*) and the commoners (*tu'a*).

(241)
(427) The commoners, that is, the mass of the people, were in most cases farmers who cultivated the chief's lands which they lent out to them. Every *tu'a* along with his family was completely dependent on his chief. The *'eiki* (whose title was hereditary) had absolute power, often arbitrarily exercized over the life and property of the commoners. (286)

286. See J. Cook, *Beschreibung*...VI. pp. 294/295; W. Ellis, *An authentic narrative*... /cited in English/ p. 115; J. Martin, *loc. cit*. I. pp. 59/60; II. pp. 92, 300; E.W. Gifford, *Tongan Society*, p. 110.

565
554 The *matapule* served the chiefs as a sort of minister. As a rule, the title of the *matapule* was handed down in the same family; a *matapule* served the chief with whose ancestor his own ancestor had lived. The rank of the *matapule* depended specifically on that of his

/103 cont./

565 554 chief. (287)

287. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 288; II. pp. 90/91; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. p. 140.

565 182 Since the social order for all concerned (except for a few ambitious chiefs) was taken for granted, and even the "repressed" commoners "without rights" had sufficient economic means to be able to live rather comfortably, (288)

288. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 287.

the system functioned for many centuries, so that Cook was able to write: "In fact, I cannot think of any civilized people who show in all public affairs such a tendency towards order, such willingness to obey the commands of their chiefs or who, in all classes, are so harmoniously united, seemingly animated by one spirit, as are these islanders." (289)

289. J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 296.

565 177 799 The Christianization of the Archipelago brought changes in this social stratification. Naturally, the missionaries were obliged to insist on breaking the absolute power of the chiefs (which was, moreover, closely connected with the "superstitious" taboo ideas of the natives) and "freeing" the mass of the people from their "slavery." [671] (643) [642] The most important step in this direction was the Wesleyan missionary-inspired emancipation declaration of Tu'i Kanokupolu George I, on June 4, 1862. The constitutions of 1862 and 1875 and their effects on daily life gradually weakened the old order. The chiefs, who lost their old taboo-protection and their taboo-power in the now Christianized Archipelago, forfeited their principal authority when the commoners became independent tenant farmers (for life). /104/

565 178 Yet the old system was so ingrained in the minds of all Tongan and had penetrated daily life so intensively that it is only now, nine

/105 cont./

565 of honor. And the ceremony of kava-serving still singles him out as
554 the most important person in the circle, even when important officials
178 or men (from among commoners) who are influential as a result of their
276 personality or their wealth are among the present. The mere fact
574 that a man in the village has some chief's blood in his veins or that
he bears a title which was once granted him or his ancestors and
causes him to be regarded as matapule, (294) gives him priority in the kava circle over knowledge, ability and wealth.

565 Though the respect of commoners for landless chiefs has been
576 considerably reduced in public, it has not entirely disappeared. For
554 almost every commoner, when he visits a chief, will don his ta'o-vala
178 (the mat as a sign of respect), and among the people no one generally
dares to wear the finest mats (for example, kie ta'o-vala)to which
formerly only chiefs were entitled, except for church-going or
weddings, even though the constitutions permit such attire. In
565 case of death, too, a longer noise- and work-taboo is usually observed
178 for chiefs than for commoners. The majority of the people still have
764 a silent respect respect for rank and title. (295)
784

294. On Nomuka, for example, in all kava circles of commoners (among whom there are a few officials and respected Tongans), the Tei is given the seat of honor without reservation. The old title of Tei was at one time created by the Tu'i Tonga, and its bearer had to take care of fishing for 'ava (fish) and transporting the ruler. The title continued to be renewed, so that today the Tei is commonly regarded as "fisherman to the Queen."

(291)
(177)
295. Outwardly the difference between nobles and commoners has been completely effaced, for all classes today wear the same European clothing.

/107 cont./

621 554 441 178

> of his customers, so that he is also respected specifically for his activity as merchant. The owner of another retail shop in the same village has not been able to achieve a privileged position in the community on the basis of his occupation.

621 From the foregoing discussion it will be seen that in the
554 present-day village community of Tonga there is no generally valid
178 social ladder. An individual may obtain a respected position in
[177] various ways. The changes in the social structure brought about by
European influences have not caused a collapse of the old system, but
have introduced a slow, yet steady development which weakened the old
order in the community and brought new values. This process is not
[565] yet completed; very probably the importance of the nobles in Tonga
will decline even more, and intelligent and able individuals among the
population as a whole will, to an increasing extent, become the
influential ones--provided the nobles occupying key positions in the
government will not try to impede this development. The social change
in Tonga did not bring about a disruption of the community, since it
was merely a transition from an old order to an almost universally
acknowledged new order; people are now offering their old obedience,
and their old willingness to submit to new authorities, and the
aristocracy, largely for religious reasons, may have become accustomed
to the "God-ordained" new order.

C. The State

a) Government Development and Present Structure

642 The Tonga state underwent considerable changes as a result of
[177] European influence, specifically the Christianization of the
Archipelago.

[643] [175] In ancient Tonga the state was centrally directed by the all-

/109 cont./

642 [641] [646] [651] [846] of the people was established. At the same time the poll tax and the leases on land were determined. This form of government, however, did not seem at first to function like its European counterpart. The sessions of parliament were held very irregularly, with interruptions lasting for years.

642 177 On November 4, 1875 Tonga obtained its proper constitution which was drawn up after the British model (constitutional monarchy). It consists of a declaration of rights (freedom of life, property, belief, etc.), the establishment of a government (sovereign, council of state, cabinet, legislative assembly and judiciary) and the regulation of landed property. Despite many subsequent improvements, [178] this constitution forms the principal foundation of the Tonga state [527] to this day, and November 4th is observed each year by everyone as a [186] national holiday. At the same time the Kingdom of Tonga adopted its [official] seal and flag. This constitution was worked out for the Tongan ruler by British Wesleyan missionaries, especially Shirley Baker.

645 177 Shirley Baker soon became prime minister of Tonga. He held this office from 1880 to 1890. That year the British High Commissioner deported him to New Zealand, for the English had felt for a long time that he was a disturbing element in the political development of the Southwest Pacific, because of his strongly independent manner of administration.

648 [645] Under the influence of Shirley Baker a treaty was signed on November 1, 1876, between the Tongan government and the German Empire. In the accord the Germans recognized George I and the independence of Tonga, while the Tongans gave the Germans the right to trade and of a marine coaling station on Vava'u. (304)

304. As early as 1855, through the governor of Tahiti, a treaty was imposed between France

/111 cont./

645 government, administers the departments of foreign affairs, education
647 and agriculture (in addition to telegraph and telephone service, government printing and the government ship). The minister of police controls the police, prisons and traffic. The minister for lands, the minister for health and the minister for labor /112/ manage their
[693] respective fields. It is incumbent on the Chief Justice, besides his judicial work, to have births, marriages and deaths registered, while the finance minister is not only responsible for tax collection and the expenditure of public funds, but is also chief of customs and the postal system, and in addition supervises the "Government Savings Bank"
634 /cited in English/ . In the Ha'apai group and on Vava'u the government is represented by governors. The individual districts are controlled
634 by district officers, while the villages are managed either by the
565 chiefs (nopele) who own the village land, or "town officers" /cited
622 in English/ (landless chiefs or commoners) who are appointed to this
423 post by the government.

651 Every male Tongan over 16 must pay an annual poll tax of 32 sh. T.
[641] (308)

[657] 308. In return, all Tongans have the right to free education in state elementary schools, as well as free medical care.

Other national revenues are: income tax, customs, rents and interest on government property and investments, harbor and dock fees, license fees, court fees and fines, as well as postal income. The financial
[652] situation may be described as sound; there are no public debts.

642 The present form of government of Tonga is thus a European-type
177 system which differs from a genuine democracy chiefly by the fact that the royal house and the aristocracy are still to a large extent the determining force, (309)

[644]
[645] 309. The crown prince (premier) and his brother

642 /112 cont./

177
[644]
[645]

occupy four ministries, while two more are occupied by nopele.

and thereby the tradition of the ancient Tongan form of government continues. The system, which is rather complicated for the Tongans, functions reasonably well, but on the whole rather slowly.

648 Tonga is a British protectorate, and the British consul and agent in Nuku'alofa is, *ultimately, the final authority* in the small kingdom. Still, the English, while holding some key positions, assume on the whole a reserved attitude toward the government, and do not take the drastic steps that might be normal in a colony. For this reason, the political and economic development in this Archipelago advances only very gradually--in the eyes of Europeans. (310)

648
563

[177] 310. White employees of the Tongan government assured the author that the measures necessary for carrying out the typical Europeanization process, and that could be accomplished in Indonesia, New Caledonia or Fiji in five to ten years, whould in their estimation take 75 years here.

648 However, since a gradual adjustment of Tongan to our mechanized modern
177 age is without question preferable to a resolute and rapid Europeanization, (311)

311. At any rate, in the interest of the natives and their psychic and cultural potential for development.

/113/ a protectorate seems perhaps the best of all possible solutions For in this way Tonga has been able to preserve a certain independence. It would be difficult for the islanders now, and even more so fifty years ago, to guide the necessary contact with the world of whites quite freely and with self-determination, and to fashion their small government accordingly. As a result of the settlement of Europeans--chiefly as traders--on the island there would, in the long run, have been all kinds of friction, since the Tongans could not have had the

[563]

/113 cont./

648 177 [563] [797]

necessary experience in the European way of life and in the treatment of whites. The missionaries, according to their rules, were not permitted to involve themselves too obviously in politics, and therefore scarcely count as teachers in this respect. Only white private persons could have been consulted as advisors, but this solution could not have averted the possibilites of conflicts with the members of various nations, possibly leading to a situation where Tonga could have become much more dependent on a major power than is the case with a protectorate.

[563] Today there are a number of Tongans who realize that the status of their country can be improved in future if it learns more of the knowledge and ways of Europeans and becomes capable of replacing white employees of the Tongan government with Tongans.

648 177 563 645 647

All ministers except the minister of finance (312)

312. He is a New Zealander.

are Tongans. However, working among the Togan ministers are influential Whites. (313)

313. New Zealanders, English, Australians, Dutch.

Thus, for example, a European serving as "inspector of agriculture" /cited in English/ for the minister of agriculture, and a white physician serving as "chief medical officer" /cited in English/ for the minister of health, are doing important work. Though the Tongan ministers give their white employees the necessary authority listen to their advice and put many of their suggestions into practice, these Europeans are nevertheless always dependent on their Tongan superiors and have no extensive powers. For this reason and as a result of the easygoing nature of most Tongans, the effectiveness of white employees is limited. (314)

314. Except for the powers set forth in the protectorate agreements, which apply to the

/113 cont./

648
177 minister of finance, as well as, in a
563 certain sense, to the secretary sent
645 by the British government to the premier.
647 Yet they are the ones who, in the final analysis keep the entire
government machinery running. (315)

> 315. In November 1951 the following positions in the Tongan government (administration) were occupied by whites: secretary to the government (English), police superintendent (English), minister of finance (New Zealander), assistant treasurer (New Zealander), government auditor (New Zealander), assistant auditor (New Zealander), accounting officer (English), relieving officer (New Zealander), deputy commissioner of island revenue (Dutchman), chief medical officer (Canadian), nurse (English woman), agricultural officer (director) (Dutchman), farm manager (Australian), chief postmaster (New Zealander), superintendent of telephone and telegraph (New Zealander), /114/ assistant superintendent of telephone and telegraph (New Zealander), building inspector (New Zealander), clerk of the building inspector (German), government storekeeper (New Zealander), electric power board (two New Zealanders), garage and mechanical repair shops for government vehicles (New Zealander), medical adviser (Vava'u), (English) /titles of all positions cited in English/.

648 /114/ The Tongans are very much interested in everything new, and
177 some of it they gladly accept. Thus they also work quite willingly in
563 the government. However, they often find it difficult to carry through,
645 consistently to the end, work they have begun but that soon seems un-
647 interesting to them. Before finishing the old work they, start some-
181 thing new. Moreover, the natives have but slight regard for paper
461 with writing on it, that is to say, for documents, which they often
lose, mislay or burn. Their European colleagues fight what sometimes
seems like a losing battle against this easy going attitude, as well

/114 cont./

648 as against the usually very slow work tempo. Besides, the authoritative
177 Tongan ministers do not always have the necessary specialized know-
563 ledge for their departments, or they find it difficult properly
645 to evaluate the problems and possibilites of their solutions.
647
181 Nonetheless, the Tonga state, as a result of the work of Europeans,
461 is today free from debts and has even invested rather large sums (316)
(652)
(454)

316. In 1950 these amounted to 424,808.4.10 (Report of the Honourable the Minister for the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p. 2).

648 in Britain. The frequent change in white employees in various
177 government positions is unfavorable, especially since their successors
563 often continue the work in question according to their personal point
647 of view, hence no lasting system is adhered to. Indeed, European critics of the government are of the opinion that the Tongan government has up to now lacked the necessary planning ability for a unified and advantageous development.

Some of the whites working in the government (317)

317. For example, the postmaster of Neiafu (Vava'u) and the physician on Lifuka.

were in recent years replaced by Tongans with corresponding training. However, this occurred rather because of a scarcity of whites in the Archipelago (318)

318. During the Second World War the number of whites (men, women and children) decreased in Tonga (on account of the danger of invasion and because of the depression) from around 400 to around 200 (see Pacific Islands Yearbook 1950 /cited in English/. p. 109) and has since then hardly increased.

or because of their relatively low pay by the government. There is a great dearth of well trained native personnel, and it seems that it will be a long time before a Tongan can take over, say, the position of minister of finance.

/116 cont./

829 565 464 320. S. is, of course, speaking very radically. A few commoners have indeed succeeded in being promoted to the highest administrative positions.

[465] At the top' are often those who were not as good in school as he, who did not accomplish as much, and now earn 40£T. a month, and the ones who, by their own efforts, struggled through in New Zealand and are capable, have subordinate positions and earn 10 to 15£T.; they are obliged to start at the very bottom, yet they know better than 'the ones at the top' how the work up there should be done..."

829 In answer to the objection that there is, after all, no indigence in Tonga, that there is enough food for everybody and that life seems peaceful and, on the whole, happy, since every Tongan can own a house and land and even money for his copra work, he says: "But we are not free, we cannot influence government affairs or domestic policy."

642 The ancient Tonga state centrally ruled by a godlike Tu'i Tonga
177 has thus passed away, and Tonga is today a state with a European-like
643 structure accepted by the world of Whites. This change succeeded
[797] chiefly because, when it began, the uppermost power of the state was already dissolved, and the capable personality of Taufa'ahau on his way to supreme power was supported by the Wesleyan missionaries. The development was also able to run a peaceful course because Tonga, as a protectorate, retained a certain independence and therefore could
642 preserve essential traits of its old government. In the person of
[565] Crown Prince Tungi, the future king, the three sovereign lines of
[644] Tonga were united, and the aristocracy has the key positions in the government. The complicated system of the constitutional monarchy
[177] which in its peculiarities and possibilities is actually foreign to the natives and difficult for them to understand, functions--with the more or less obvious guidance of Europeans--as well as it can under the

/116 cont./

642 given conditions, and is quite adequate to ensure all Tongans a quiet
177 and secure life, so the number of those who are discontent is small.

b) Distribution of Land

421 In old times, all land was the property of the Tu'i Tonga. He
423 granted it to the chiefs (or confirmed their inherited grant). The
643 /117/ chiefs in turn granted land to the matapule and the commoners
565 living under them. Within this system every land user was obliged
[651] to pay tribute to his "superior." It seems to have been customary
[428] that leased land remained indefinitely in the family of the one who
received it, for every heir of a chief's title had the ownership of
421 his land confirmed. The sons of the matapule and the commoners, by
423 a corresponding system, usually remained on the land of their
565 fathers. However, the chiefs had the right at any time to disown
the commoners living on their land or to relocate them. (321)

321. See E. W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 174.

There seems never to have been any community property.

423 This system of dividing up land and land ownership underwent
178 some changes. Through the decline of the Tu'i Tonga's power and
565 the civil-warlike confusion, some chiefs became quite high-handed.
[642] In the constitution of 1875 it was ultimately determined that all
Tongan land belonged to the crown and could not be sold. Only leases
approved by the cabinet were recognized. The people had a claim on
land for building and settlement, whereas much land was still at the
423 disposal of powerful chiefs. On October 24, 1882, conditions were
178 regulated insofar as George I created the new class of nopele (nobles)
428 consisting of big chiefs and mighty matapule, and gave these nopele
565 hereditary lands (tofi'a). (322)
643

322. Thus George I confirmed the inherited ownership of a few big chiefs (see E. W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 172).

/121 cont./

000 involved. Moreover, the Tongan population is growing very much; the
423 dearth of land in the Ha'apai Islands will increase, on the other
[161] inhabited islands land will become scarce after one or two generations.
[311] However, the opening-up of the Archipelago's uninhabited islands, as
well as a few land reclamation projects along the broken-up coasts
(or in the swamps) of the low islands (for example, Tongatapu), and
above all an intensification of agriculture will always be able to
provide relief.

423 Without doubt there is the possibility that a greater difference
184 between rich and poor will develop as a result of the unequal land
578 distribution, and on the small, already overcrowded Ha'apai Islands
social tensions might possibly arise. Today, however, nothing of
this kind can be observed; the Tongans live their relatively peaceful
lives and no one gets excited if he sees his neighbor ending up with
greater profits from his copra work because of his large plantation.

423 European advisers and critics admit that the present system
178 of land ownership is basically good, given the present state of
agriculture. Yet they emphasize that this system is not flexible
enough to make room for possible changes (improvements) in cultivation
and in increased cattle-raising, which is scarcely possible with
8 ½ acres. Since, for the natives, the present system of planting
[241] suffices and they find it most difficult to adopt new food plants,
[233] and since they show relatively little understanding for cattle-raising
even where there is an opportunity, a change in the system does not,
for these reasons, seem very urgent.

423 /122/ On the whole, it may be said of land distribution that the
177 ancient Tongan system was altered as a result of Europeanization and
the establishment of a Christian, democratic government. However,
423 this change occurred more in form than in kind. The present system
565 of land distribution, which seems somewhat strange to us, means a

/122 cont./

681 337. On ancient Tongan "administration of justice" see E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. pp. 183/184; J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 259; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 248, 293 ff.; II. p. 42.

[565] This ancient Tongan "administration of justice" was too flexible and, particularly as a result of the extensive privileges of the noble classes compared with those of the people, too arbitrary for any possibility of definite, universally valid punishments for specific offenses.

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671
177
/123/ The year 1839 seems to have been the beginning of an administration of justice in Tonga which was regulated in the European manner. For at that time, through missionary influence, the first statute book (based on Christian principles) and a court consisting of four chiefs were created. (338)

338. See Geschichte der christlichen Missionen... /History of Christian missions/. pp. 140/141; Th. West, Ten years in South Central Polynesia /cited in English/. p. 164.

Though the statute book was by no means comprehensive and complete, and the court of law very probably did not at once forget the old privileges of the nobility, nevertheless a new development was thereby introduced.

642
671
The Constitution of 1862 with its freeing of commoners and corresponding statutory provisions established legal protection for the masses and the principle of equal rights for all. (339)

339. See Th. West, Ten years...pp. 433/434; A. H. Wood, History and geography of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 57.

642
177
671
The constitution ultimately drawn up in 1875 confirmed the reforms of 1862 and established more firmly western democratic legal thinking in Tonga. In 1891, Tongan laws were drawn up anew and have since then been changed and added to as needed.

692
177
Modern Tongan administration of justice, which, for the natives,

/123 cont./

692 is already quite natural, was created on the English model. However,
177 there are two judicial bodies in this kingdom: the British and the
692 Tongan. The British agent and consul acts as a "Judicial Commissioner
648 of Her Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner's Court for the Western
563 Pacific" /cited in English/ and has jurisdiction over British
subjects and foreigners in all civil cases and in those criminal cases
in which capital punishment or a more than two-year imprisonment can be
expected.

Tongan jurisdiction extends to all Tongans and also, in accordance with the treaty of 1927 supplementary to the protectorate treaty of 1900, to those British subjects and foreigners who have disobeyed Tongan laws and whose maximum sentences do not exceed a two-year term of imprisonment. (340)

340. A British "chief magistrate" /cited in English/ was appointed to this adjudication .

692 There are four different Tongan courts. The "police magistrates' courts" /cited in English/ have jurisdiction over cases whose punishment do not exceed 50£T or two years' imprisonment, and over minor civil cases. They also function as examining courts for the more difficult cases. The Supreme Court, presided over by the Chief Justice, (341)

341. The chief justice is usually white (a Briton).

tries serious cases and also has jurisdiction over divorces and over
appeals from decisions of the police /124/ magistrates' courts. The
692 Privy Council /cited in English/ is the highest appeal instance;
645 for British defendants, two white assistants are present there. In
addition, there is a land court /cited in English/ in which the Privy
693 Council likewise has appellate jurisdiction. There are 30 Tongan lawyers
in the kingdom.

625 The Tongan police force--some 65 men of various ranks--, modeled
177 after that of the British, is subject to the Tongan minister of police
645 and the (British) superintendent of police /cited in English/.

/125 cont./

692 of copra and the sale of a house are settled, and then the rape of
695 July 18th comes up for trial. After the persons concerned and all
692 witnesses are sworn in on the Bible, the case is thoroughly examines
695 and the culprit is finally given a relatively mild sentence of four
684 months in jail. The trial is over. Among the auditors returning home, the opinion prevails that the last witnesses to be sworn in lied because they were afraid of being punished as accessories (it was supposed to have been a sort of conspiracy). The condemned youth soon seeks out the police judge in order to hand in an appeal to the Supreme Court; the police judge invites him to a kava drink.

69 While in ancient Tonga the more of less arbitrary power of the
177 chiefs guaranteed--often quite harshly and impressively--the necessary
565 order for communal living, today the administration of justice in the European manner is extensively practiced and recognized. (344)

344. Since almost nothing can be learned from the sources on ancient Tonga about the frequency of individual offenses, we cannot say whether the new administration of justice has decreased the number of these.

681 Many offenses ceased to be offenses when the Islands became Christian-
177 ized (abolishing of taboos) and democratized (discontinuance of many chief's privileges); new offenses became possible as a result of Europeanization (for example, offenses against the hallowing of Sunday, traffic violations, non-payment of taxes, manufacture of alcohol), just as the concept of property became clearer and more defined. (345)

345. For the old concept of property and right of ownership see, for example, page 136-137.

69 The British model of a precisely regulated judicial system with its
177 laws and decrees and law courts also preserves what has since been
565 achieved by the process of Christianization /126/ and democratization,

/126 cont./

69 for example by guaranteeing the new rights of commoners. It is
177 astonishing how all classes of the Tonga people accept, and submit to,
565 this administration of justice, without reservation and as a matter
69 of course. Even the inhabitants of the small, remote islands of
177 the Archipelago eagerly avail themselves of the laws and courts if
184 an injustice done them by anyone seems greater than their equanimity
565 and peacefulness can accept. A full appreciation of this judicial
671 system can be explained chiefly by the way it began: under the strong
[777] influence of the Wesleyan missionaries, the uncontested authority of the chiefs was transferred to the new government and to the church; the demands and rights of these two institutions were incorporated in the laws to which the government with its law courts was able to give more and more authority. Naturally, the commoners found it all the more easy to accept the new judicial system since it gave them many advantages in comparison with the past. After initial resistance, the chiefs accepted the Christian-democratic laws of this, at first very church-minded state, probably in part because of their religious feelings, and especially because resistance seemed hopeless and would only have worsened their position.

3. THEIR ECONOMIC LIFE

A. Dwelling

a) House and House-Building

342 The Tongan dwellings (sleep houses) today present a very non-
177 uniform picture, for the decline of ancient Tongan crafts as a result of European influences brought about a certain crudeness in the old type of houses, and through the importation of European building material as well as the spread of new methods of construction, there arose a diversity of "modern" types.

346 The sources (346)

/127 cont./

342 (113) 348. The illustrations in Tasman's Journal (Abel Janszoon Tasman's Journal of his discovery... /cited in English/ Amsterdam 1898; the pictures following the 23rd and 25th January 1643) show houses which do not seem to be storage huts and have (apparently plaited reed) walls which are interrupted only by door openings. These illustrations are in contrast to the data in the rest of the sources (mentioned above).

342 The inside of the dwelling was generally one large room. The floor,
352 which was raised about a foot, was beaten hard and covered with
[824] dried leaves and grasses on which lay coconut palm leaves. Strong
mats plaited of reed and curved semicircularly were set up inside
342 the room to divide it up. The dwellings of commoners (on the plan-
565 tations) were of the same construction, but most probably smaller
184 and simpler (for example, always covered with coconut palm leaves and
without the lowerable mat curtains). Besides the dwellings, there were
344 also rather large meeting houses and guest houses of chiefs, storage
343 houses (with walls that slanted inward toward the floor), cook huts,
and boat houses.

342 In ancient Tonga, house construction had a certain uniformity,
178 with each house built for a special purpose corresponding in its
basic elements to every other one that served the same purpose, whereas
today, as a result of the aforementioned changes, there is a
(177) diversity of types to be seen. Dwellings may be subdivided chiefly
into the ancient Tonga form (long house with rounded, narrow sides)
and the types resembling European construction (rectangular or also
square houses that often have a veranda). Different kinds of building
material result in a number of further variations. These, as well as
the proportion of the different types, may be seen in the following
survey conducted in six villages of the Archipelago.

/128/ DWELLINGS

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	in Haveluloto (Tongatapu)	in 'O'ua (Ha'apai)	in 'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha'apai)	in Pangai/Lifuka (Ha'apai) (350)	in Fungamisi (Vava'u)	in Tu'anuku (Vava'u)
Ancient Tonga shape:						
Coconut-leaf roof (349) and walls..........(351)	7	16	38	47	9	15
Coconut-leaf roof (349) and reed walls.........	1	1	31	7		
Coconut-leaf roof (349) and wooden walls.......	12	3	3	9	8	1
Coconut-leaf roof (349) and corrugated metal walls	3	3	8	20	10	4
Roof of sugarcane leaves and tin walls (352)...			1			
Shingle roof and wooden walls.................				1		
Corrugated metal roof and coconut-leaf walls...			4	2		
Corrugated metal roof and reed walls...........			8	1		
Corrugated metal roof and wooden walls.........	3	4	6	33		7
Corrugated metal roof and walls................			11	19		10
Rectangular shape:						
Coconut-leaf roof and walls....................	1	5	1	8		2
Coconut-leaf roof and reed walls...............		1		4		
Coconut-leaf roof and wooden walls.............	2			1	1	
Coconut-leaf roof and corrugated metal walls...				1		
Coconut-leaf roof and sheet metal walls (352)..					1	1
Corrugated metal roof & coconut-leaf walls with wire netting..........................			1			
"Box type," corrugated metal roof and wooden walls................................	7	1	10	55	8	11

/128 cont./ DWELLINGS (cont'd.)

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177
184

	in Haveluloto (Tongatapu)	in 'O'ua (Ha'apai)	in 'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha'apai)	in Pangai/Lifuka (Ha'apai) (350)	in Fungamisi (Vava'u)	in Tu'anuku (Vava'u)
Rectangular shape:						
"Box type," corrugated metal roof and walls....	2			7		5
"Veranda type," corrugated metal roof and wooden walls..................................	6	2	21	68	17	21
"Veranda type," corrugated metal roof and walls.					1	

[824] 349. A few coconut-leaf roofs have sugarcane leaves mixed in; a roof very seldom consists entirely of sugarcane.

350. Here "dwelling" includes all houses that at present serve as dwellings or could serve as such, but are, for the time being, used for other purposes (for example, to store copra) or happen to stand empty, but could be occupied again at any time.

351. Two of these houses have only one rounded narrow side.

352. Tin from large zwieback containers.

/129/ The unequal distribution of types may be partly explained by the fact that 'O'ua and 'Uiha are more unfavorably situated for procuring European building materials (timber, corrugated sheet metal, and container metal); moreover, individual house types simply became more "fashionable" in some villages than in others. The survey also shows that the rectangular buildings are mainly made of timber and corrugated metal, and the native raw materials are used more for the old style of building. After all, the European shape generally

/129 cont./

342 forms a unit with the European building material. However, the
178 ancient Tongan shape still holds its own, as the following list can
177 show more clearly:
184

Village	Long houses with rounded narrow sides	Rectangular houses
Haveluloto/Tongatapu	26	18
'O'ua (Ha'apai)	27	9
'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha-apai)	110	33
Pangai/Lifuka (Ha'apai)	139	144
Fungamisi/Vava'u	27	28
Tu'anuku/Vava'u	37	40

The settlements of 'O'ua and 'Uiha which are unfavorably located with respect to transport facilities have a considerably preponderance of of houses of ancient Tongan shape. A further Europeanization of the Archipelago could bring about a similar proportion as in the other four villages. However, this development will be relatively slow; for even in the seaport of Pangai and in the villages of Haveluloto and Fungamisi which are near larger seaports, (353) a great many natives cling to the old house shape--for financial and
342 traditional reasons. The prices for corrugated sheet metal and building
177 timber have risen very much; A Tongan must put aside the considerable
178 sum of approximately 300 - 400 £T . (= approximately 2800 -
435

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353. European-type constructions are, of course, most numerously represented in Nuku'alofa and Neiafu.

/129 cont./

342 178 177 [435] [183] 3750 German marks) to build a European-style house with a small veranda. For most of the natives this is a goal worth striving for; there are only a few today who, for their pleasure in the traditional, will build themselves a "typical Tongan house" with great care and without using nails. Many have "modernized" the old type with the new building material. Since a coconut-leaf roof quickly rots under the climatic conditions, and must be renewed every two or three years, people still try to provide themselves, for example, with corrugated metal to cover their roofs, just as they like to cover the walls of their houses with /130/ it or, even better, with boards. At the same time they do not simplify the ground plan by straightening the narrow sides, but go to great trouble to construct the traditional house shape with the rounded ends by using bulky pieces of corrugated metal and wooden boards. In a house covered with corrugated metal it can be quite uncomfortable under the hot sun, especially if the owner has not shaded the roof with a cover of tapa or wooden boards; in this way, some natives have developed heart trouble, for example. However, the Tongans would rather suffer under such discomforts and know that they are thereby relieved of house-building worries for many years. These "modernized" Tongan houses, as well as the European-type rectangular constructions (of corrugated metal and wood) with or without veranda, regarded by the natives as something special and as the "better dwelling," are usually 342 lived in, after they are finished, until they collapse. Damaged parts 356 of walls and roof are seldom repaired, and almost never are they given a new coat of paint, although paint is available in the Archipelago. The weatherbeaten, gray, rusting, and, in part, collapsing buildings resemble those of the slums on the outskirts of some 342 European cities. Yet the oldest of these houses are today at least 50 years old (thanks to the very good material that was still provided

/130 cont./

342 at that time). They have apparently been built in Tonga since the turn of the century.

342 For 33 of the European-type rectangular houses in 'Uiha/'Uiha and
177 for 21 of these in Fungamisi/Vava'u, the following building costs /sic/
were obtained:

			in 'Uiha	in Fungamisi
built between	1890 and	1900.............	1	1
	1900 "	1910.............	17	3
	1910 "	1920.............	4	5
	1920 "	1930.............	2	3
	1930 "	1940.............	2	3
	1940 "	1950.............	4	2
		1951.............	3	4

342 The "ancient Tonga-style" houses hitherto mentioned do not
178 correspond exactly in their construction to the model of old times.

Their construction (framework) in part resembles that customary
in former times. Not only in some houses covered with indigenous
[284] material, but especially in those covered with corrugated metal, one
[283] often finds a strong and carefully constructed framework with lashings
of coconut-fiber cord.

94 dwellings (of commoners) with ancient Tongan ground plan were examined in 1952 in 'Uiha/'Uiha.

3 of these had a "very good" construction which approximately corresponds to the kind described in the old sources (insofar as these give more detailed information on the subject); /131/ only the beams were no longer polished (smoothed over) with the former meticulous care and the lashings perhaps somewhat simpler. These houses were built around 1880, 1931 and 1933, according to the memory of the natives (The 1931 building was first used as a church, then as a dwelling.

44 had a construction much like the ancient Tongan, and can be described

/131 cont./

342
178 as "good." These were built:

between 1860 and 1900.....4
" 1900 " 1910....10
" 1910 " 1920.....3
" 1920 " 1930.....6

between 1930 and 1940.....4
" 1940 " 1950....13
1951.....3

47 further dwellings showed the ancient Tongan construction simplified and changed: in a few, the four supporting posts were thinner and were moved toward the walls. The framework was often weaker (and even a "stick construction") and also incomplete or augmented with additions (props, supports, etc.). The traditional [177] lashings of coconut-fiber cords were often supplemented or replaced entirely with nails (or with hibiscus-bast lashings, more seldom with European twine). These houses were erected during the following periods:

between 1860 and 1900.....1
" 1900 " 1910.....2
" 1910 " 1920.....1
" 1920 " 1930.....4

between 1930 and 1940....4
" 1940 " 1950...21
1951/52...14

Though it may be assumed that in old times simplified constructions were occasionally erected, which deviated from the typical plan, the figures above seem to show that the proportion of weaker constructions is increasing at present. The increased house-building activity since [161] 1940 is presumably a consequence of the population increase (growing number of individuals of marriageable age).

342
177
178 'Uiha is a more remote settlement. That is one reason why the traditional construction has prevailed here to the extent mentioned. In a village like Fungamisi which is near the seaport of Neiafu and is subject to more intensive European influences, only one /dwelling/, among the 23 dwellings with ancient ground plan examined in 1952, was found whose construction was quite similar to that of ancient Tonga and deserved the rating "good"; it was built in 1950. The remaining

/131 cont./

342 177 178 22 houses were weaker in construction and more of less simplified and changed. They were built during the following periods:

between 1910 and 1920....1
1920 " 1930....3
1930 " 1940....2
between 1940 and 1950....7
1951....9

342 178 824 If native materials are used, the roof is almost always covered with coconut-leaf mats (pola), which Mariner already mentions for ancient Tonga. (354)

354. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 295.

The much more durable sugarcane leaves, which were formerly /132/

/132 cont./

342 the roof covering of the "better" houses, are today only occasionally
178 added to the coconut leaves, and are very seldom used exclusively.
824 The reason is said to be a great shortage of sugarcane leaves which is
(231) allegedly caused by horses that eat the young shoots.

342 Aside from the growing use of new types of building materials
178 (corrugated metal, tin and boards) and nails instead of lashings of
(177) coconut-fiber cords (kafa), one should note above all that the present-day dwelling of "ancient Tongan shape" is no longer "wall-less." The
(824) mats on the weather sides, which could be lowered or hung up, have been replaced, in the types that seem "pure Tongan," by stationary walls that consist either of coconut-leaf mats (plaited halves of leaves) fastened to slender lateral posts, or are made of reed (kaho) which, in a decorative arrangement, is stuck into the ground along the wall line all around the house and is bound together with coconut-fiber cords. Such "stationary walls" seem to have originated a long time ago. (355)

355. For example, Th. West, 90 years ago, described these stationary walls (Th. West, Ten Years.../cited in English/ p. 45.

342 The average house of this type today has three door openings: two
177 opposite each other in the center of the long sides and one on the
178 narrow side that is not part of the sleep section. In some houses whose owners did not have any boards when the houses were built, or who attached special importance to building "purely Tongan," knotted together coconut-leaf mats that can be lowered constitute the "door." On other houses of this type boards are used as door frames to which doors made of boards are fastened with metal hinges. In general, these houses with coconut-leaf or reed walls have no windows. As a result of strong solar radiation, a certain amount of translucence of the

/132 cont./

342 matting and the door which is mostly open during the day, it is always
177 sufficiently light inside. The houses of ancient Tongan design, which
178 have wooden or corrugated metal walls, also generally have three door
openings which are provided with doors made of boards. Some of these
houses have one or two window openings on the long side, which are
closed with wooden shutters.

342 Today there is no longer a distinct difference between the
184 dwellings of chiefs and those of commoners. Everyone can and will
565 build a house for himself that suits his taste and, above all, his
(177) economic circumstances. Quite a few chiefs own rather large European-
(243) type houses (some with glazed windows), and the Queen resides in a
palace built some decades ago in the style of a European tropical
house; /133/ however, many commoners have also built houses for themselves that in size and use of material outdo those of many chiefs.

342 For the size of dwellings the following figures were obtained in
178 the villages of 'Uiha and Fungamisi:
184 Houses with ancient Tongan ground plan:

	up to 6.5m. length & 3.2m. width	up to 8.5m. length & 4.2m. width	up to 10.5m. length & 5.2m. width	up to 11.5m. length & 5.7m. width	up to 13.5m. length & 5.8m. width
'Uiha.......	20	46	26	12	6
Fungamisi...	13	12	2	-	-

The average size of a house with "ancient Tongan ground plan" is 8.2 meters long and 3.9 meters wide in 'Uiha, and 6.4 meters long and 3.2 meters wide in Fungamisi. (356)

356. Calculated from the individual measurements.

(177) Houses with rectangular ground plan:

/133 cont./

342
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184

	up to 6m. length & 5m. width	up to 8m. length & 5m. width	up to 10m. length & 7.5m. width	up to 11m. length & 9m. width	over 11m. length & 9m. width
'Uiha.....	5	7	10	9	2
Fungamisi.	8	2	7	3	8 (357)

357. Some of these houses belong to half-castes (Tongan mother - European father).

The average size of a rectangular house is 8.2 meters long and 6.2 meters wide in 'Uiha, and 8.9 meters long and 6.6 meters wide in Fungamisi. (358)

358. Calculated from the individual measurements.

342 178 565 184 Thus the average size of today's Tongan dwelling (for commoners and chiefs) is smaller than that of the ancient Tongan chief's dwelling, which Cook gives as 30 feet long and 20 feet wide; however, it probably corresponds to the measurements of the ancient Tongan dwellings of commoners and may, in part, exceed them. (359)

359. Especially the "low, very small huts" observed by Cook (J. Cook, Beschreibung... /Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. 285); these were most probably the lodgings of commoners acting as servants and living on the properties of chiefs.

342 352 178 (824) The interior of Tongan dwellings has also changed. In the long houses with rounded narrow sides the house still resembles the ancient Tongan model. The floor is covered with dried coconut-palm leaves and grasses (or now simply with sand) and over this are spread mats (takapau) (360)

360. These are already mentioned by Mariner for ancient Tonga (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

342 178 plaited of young coconut-palm leaves. However, in many cases the

/133 cont./

342 floor is no longer raised by about /134/ one foot. In such houses
178 greater dampness easily arises, which can cause the inhabitants
[164] rheumatism, among other things. The house built in the ancient Tongan
style--with the slight elevation of the floor--is said by physicians
to be the type best adapted to that climate. The former customary
partitioning of the room by moveable, plaited mats of reed in a
semicircle have today been replaced by curtains of tapa or of cotton
(more seldom by board walls) [hanging from] two opposite posts, parti-
tioning off one of the round ends of the house (in some cases, both
round ends) as the sleeping quarters. The European-like constructions
[177] of the "box type" and "veranda type" (of timber and corrugated sheet
metal) are usually raised one-half to one meter above the ground on
posts and have a wooden floor which is, naturally, dry and, by its
elevation, provides a certain protection against ants, beetles, etc.
[435] This advantage must, however, be dearly paid for in the high cost of
such a house and the often high temperature and bad air inside.
Interior walls with doors subdivide the larger of these houses, whereas
in the smaller ones the sleep area is closed off with a curtain of tapa
or cotton.

344 The ancient Tongan meeting houses and guest houses of chiefs
178 have disappeared. Of larger houses in the villages we find today
346 above all the churches which are built on the ancient Tongan ground
177 plan or as European-like buildings. The schools and kautaha houses.
178 (361) are mostly built of timber and corrugated metal in rectangular shape
and usually do not exceed in size the larger European-type dwellings.
343 The ancient Tongan storehouses have also passed into oblivion. Today,
178 many families no longer own a storehouse; for the rest, simple huts

361. See pp. 134-135, 137-140.

/134 cont./
343 (or various materials and all kinds of shapes) or vacant dwellings
178 serve to store supplies. Almost every household, however, has a cook
343 hut which is usually put up as a "stick construction" with a very
252 simple shape and is covered [on top and sides] with interlaced coconut-
palm leaves (*pola*); sometimes bamboo (walls), timber and corrugated
metal are also used. The families who do not own a cook hut cook in
the open (for example, under a large tree) or at a neighbor's, never
[178] inside the dwelling. The ancient Tongan custom of separating dwelling
and kitchen has thus been retained. As a result of efforts on the part
343 of authorities, most Tongan households today have separate latrine huts
514 covered with interwoven coconut-palm twigs (*pola*) or with timber and/
178 or corrugated metal. The /135/ little "bath" houses erected on most
343 properties, in which people wash in a zinc tub or a wash basin. often
515 consist of only three *pola*-walls; some are also built of wood and
corrugated metal and are roofed-over. Boat houses occur now and then
343 in the shape of simple roofs covered with interwoven coconut-palm
leaves, which are supposed to protect sailboats temporarily out of
service from the inclemencies of the weather. Roofed-over work areas
[178] (especially for women) on many properties in the villages have similar,
simple roofs, as in old times. (362)

362. See G. Forster, *loc. cit.* I. p. 139.

342 To sum up, we may say that today in the Tonga Archipelago there
178 are no longer any dwellings which correspond exactly to the ancient
177 Tongan dwelling. However, despite the new building material and the
model of the simpler, rectangular constructions, one-half (and more)
or the numerous types or today show the old form of the long house
with rounded narrow sides. With this has arisen a fusion of the old
and the new which strikes us as strange.

342 For house-building in ancient Tonga there were specialists
463

/135 cont./

342 (tufuanga langa fale). They (with several helpers) erected the chiefs'
463 dwellings and other larger buildings. (363)

363. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 96. 279.

342 It is to be assumed that commoners mostly built their houses themselves,
565 especially since Mariner reports that everyone knew how to build a
house. (364)

364. Ibid. p. 279.

342
412 The tools used in house building consisted chiefly of various axes with
[237] stone blades and rasps with rough fish skins. (365)

365. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative /cited in English/. I. p. 109; J. T. Plant, Handbuch.../Handbook/ II. p. 374.

342 Today almost every Tongan is still capable of building by himself
178 a dwelling with the ancient Tongan ground plan, and there are also a
177 few "laymen" who can erect a European-type house. Besides, there are,
463 as in old times, special house builders living in every village. They
received their training in the traditional way: by working on various
[868] house-building projects they gathered knowledge and experience. A few
342 were trained, European-fashion, as carpenters (for example, in Fiji).
178 Therefore, as a rule, they own an assortment of good English tools (for
177 example, axes, hatchets, adzes, saws, hammers, drills, planes, chisels,
463 caulking irons, screwdrivers, files, clamps, angle irons, levels, tape
412 measures, etc.). Among the rest of the house builders, European axes,
335 transverse hatchets with iron blades and large European machetes, as
all-around tools, replace the equipment customary in ancient Tonga,
which has long since disappeared throughout the Archipelago.

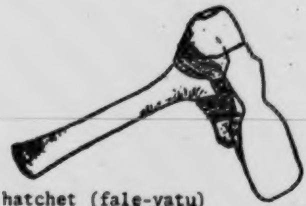
412 /136/ The big axe (toki lahi) is used to cut down trees and cut
up and split trunks. It is usually bought readymade in the commercial
[824] centers of the Archipelago; sometimes the natives acquire only the blade
(approximately 19 centimeters length and 11.5 centimeters maximum width)

/136 cont./

412 and make the handle themselves (length 85-90 centimeters) out of wood
[824] of the *toa* tree (*Casuarina equisetifolia* L.).

There are various transverse hatchets; the iron blades are bought
and then hand-shafted as desired. To make a *fale-vatu lahi* the
[177] [439] natives like to take an ordinary European hatchet blade of the type
[824] which was formerly traded in Tonga by German commercial firms, and
provide it with a forked-branch shaft of the *feta'u* tree (*Calophyllum
inophyllum*). The blade which lies crosswise is fastened (lashed) with
[284] [283] coconut-fiber cords (*kafa*) that are drawn through the eye (provided
for the handle by the European factory). The blades necessary for such
[439] transverse hatchets can at present no longer be bought from merchants
in the Archipelago; the ones in use, which some of their present
owners have inherited from their grandfathers, are therefore

[284]



Transverse hatchet (*fale-vatu*)
with European blade (Expedition Collection, No. 102)

of special value and handled with great care. Sometimes the rear
abutment on the shaft, which has to absorb the blow, is protected against
splintering by having some six nails driven in. In a typical specimen
of the *fale-vatu lahi*, the measured length of the blade was 18 centi-
meters and the maximum width 15 centimeters, the length of the handle
[342] [335] was 47 centimeters. In house-building, longitudinal grooves are cut

/136 cont./

412 into the coconut-palm pieces of trunk with the *fale-vatu lahi* in order
[342] to make the rafters (*kahoki*) (see below). This transverse hatchet--
[335] with the same shape and shaft--also occurs in a smaller version known
[322] as *fale-vatu si'i*, and is used preferably to "plane" the rafters (chip off unevenness). The *toki taha-taha* and the *toki tele* are used
412 for the same purpose. The smaller hatchets (handle length about 30
177 centimeters) have European planing blades, again mounted crosswise,
284 with the cutting edge fastened to a forked branch with a *kafa* lashing.
824 Here too the handle usually consists of *feta'u* wood. In the case of the *toki tele* are used for the same purpose. The smaller hatchets (handle length about 30 centimeters) have European planing blades, again mounted crosswise, with the cutting edge fastened to a forked branch with a *kafa* lashing. Here too the handle usually consists of *feta'u* wood. In the case of the *toki tele*, parts of a coconut husk are used as a blade cover. Another small transverse hatchet (handle length 25 centimeters), the *toki unga ko*, may be mentioned. Here a European gouge approximately 20 centimeters long with its curvature resting on an insert of toa wood is attached with a *kafa* lashing to a *feta'u* forked branch. Owing to the insert, this blade can be turned and thus makes possible various semicircular cuts.

The transverse hatchets mentioned here are often also bound with wire (or hemp) instead of the coconut-fiber cords.

412 These transverse hatchets are an interesting fusion of ancient
177 Tongan and European tools: the natives have generally replaced their stone blades /137/ with the various more efficient metal blades, but have retained the old Tongan type of shaft so that they can use the new tool for their traditional working methods (see below). (366)

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366. The transverse hatchets are used not only in house-building, but also in woodwork generally (for example, boat-building, see p. 351-353).

331 /138 cont./
342 village built a house for his mother. Fourteen of these "laymen"
463 buildings were put up after 1940. The builders or "laymen" seldom
[602] worked alone. In most cases they had up to five helpers (often
[465] relatives) whose work was acknowledged only with food. In many cases
[435] there was no outlay for building material, since the builders
limited themselves to native raw materials or were given only
corrugated metal and building timber; for the rest of the buildings,
331 up to 12 £T. was spent for corrugated metal, building timber and nails.
342 Of 16 European-type houses examined at the same time, 11 were
177 built by Tongans who are house-builders (or regarded as such). The
463 work of the builders (some of whom were relatives) was acknowledged
[602] only with food, except in two cases; one was given building material
[465] (wood), the other was given money. Five houses were built by non-specialist natives for themselves.--Altogether, two houses were built
individually. For the rest of the 14 structures, 2 to 20 helpers were
[465] co-workers. Their work was here too acknowledged only with food while
they were building, except for one case in which money was given. For
[435] building material--aside from gifts--between 20 £T. (old material) and
1000 £T. (good material, very large house) was spent.

342 These investigations can give us various clues. We realize that
most Tongans are apparently still capable of building by themselves
(Fungamisi example) a simple dwelling (ancient Tongan ground plan).
[463] However, as a result of the "liberation" of the people, the house-
[331] building specialists, of whom there were some even in ancient Tonga,
seem to have obtained a greater range of work insofar as many commoners
342 depend on them for help (as did many chiefs in former times). The
178 wish to have a well-built house in ancient Tongan style is considerably
greater, according to the figures quoted above, in a more remote
village like 'Uiha than in a settlement near a harbor, like Fungamisi

/139/

342 where, considering the buildings in the seaport of Neiafu, the old-
178 style Tongan houses may be regarded as mostly self-built makeshifts
in a light construction. (367)

367. See p. 193.

342 The dissemination of "European-type construction" (wood-corrugated
177 metal-rectangular buildings) need not necessarily--on the basis of the
463 aforementioned figures--lead to an increase in house-building
specialization; some skillful Tongans, even as "laymen," know how to
build such types of houses. (368)

[333] 368. All European-style houses are, incidentally, today built by Tongans without guidance by whites. The natives can also build a European shed on concrete bases and even know how to make concrete tiles by themselves (from the necessary imported material).

342 Moreover, we learn that money which circulates rather freely in the
436 Archipelago has heretofore played no great role in the employment of
463 house-builders. The efforts of specialists and helpers are mainly
465 acknowledged, in the old way, simply with good food (earth oven)
331 during the building. (369)

369. Even in the "modern" work of erecting European-style structures.

342 The building material for the construction of a house with the ancient
435 Tongan ground plan and coconut-palm covering can still, as in old
178 times, be procured without financial expenditure, so that the entire
process can be carried through without an outlay of cash, (370)

370. If the "owner" does not have enough pigs and products from his plantation at his disposal, he will of course have an indirect cash outlay in buying flour, sugar, corned beef, etc., in order to feed the builders.

and only with the cost of good food for all workers; this applies to a remote settlement ('Uiha) as well as to a village near a seaport (Fungamisi).

/139 cont./

000 (Fungamisi). As a result of the growing use of European building
342
177 materials for the old-style Tongan houses and especially as a result
436 of the introduction of the European-style houses, however, money takes
on an increasing importance for the procurement of material in house
building.

342 A Tongan who plans to build a house must of course, decide where
423 it is to be located. If he has not yet obtained property in the village
425 (api kolo) (371)

371. See p. 173.

from the government and does not wish to build on the property of a
relative, he must hand in a proper request to the authorities for the
342 assignment of a plot of land. Meanwhile he will soon start building
preparations, for these take a fairly long time. The preparations--as
in former times--consist chiefly of procuring the building material and
obtaining food supplies to feed the workers.

342 /140/Making sufficient quantities (several thousand meters) of
283 coconut-fiber cord (kafa) for lashing the framework and for fastening
824 the coconut-leaf covering is still an important prerequisite for
building a dwelling in ancient Tongan style. The natives gather large
283 coconuts with especially long husks (niu kafa), remove these and
divide them into four (eight) pieces which they place in a basket
weighted with stones and lay in a shallow place in the sea for about
a month. Then they beat them on a block of hard wood (or on a stone)
with a stick or toa wood 30 to 40 centimeters long, in order to loosen
the fibers and remove the crumbly material between them. After the
fibers have been dried in the sun they are rolled in small bundles
(372)

372. From 5 to 25 fibers each, depending on their thickness.

with the palm of the hand on the naked thigh (or between two palms),

/140 cont./

342 313 [824] [439] trees (Bischofia javanica Bl.) or toa trees (Casuarina equisetifolia L.) at his disposal on his plantation (bushland)--as in old times--and does not wish to sacrifice valuable breadfruit trees to make posts, then he must go to an uninhabited island where--again as in old ways--he will look for suitable trees, or else he will buy imported Canadian or New Zealand building timber which, moreover, is preferably used 342 177 439 instead of coconut palm trunks for the beams. To build a house in old Tongan style, which is supposed to have board walls and be covered with corrugated sheet metal, and especially to put up a European-style construction, a person must, in good time, buy enough corrugated metal, imported wood, nails and possibly cement in the commercial centers of the Archipelago and transport them to his native island in the small cutters.

342 264 574 /141/ Since a man must generally supply food for the specialist (in case such a one is building the house) and all his helpers (otherwise the orderly course of the work might easily be endangered as a result of growing apathy), he must, in due time, raise quantities of food plants and, in addition, depending on the size of the understaking, fatten a number of pigs. If a man does not wish--or is not able--to offer hospitality in this ancient Tongan style, he must have in readiness sacksful of flour and sugar, large cans of corned beef, tea and, if possible, loaves of bread, in order to provide meals.

342 331 After all preparations have progressed to the point where they can guarantee a steady flow of work, the day is set for the building to begin. The work force assembles on the day announced; the work begins.

[177] [178] The following account of the building of a house in November/December 1951 on Nomuka may show the juxtaposition (or fusion) of old and new:

/141 cont./

342 For a long time the "district officer" /cited in English/
177 living on Nomuka has wanted to move out of the house of his parents-
178 in-law and build his own house on a property he owns in the village.
463 He talks over his plan with Vilingia, the (approximately 45-year-old)
331 house-building specialist on Nomuka, who has been trained in Fiji
as a carpenter. They decide to build a house with ancient Tongan
ground plan but with "improved beaming," wooden walls with a cement
base, windows and doors and a corrugated sheet metal roof. Vilingia
draws a construction plan in an exercise book. The district officer
[439) buys four metal drums of cement, Canadian building timber, corrugated
sheet metal and nails, flour, fat and sugar in Nuku'alofa and has the
supplies brought to Nomuka in cutters. Six men from Nomuka sail to
[484) the uninhabited island of Tonumea, a half-day's journey distant, there
[313) chop down 12 breadfruit trees, cut them up as beams and take them
[283) home. Coconut-fiber cord is also made in sufficient quantities. After
all the material has lain ready for several weeks, the district
officer decides to start the building. Shortly before the date fixed,
[251) a group of natives sail to the neighboring island of Nomuka Iki,
there shoot one of the half-wild cows of the "boss," cut it up properly
and, in Nomuka, salt down the meat in wooden tubs, under the supervision
of an aged Tongan.

342 On the day the building is to commence, some 20 men from the
476 village (young and old in approximately the same number) assemble early
313 in the morning at the previous dwelling of the "boss," and, after a
331 breakfast of fried cakes /cited in English/ (Tonga: keke) and
orange-leaf tea, they repair to the plantations, led by the carpenter
Vilingia, where, because of the exalted position of the "boss," they
take the liberty of selecting and cutting down the coconut palms
needed for the rafters, without asking permission from their respective

331 /141 cont./
342 owners. The palms chopped down with the big axe (*toki lahi*) (see
476 above) are cut up with the same axe into nine-foot (or eleven-foot)
[313] lengths and, for further preparation, are placed on two smaller
342 (properly notched) logs. The "jacked-up" logs are then provided with
476 longitudinal grooves by two Tongans standing opposite each other
335 who, with the big transverse hatchet (*fale-vatu lahi*) (see above),
412 strike blow after blow, each /worker/ forming a longitudinal groove;
331 /142/ the two longitudinal grooves meet as they are struck, so that the second of the two workers can, with his blows, simultaneously tear the bark and wood out of the resulting fissure and thus lay it open. After turning the log slightly on its supports, another Tongan, /applying/ blow after blow with the big axe, slits the resulting workpiece (the rafter-to-be) on one side. After a further turning, the two men start cutting another lengthwise groove with the transverse hatchet. The process is repeated successively until 10,12 or 15 rafters (*kahoki*), depending on the circumference of the trunk, are marked off all around the log. Then the *kahoki* (which already have a preliminary slit on one side) are separated from the log with the big axe and a pointed club (crowbar). With a machete the rough chips are removed and the rafters are loaded on two-wheel, horse-drawn carts and taken
331 to the building site in the village.

342 There are no reports about how rafters were made in ancient Tonga.
335 However, it is to be assumed that today's work which seems so primi-
178 tive to us was carried out in the same way in those days, and that
177 there is a change only with respect to the axes, the iron blades of
the transverse hatchets and the measurements with English foot rules.

342 The groups of natives, each working on the felled coconut palms
335 (young and old separately, but also individual older men among the
476 young ones), busily engaged, though soon stopping for rather long
461
331

/143 cont./

342 served, and at 15 o'clock everyone gets his basket with his share of
272 the earth-oven meal: manioc, *kape*, sweet potatoes and salted
264 beef, along with a coconut mug of beef broth. In the afternoon, while
342 a few natives continue splitting and planing rafters, others, with
331 the *huo lafa-lafa* (shovel iron), (374)
level the ground measured off by the carpenter for the house. Under a
[276] temporary corrugated metal roof a kava group of ten older men is
[571] gathered. At 18:45 fried cakes and orange-leaf tea are again handed
[264] out. Then the men slowly go home; a few natives take along a
basket of leftovers from the afternoon meal.

[332] On the third day of work, more rafters and curved sections of
[412] beams are made; the ground plan of the house (in ancient Tongan style)
[177] is marked out, and an approximately 15 centimeter excavation is dug
(tools: two *huo spade* [a small iron blade set on an old digging stick;
[276] see page 234] and a European shovel). Four older Tongans form a kava
[571] circle. The meals are the same as on the previous days. The work
[796] stops toward 16 o'clock, for at 17 o'clock the usual church service
(Friday) is held.

[335] On the subsequent work days the posts and beams (native and
Canadian wood) are cut and planed with the carpenter's tools
(transverse hatchet, saws, planes, adzes); the work on the rafters
(total number 250) also continues. The meals corresponds to those
[276] of the preceding days. The kava gathering of older men continues to
[571] assemble on the building site.

342 Finally, the four customary posts that are to carry the roof are
331 set in place. However, the carpenter intends to give the house more
335 room and to replace the "disturbing" posts with special supports of
Canadian building timber, leading upward obliquely from the side walls;

374. See p. 233-234.

/ 143 cont./

342 hence only temporary posts are set up. Into the grooved ends the men
331 place the horizontal beams, their position tested with an English
335 water level, and raise and adjust the posts with a traditional lever
(177) tied to each post. Four crossbeams are laid over the longitudinal
(401)
[284] beams, and the parts that belong together are lashed with coconut-fiber
cords (kafa) that have been soaked in water. Then the men place two
more longitudinal beams over the ends of the cross beams and fasten
them the same way with kafa. They put up the ridge lath and ridge
[284] board, supported, for the time being, by provisional posts, at the
proper height above the construction and hang the notched rafters to
the ridge lath with coconut-cord lashings. The downward extending
rafters rest on the longitudinal beams lying on the ends of the
[177] crossbeams. Here they are lashed and at the same time nailed on with
European iron nails; this is the part that must then bear the main
burden of the construction. The rest of the longitudinal beams are
fastened to the lower part of the rafters and to the upper part of
the roof with coconut lashings and nails. Then the roof laths are
lashed (from the inside) and nailed down. The traditional roof
brackets are attached to the crossbeams.

342 Up to this point the entire work procedure--except for the
331 European or Europeanized tools and the use of nails--resembles the
177 ancient Tongan house construction. But now, in place of the coconut-
335 leaf mats (polà) (to be plaited by the women) /144/ pieces of
corrugated sheet metal are nailed onto previously applied strips, as
roof covering. Then three curved sections of a beam are joined to
form a round beam (corresponding to one of the rounded narrow sides
of the house). Instead of the customary system of coconut-fiber
lashing, they follow the European method of boring through the
obliquely sawed ends with a drill and joining them in iron clamps

/144 cont./

342 331 with wooden tenons. Two of these round beams form the framework of
335 one narrow side of the roof; as in old times, they are set on the ends
177 (284) of the main horizontal beams (375) and fastened to them with coconut-fiber lashing. Rafters and roof
[412] laths are tied over them and nailed, and here, too, strips and corrugated sheet metal--laboriously cut with sheet-iron shears--are nailed on.

It is only now, when the roof is finished, that the men apply themselves to the walls which are built in a quite "modern" form.
[333] They pour a cement foundation all around the house (according to the ground plan) in which screws are inserted. To these they screw beams which form the basis for a wall framework to be built between the foundation and the edge of the roof. On this framework they nail the wall boards, allowing for window- and door- openings. Then they take out the four posts which are so important for the ancient Tongan house (which here were set up only temporarily) and replace them with supports extending obliquely from the base of the walls to the joints. The roof now rests partly on the walls--a very considerable change for Tonga.

342 The rest of the work is slowly carried out, for the general
331 enthusiasm has abated, especially since the rations have become scarcer (after the boss's last beef has been consumed). Because Christmas preparations are now beginning in the village, only a few willing workers appear at the building site. They cover the floor of the house with sand, paint the outside of the new building with light blue oil paint, attach a gutter and start to make the doors, until the building material gives out and the work stops. However, the

---

375. That is, the horizontal beams resting on the four posts.

/144 cont./

331 342 [461] house is now already occupied.

This house building took 29 work days. After a forced pause of several weeks to procure further building material from distant Nuku'alofa, the work will soon be finished.

331 342 177 178 In this way, European tools (or parts of tools) and material, as well as European building methods have found their way into Tongans to build a house has not been displaced by this specialization. In fact, division of labor among the workers in building a house and their compensation seems little changed. This persistence is also evident in the way the Tongans largely retain their ancient building methods.

b) Household Equipment

177 European influences have brought about enrichment and change in the field of household equipment.

352 415 354 /145/ The ancient Tongan furnishings of a dwelling consisted essentially of seat mats, sleep mats, headrests, baskets of various kinds and sizes (to hold clothing, combs, fish hooks, tools, etc.), bottle gourds, wooden bowls, lamps (burning coconut oil) and the all important and typical multi-footed, large kava bowl. (376)

> 376. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative /cited in English/ I. pp. 95, 96, 108; J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. p. 285; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 329; V. pp. 139, 148; Ch. Wilkes, Narrative... /cited in English/ III. pp. 15, 16.

177 As a result of contact with whites the Tongans adopted various European household articles which seemed to them either more useful than corresponding ones of their own, or particularly "representative." In this way, what to the European eye seemed like the "emptiness" of the Tongan house was to some extent filled.

[352] Today, the inside of a dwelling looks somewhat as follows:

/145 cont./

177 the floor (which consists of coconut-leaf mats [takapau] placed over
352 the sand or dried leaves, or of boards [see above]) is more or less
covered with seat mats (papa = coarse mats of pandanus leaves,
lou paonga) (377)

377. Size approximately 2.60 x 0.75 meters;
construction see page 305-307.

upon which the finer floor mats and sleep mats of the lo taha type are
353 sometimes spread. In some houses the roof construction is covered over
352 with tapa. Along the walls stand a few crates, boxes or chests,
177 baskets, also traveling bags and often a small food cupboard (with
415 screening). In front of, or on top of, these containers, in which are
kept clothing, utensils and smaller supplies of various kinds, lies
the bedding (mats, bast-fiber covers [sheets], pillows) of several
352 house occupants, which is rolled up during the day. On a small table
354 there are often a glass kerosene lamp, a few glass bottles with Tongan
415 oil, a mirror, etc. The bed of the master of the house (married couple)
177 is usually partitioned off with a tapa or cotton curtain (sometimes
352 also with a board wall). (378)
353
177

378. In houses with an ancient Tonga ground
plan it /the bed/ is usually located in
one of the rounded ends.

Here there are more containers and mat beds or a European-type bed.
353 Many Tongan interiors are decorated with strips of colored crepe
177 paper, photographs, magazine and newspaper pictures.--Such furnishing
are today typical for houses with ancient Tongan ground plan, as well
as for most of the European-type constructions.

352 A complete Tongan bed consists today of a simple sleep mat of
285 the lo taha type, another placed over it of the fala tofua type and
513 a sleep mat of the fala paongo type spread over this. (379)

(824) 379. The mats are made from leaves of various
pandanus species; their size varies from

513
285
[352] /145 cont./
(824)

about 1.10 x 1.30 meters to about 1.70 x 2.60 meters. For their construction see pp. 305 ff.

However, people often sleep on a single mat. There are no specific data on /146/ the sleep mats used in ancient Tonga. It is to be [565] assumed that commoners slept on simpler mats than did the nobles. [178] Very probably the mats are in general plaited more crudely now than [531] in the old days (380)

380. For example, there are no longer any sleep mats of the quality of the old Tongan mat No. Oz. /oceania?/ 141 (Cook Collection) in the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Gottingen.

and the lo taha and fala tofua, in contrast to the fala paonga which is always in natural color (brown), are decorated not only with the traditional black plaited pattern, (381)

[386] 381. Dyed black with leaf strips buried in the mud of a bog for two or three days and boiled with manaui leaves.

but also with European colored woolen threads knotted on the borders. 513 Some Tongans spread a European white sheet over their sleep mats; but [177] only a few cover themselves with these or with wool blankets. The majority still use (especially on cooler nights) the traditional bast-fabric sleep covers. (382)

382. Perhaps these are today used more by commoners than in the past.

513 The ancient headrests, however, are gradually falling into disuse. One 352 still finds them used by a few older men and women. Some own the 178 typical Tongan headrests (hahapo) made from one piece, very few have the four-footed headrests (kali), the legs of which are fastened to the headrest in pairs with coconut-fiber cords; more commonly used than these beautiful old types (383)

513 /146 cont./

352 383. These are no longer made in Tonga and
178 are mostly several decades old.

are the "headrests" (tekihi) made of a simple, angular or rounded oblong block of wood, or the kali papa nailed together out of scraps
513 of imported building timber. However, the majority of Tonga today
178 sleep without headrests; they sleep on the level ground or put their
177 heads on a cloth bundle or on a European pillow that they have made
352 themselves and filled with kapok. In some 30 to 50 percent (384)

177 384. Depending on the location of the settlement (village near a seaport or remote island).

of Tongan houses there are European-type bedsteads (wooden or iron bedstead or camp bed). Some of the wooden bedsteads were self-made by
[283] the natives; on a lacing of coconut-fiber cords (kafa) lies a pile of mats serving as mattress. The beds found in Tongan houses are,
[513] however, only partly used for sleeping (with European linen or a bast-fabric sheet over the mat pile and with a pillow); more as a useful object for storing some of the delicate mats. In some houses today one
751 sees mosquito netting.

285 Baskets are plaited in large quantities in Tonga. (385)

385. See p. 313 ff.

However, today they serve more for carrying than for storing things in
[531] the house. The wealth of baskets has diminished insofar as the /147/
[237] artistic coconut-fiber baskets, for example, (386)
[178]

386. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ I. p. 108; J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc cit. VI. p. 283; also No. Oz. 139 (Cook Collection) in the Institute for Ethnology, Gottingen.

partly decorated with small shell disks, have not been made for a long
285 time. The baskets made today in Tonga consist mostly of pandanus-leaf
531 strips (of several species) in various forms (some using coconut-leaf ribs) (387)

531 /147 cont./

285 387. Except for the small coconut-leaf baskets generally used but once.

and ornamented with the natural-colored brown and traditionally black-dyed (388)

[386] 388. By burying in mud for two or three days and boiling with manaui leaves.

pandanus-leaf strips; (389)

389. For their construction see p. 313 ff.

some plaited bags are also decorated with pandanus-leaf strips dyed
285 with bright-colored European dyes. Undoubtedly the baskets now being
178 plaited in Tonga are an ancient cultural heritage. (390)

390. In principle they resemble, for example, the ancient Tongan basket No. Oz. 121 in the Ethnological Institute, Gottingen.

However, they are probably more crudely worked than in the past.--
415 The essential containers for storing clothing and smaller things used in the household, the tools, etc., are today simply old corned-beef cases, specially made wooden boxes and metal-trimmed chests. In
[177] addition, a few households have European cardboard suitcases in more or less good condition. Closets are scarcely to be seen in Tongan houses,
353 except for small food cupboards (with screening) for storing dishes and smaller supplies, with which over half of all households are pro-
352 vided. Wooden shelves today likewise serve to accomodate various little
177 things, as do tables. The latter have been introduced in many houses, though they have lost their European function, since they are used mostly as places to put lamps, bottles, mirrors etc. Very few households have European /straight/ chairs, benches, club chairs etc., and even in the houses that have tables and chairs, people generally sit on the floor beside them and also take their meals there--as in old times. However,
[556] the owner is very proud of such European furniture; for him it is the
[574] symbol of respected Europeanism and at the same time proof of his

352 /147 cont./
177 personal wealth, and it often gives him the comforting assurance that
(556) he will always be able to receive a white guest properly.
(574) Among the rest of the household effects, the wooden, multi-
415 footed kava bowl along with the coconut mugs have a prominent place
178 in most houses, as in the old days (391)

> 391. On the custom of the kava drink see pp. 143-149.

422 Almost every household also owns a roll of tapa from which pieces are
412 cut off as needed. For sweeping, the natives still use a broom (*tau*
824 *fale*) made of the ribs of pinnate coconut leaves, coconut-fiber cord
354 and a stick of hibiscus wood. The old Tongan lamps, /148/ in which
178 coconut oil was burned, like the more frequently used torches, have,
177 however, long since disappeared. In every house one sees European
kerosene lamps, and the modern benzol pressure lamps are also rather
372 widely used. In the villages, matches have altogether replaced the
177 old method of rubbing fire; it is only on the plantations that fire is
178 often produced in the old way, (392)

> 392. On the long side of a trunk of *Hibiscus tiliaceus* (*tolonga*) approximately 80 - 100 centimeters long, which has been flattened with a knife, a pointed rod (*kaunatu*) of the same wood is rubbed back and forth with both hands, under steady pressure and with mounting speed so that the sawdust that gathers at the bottom of the trough gradually grows hotter and finally starts to smolder; tinder (for example, a dry coconut husk) can thus be ignited. The process usually takes 20 - 25 seconds; 15 seconds were said to be "record time."

415 with which very many Tonga are still familiar. No Tongan uses
177 bottle gourds any more for storing liquids. Glass bottles of various
178 shapes and colors are taken for granted in all Tongan dwellings.
000 Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and

416 /148 cont./ Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and
805 in some houses one even sees alarm clocks and vases with paper
353 flowers as a special adornment. The crepe-paper strips in garish
353 colors probably also became common as ornaments in dwellings (they
often hang on the posts and suspended from the beams, because they
are something special on the islands which are rather monotonous in
color, just as the newspaper clippings and magazine illustrations on
the posts and crossbeams are coveted because of their "curiosity-value."
Various dwellings display, as decoration, more or less faded photographs
of family members taken on the main islands. One very rarely finds
207 radios in Tongan houses; the reason may be less because of the diffi-
culty of obtaining sets, but rather the inconvenience of providing
them with dry cell batteries or accumuators. However, as a result of
404 the adoption of European textiles, sewing machines have become widely
177 used. One often sees the small hand-crank machines which are so
practical for the Tongan way of sitting; but one also comes across
treadle sewing machines, older ones as well as recent cabinet type
296 machines. For laundering textiles probably all households today are
provided with zinc tubs and washboards, and in many households one
411 sees heavy flatirons heated with coconut shells. The weapons (clubs
178 and spears) which in the old sources are counted among the "household
177 equipment" have long since disappeared; only occasionally one sees
415 an old European shotgun. In the cook huts, now and then in the
177 dwellings, one still finds some of the traditional wooden bowls and
basins which are being more and more replaced by the easily obtainable
enamel basins, aluminum bowls and zinc tubs, just as the /149/ clay
pots formerly imported from Fiji (393)

393. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 284.

or made in Tonga (?) (394)

394. W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 117 ff.

415 /149 cont./
177 have long since been replaced by sturdy English metal-pots and kettles.
412 Coconut-meat graters (hakalo) can be found in every household, but
178 the natives have fastened to the tripods (tree branches) or to the
simple boards, serrated, flat bar iron instead of shells. On the
262 whole, only a few families still eat banana leaves (or leaves of the
178 breadfruit tree). (395)

395. At feasts, however, banana leaves are still plentifully used.

415 Today, in all households, there are earthenware or tin plates, and
412 cups and mugs for drinking. Many households own table knives, forks,
177 and spoons which, however, are scarcely ever used, since people still
[264] generally eat with their fingers (often directly out of the bowls
415 instead of on plates). Tin and earthenware jugs are common, and often
177 one also sees glasses and glass pitchers for the popular native and
European refreshing drinks.

177 The increase of imported European goods in Tongan households has
352 in some cases increased to a complete adoption of European furnishing
405 which may consist of beds, cupboards, chests of drawers, tables, easy
534 chairs, straight chairs, wall clocks, framed pictures and even pianos,
428 of which some things have been inherited by half-castes. Even in these
177 cases, however, the old Tongan life has usually proved stronger than
178 the compulsion for foreign furnishings, for the owner will continue
516 to sit crosslegged on the floor.

177 Thus in the field of Tongan household equipment it is to be
178 observed that essential elements of the old Tongan furnishings
(seat mats, bed, kava bowl) have been preserved, though in altered
forms, that some ancient cultural assets (headrests, certain baskets,
lamps, bottle gourds, wooden containers) have been lost and are at
present disappearing, and that many European objects have been
adopted, which to the Tongans seems useful of superior to corresponding

/149 cont./

177 ones of their own, or are simply regarded as "representative." This
178 change has, however, not essentially altered the ancient Tongan style
of household living. The great majority of natives use the seat mats
and the sleep mats, as did their forefathers, and have merely made
their traditional way of life more comfortable with the European
178 novelties. The difference between the furnishings of commoners and
565 nobles, which to some extent undoubtedly existed in earlier times, has
disappeared. With respect to Tongan cultural assets this must have
meant a loss in quantity and quality for nobles and a gain for
177 commoners. The acquisition of European things is today solely
dependent on financial means.

342 /150/ To sum up, we may say about the Tongan house and its
177 furnishings that all changes, as great as they may be in detail,
178 have by no means changed the function of the dwelling. As in old
times, it is the place where the family sleeps and rests. (396)

396. The set-up of the Tongan household and the distribution of houses on the individual properties in the village may be seen on page 90 ff., and the number of houses in the various villages on page 134.

[461] No work is done in the dwelling except the mat-plaiting of the women,
[285] and the cook area is still located in a separate hut.
[252]

B. FOOD

a) Cultivation

241 The Tongans were and are primarily farmers, and their cultivation
178 has undergone no fundamental change through European influences.
(177) Very probably the size of the land cultivated today in the
Tonga Archipelago is as large as it was in ancient Tongan times. The
[161] considerable decrease of cultivation in the first half of the past
century (as a result of the civil wars from 1797 to 1852 and the
transition to village settlements) has as regards to the area of

/153 cont./
241 way he has to walk from the village, he can no longer devote himself
178 to it as intensely as in the 18th century; secondly, many natives
461 seem to have lost their joy in the work of cultivation. This is the
[177] outcome of European influences, as a result of which much hand work
has apparently become crude or has been lost altogether. The
"liberation" of commoners from the domination of chiefs, as well as
the realization that one is no longer completely dependent on
cultivation, since flour, meat, sugar, etc. can be bought from the
storekeeper on all the islands, may likewise have determined the
present attitude toward plantation work.

241 The majority of Tongans consume their cultivated products by
[262] themselves, within their own families. At a request, or even on their
[431] own initiative, they will sometimes give of their yield--especially
if there has been a good harvest--to other villagers (not only kinfolk),
241 as in old times. On the small islands they do not, as a rule, sell
438 their produce to fellow-villagers, and in the villages of the larger
184 islands, only occasionally. In the larger towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu
432 and Pangai, however, some Tongans sell their tubers, etc. to their
countrymen who have no plantings or only small ones (for example,
government and business officials); some natives on the larger
islands have even started planned cultivation for such purposes (for
241 example, "yam farms"). The handing-over of produce to chiefs, which
565 in ancient Tonga was taken for granted, has been given up almost
178 entirely and has been superseded by the annual payment for the lease
427 651 of land; a native but only seldom on special occasions, will a
431 native bring the chief of his district a gift of select tubers. The
241 old, larger harvest festival (inasi), the offering of first fruits
796 to the gods, (406)

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178 406. See E. Gifford, Tongan Society / cited in English/ pp. 76, 345.

/155 cont./

241 for the accidental green manure from decayed parasites on banana trunks
and the ashes from burning the slashed and dried wild plants when the
241 land is cleared. The apparently recent but /156/ obvious exhaustion
242 of the soil on several Ha'apai islands, (412)

(134) 412. It is impossible for many land-poor Tongans always to observe the necessary period of fallow.

leads to the fact that here the less exacting, "new" manioc plant is in places planted more abundantly than the demanding yam; on Nomuka, for example, yam cultivation ceased altogether for a time until it was discovered in 1943 that the plant flourished once again. It was on this particular island that the Forsters (413)

413. G. Forster, loc. cit. V. p. 150.

saw an abundance of harvested yams.

242 The planting together of various crops on the same land (for example, yams with bananas, sweet potatoes with kape and bananas) is a procedure already practiced in ancient Tonga, (414)

414. See, for example, J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 284.

and is apparently based on early experiences of biological suitability.
241 The planting of coconut palms has, however, as a result of copra
245 production by the natives, become greater than in the past; the govern-
178 ment prescribed division of the api'uta into half for coconut palms and
656 half for crops has on some islands shifted to such an extent that some
plantations are covered up to seven-eighths with coconut palms in
between which bananas, kape, taro, manioc, etc. flourish.

412 The tool the Tongans use for cultivation has changed as a result
241 of European influences, insofar as the old wooden digging stick (huo)
177 that was flattened at the end and was not much wider than two to four
inches (415)

/156 cont./

412

241 415. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 284.

177 was replaced chiefly by two tools that have iron blades: The huo spade consists of an oval iron blade, approximately 14 centimeters long, 12 centimeters wide and provided with a socket approximately 17 centimeters long which is stuck onto a strong wooden handle about 1.50 meters long. The natives buy the blade from a shopkeeper and [432] make the handle themselves out of toa wood (Casuarina equisetifolia L.); [824] in a way, this tool represents the old digging stick, but is more efficient. (416)

416. Th. West already mentions it in 1865. (Th. West, Ten years...p. 146); a smaller huo spade with an iron handle is seen more seldom.

The huo lafa-lafa is a slightly angular thrusting iron (length approximately 13 centimeters, width approximately 18 centimeters, socket approximately 13 centimeters long) with its socket set on a wooden handle (approximately 1.70 meters long); the natives buy the tool ready-made from a shopkeeper and of course replace the handle themselves if it breaks. The huo lafa-lafa is used chiefly for slashing weeds on the plantations, sometimes also for digging in loose ground. The large machete (417)

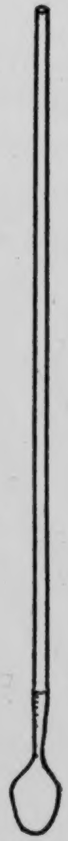
417. See p. 203.

is also extensively used on the plantations, to cut down tough weeds, to harvest various crops, etc. /157/ /Illustrations appear here./ /158/ Sometimes a regular European pitchfork is used to loosen the ground (for example, in planting the stalk-cuttings of the sweet potatoe); one seldom sees European spades or shovels. The ancient
241 412 178 184
Tongan digging stick has survived, in a sense, on the smaller islands where, on the plantations, the natives cut a piece of wood about two meters long, whittle it at the end by one-sided blows with the machete and then use it as a huo langa to break up (loosen) the soil in planting kape (less often taro or yams).

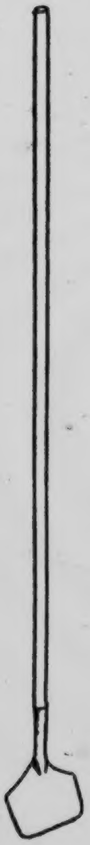
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 236]

/157 cont./

241
412
177



Digging stick with European iron blade (huo spade)
(Expedition collection, No. 93)



Shoveling tool (huo lafa-lafa)
(Expedition collection, No. 284)

/158 cont./

000 *kape* (less often taro or yams). With these tools they usually work
241 standing. The former, apparently customary, squatting method of work
412 (418)
516

418. See, for example, J. Wilson, A *missionary voyage*.../cited in English/ p. 245.

407 is used only by a few very old men. Plows as well as other agri-
177 cultural machines and tractors are used by Tongans under the guidance
242 of whites only on the state experimental farms on Tongatapu and on the
property of Crown Prince Tungi on this island.

121 The following survey may give an insight into present-day agri-
241 culture and show the changes that have taken place.

244 *'ufi* - Yams (*Dioscorea alata* L.)

262 Even in ancient Tonga yams were one of the most important food
178 plants (if not *the* most important crop). (419)

419. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. *cit*. VI. pp. 163, 237, 283/284; W. Ellis, *An authentic narrative*...I. p. 89.

[563] White employees in the Tongan government have so far discovered 80
[137] varieties of yams in the Archipelago; more than 20 different names are
familiar to the average Tongan. Yams are still the favorite tubers
on all the islands, though their total cultivation has decreased in
Tonga in comparison with the past (see above); in the Ha'apai group
yams are today planted to a lesser extent, whereas their cultivation on
the larger islands of the Archipelago (for example, Tongatapu) is
still quite extensive and in some places probably corresponds to that
of the past.

244 Planting time--with certain shifts as a result of the long north-
221 south extension of the Archipelago--extends from June to the first days
of August and from the third week of August up to October-November. As
244 a rule, a yam crop is planted only on land that has rested; suitable
242

/166 cont./

244 which were often brought to the Archipelago by Europeans, are planted
[137] in very small quantities on the Archipelago. The Tongans have
scarcely been able to develop a liking for these useful plants,
especially since they do not thrive as a result of the careless
and neglectful way they are tended.

489 Since the plantations are sometimes a considerable distance from
[361] the dwellings--in contrast to ancient Tongan times--the question of
how to transport the harvest (which sometimes consists of many heavy
482 tubers) must be solved. The Tonga often still use old ways of carrying.
178 To transport coconuts, for example, they split the outer skin of the
husk like splints, then tie into a bundle four or five splints and carry
home on their shoulders two of these bundles by means of a coconut leaf
stem (to which the bundles are attached, front and back). Harvested
tubers, bananas, etc., are most often carried in the traditional
coconut-leaf baskets (*kato lou niu*) hastily plaited on the plantations,
which the natives /167/ likewise carry by means of a coconut leaf stalk
(resting on their shoulders and notched so that they can hook the
basket on). The coconut leaf stalk is stuck through the basket itself.
Often, the handles of the farming tools (for example, *huo* spade, *huo*
492 *lafa-lafa*) are used as carrying sticks. The horse, which was brought
[136] to Tonga by Europeans, renders many natives important service as a
[493] riding and pack animal, and some natives own two-wheel European carts
[177] drawn by horses, which very much facilitate the transportation of even
abundant harvests to the villages.

241 Seen as a whole, Tongan agriculture seems to us little changed.
178 The traditional crops (supplemented by manioc) still form the basis
177 of the food of the inhabitants. The significance of cultivated plants
introduced by Europeans is no more than "supplementary." The tools
and methods of cultivation are also basically the same, though
improvement and additions to the tools, as well as a certain lapse in

/167 cont./

241 178 177 the old tidiness on the plantations must be noted. In the matter of transporting the harvest, finally, ancient Tongan methods and thoses resulting from European influence are approximately equal.

Tongan agriculture has undergone no fundamental change, since European influences were not strong and intensive enough, and since the natives themselves felt no necessity to change their traditional, time-tested system.

241 177 The efforts of well-meaning Europeans to "improve" and change Tongan agriculture were very numerous in the past, but did not become permanent because of the brevity of individual visits of sailors and researchers. At the present time, officials of the British protectorate authority seem uninterested in intensive efforts to influence native agriculture. 241 563 177 647 The two Europeans (an "agricultural officer" /cited in English/ and his coworker) working for the Department of Agriculture /cited in English/ in the more or less independent Tongan government are limited in their effectiveness since they are dependent on the wishes of the Tongans and are also handicapped by a shortage of personnel; moreover, the agricultural officer has frequently been replaced, and every successor has tried out a new program (439)

439. At present, the Department of Agriculture finds it most important to improve cultivation (increase yields), to determine the variety of crops most suitable for the particular soil and in future to develop possibilities of fertilization (perhaps bring phosphate from the islands of the Archipelago which are difficult to access, namely, Hunga Tonga, Hunga Ha'apai and 'Ata).

177 563 439 /168/ and a new system or work. Nevertheless, through the work of white government officials a good copra export (440)

440. See footnote 533, p. 304.

and a good banana export (441)

/168 cont./

177
563
439 441. In 1951, for example, more than 74,000 crates of bananas were exported to New Zealand from Tongatapu and Vava'u.

have been started.

241
178 For the Tongans, their old crops and agricultural methods suffice. As in old times, the individual scarcely specializes in certain crops. The same things are generally planted on all the islands. With their customary plantation work, to which the Tonga cling conservatively and which, after all, produces good yields for a limited amount of work, they are fully occupied, according to Tonga notions, and not much inclined readily to adopt proposals for innovations. Moreover, [137] the plants introduced by Europeans were often set in suitable soil and, above all, the very careful maintenance that is often required does not seem feasible to most Tongans.

231 b) Animal Husbandry

In ancient Tonga, pigs and chickens (442)

442. See G. Forster, loc. cit. V. p. 150.

231
136
177 were the only domestic animals. Even today, they are still the most useful animals for the natives, even though, since the second half of the 18th century, Europeans have made numerous attempts to naturalize other domestic animals in Tonga. Only the horse was able to achieve a certain importance, since it proved very useful as riding, pack and draft animal for transportation to the distant plantations of some of the villagers. Cattle, goats and ducks are kept by only a few natives, and the importation of sheep and geese was quite unsuccessful. Cook probably brought the first dog to Tonga and it was brought from Fiji at approximately the same time. (443)

443. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. p. 233.

231 Today, one may probably come across dogs in all Tongan villages, though they are not regarded as regular domestic animals by most natives.

/168 cont./

231 Only a few Tongans were interested in the cats which Europeans imported.
[136]
[177] The following survey may give an idea of the numerical proportion
231 of the individual domestic animals. The data were obtained in April
184 1952 in 'Uiha/'Uiha, a typical village of the more remote islands,
422 and in May 1952 in Fungamisi/Vava'u, a village adjacent to the rather
[126] large seaport of Neiafu:

/169/'UIHA:

Domestic animals (including young animals)	In possession of all 99 households checked	per household
Pigs....................	917	0(444) --35
Chickens................	1095	0(445) --54
Horses..................	54	0 -- 3 (446)
Cattle..................	1	0 -- 1
Goats...................	31	0 -- 5
Ducks...................	33	0 --10

FUNGAMISI:

Domestic animals (including young animals)	In possession of all 42 households checked	per household
Pigs...................	109	0(447) --20
Chickens...............	547	0(448) --50
Horses.................	38	0 -- 4 (449)
Cattle.................	14	0 -- 4
Goats	6	0 -- 3
Ducks..................	21	0 --10

444. Of the 99 households only three have no pigs.

445. Of the 99 households 13 have no chickens.

446. Only one household has three horses.

447. Nineteen households have no pigs.

448. Nine households have no chickens.

449. Only one household has four horses.

/170 cont./

262 Most chiefs probably eat less pork than they did in former times. (451)

451. Ibid., p. 187.

231 Since Christianization and democratization of the Archipelago has
177 very much reduced the number of large festivals at which huge
262 quantities of pork were consumed. (452)
574

452. See Th. West, Ten years.../cited in English/ p. 123.

it may be taken for granted that pig breeding as a whole is considerably less than it was in ancient Tonga.

231 The pigs usually run about freely in the villages; one very
seldom sees them on a property in an enclosure of coconut palm
palisades. They sleep under houses that are elevated or they burrow
a pit for this purpose on the property of their owner. In the larger
[656] towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai keeping pigs in the settlements
is forbidden by the government. There, only a few natives have pigs
which they keep in special enclosures on the plantations or shut them
231 up in large hollow trees. Some years ago, keeping pigs in the
656 villages was forbidden (for hygienic reasons). The natives, however,
clung so tenaciously to their old system that this regulation endangered pig breeding as a whole, hence it had to be relaxed.

231 The natives feed their pigs the cut-up meat of ripe coconuts,
cooked or raw manioc roots, sweet potato leaves and food leftovers;
piglets are given chiefly mashed meat of green coconuts. The pigs
whose owners keep them on short rations often break into the plantations
and there appease their hunger. To judge from old sources, people
in former times kept better order in this respect. (Now and then in
bush land there are pigs that have become wild.) Their drinking
water the animals usually find for themselves (marshy pools, puddles).
[232] Since old times the natives have known how to castrate boars (453)

/171 cont./

231
492 transport to the village their tubers, coconuts and other plantation
products in a sack or coconut-leaf basket that lies crosswise in
[493] front of the rider. The owners of European two-wheel carts (455)
can bring heavy loads home with their horses; the harness consists
of a leather collar, a wooden back yoke /?/ /Ruckenbugel/, iron head
harness and lines; a twig serves as a whip. Sometimes they also
[262] slaughter horses which they like to eat occasionally.

[177]
[422] 455. In the various villages, some one-eighth or one-fourth of the households own such carts.

231 The Tongan makes horse-raising very comfortable for himself.
There are no stalls or enclosures. He tethers his horse near his
house in the village, so that it can graze, or he ties it to a tree
on the plantation where it can find its food. Water shortage makes
it necessary to lead horses specially to watering places, which is
not always easy. On the plantations horses often cause considerable
damage, especially if they break away. The Tongan does not know how
to look after horses and groom them. He often continues to use
[492] them as riding and pack animals even when they have open wounds on
their backs as a result of improper treatment.

[439] The horses imported mostly from Australia and New Zealand are said to have decreased after a few generations, probably because of changed living conditions.

Cow:

[136] This domestic animal repeatedly introduced to Tonga by whites has to this day not become prevalent or of importance on the islands. Very few natives keep cattle, which are chiefly thought of as furnishing meat; cows are not milked. The animals are tethered on a rope on the plantations, so that they can find their food within a circumscribed area. Sometimes the natives lead them to a watering place, but they also leave them a few days or even weeks in one place,

/173 cont./

c) Fishing

226 Fishing still plays an important role on most of the inhabited islands of the Tonga Archipelago. Many natives engage in it--alongside their planting activity--very skilfully and successfully.

226
184 The following survey may give an insight into the natives' involvement in fishing:

Village	Total number of households	Households that often fish (or gather food in the sea)	Households that seldom fish (or gather food in the sea)	Households that do not engage in fishing
'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha'apai)	100	73	11	16
Fungamisi/ Vava'u	45	20(458)	18	7

458. The reason for the relatively slight interest in fishing here is, on the one hand, that there do not seem to be as many fish in these waters as in those of the Ha'apai group; on the other hand, the proximity of the seaport of Neiafu, where one can easily buy food in the shops, may play a role.

226 Even in ancient Tonga there seem to have been numerous fishing methods. According to the sources, the natives fished mainly with nets of all kinds (459)

459. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 279; Th. West, Ten Years...p. 118 ff.

and also with lines and various hooks; (460)

460. See J. cook, Beschreibung...loc, cit. VI. p. 286; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 279.

they also knew how to spear fish. (461)

461. Th. West, Ten years...p. 121.

(178)
(177) Today the Tonga use a great variety of fishing methods, most of which

226 [178] [177] were handed down from the past; a few new methods arose as a result of European influences.

/175/ From among the wealth of present procedures we mention the following:

Fishing with a Net:

kupenga pulou:

This is a round net with a circumference of four or five meters; its edge is provided with weights. The Tongan creeps unobserved towards a group of fish in shallow water and, with an adroit cast, throws the net over them.

kupenga sili:

The net has a rectangular shape and is between 6 and 18 meters long and approximately 1.2 to 2 meters wide. It has wooden-rod floats (some eight to nine centimeters long) and weights (approximately four to five centimeters long). The native who has discovered a group of fish over the shore reef, for example, creeps up adroitly without letting his shadow fall on the water, and throws the specially folded net in such a way that it falls in the shape of a semicircle and, spread out between floats and weights, cuts off the retreat of the fish fleeing back into the ocean, so that they are caught in the meshes. Straying fish are paddled into the net. With this method, three or four natives can work together, each one casting a kupenga sili, so that together the nets form a circle in the shallow water. The kupenga sili is also used another way: In waters abounding in fish (for example, along the west shore of the island of Lifuka), the natives let the net hang in the water in a straight line and then row toward it with an outrigger (or a European rowboat) while beating the water to drive the fish into the net. In the lagoon Ano 'Ava [416] of Nomuka the procedure is similar, but two natives usually wade in the same direction toward the net and vigorously beat the water

226 /178 cont./

[222] [462] (for example, *hulali*) in the sand of the shore.

226 184 Some fishing methods are used far more than others. In this connection the following figures were obtained on days chosen at random in April 1952 ('Uiha) and May 1952 (Fungamisi):

/179/

Fishing method:	Number of times employed:	
	in 80 cases in 'Uiha/'Uiha	in 32 cases in Fungamisi/Vava'u
sengai	30	2
kupenga sili	22	2
tao uku	13	-
'a feke	6	4
ama	3	2
kupenga toho	2	-
taumata'u	2	5
'aukava	1	-
talaki	1	-
kupenga leleaki	-	8
kupenga tapo	-	3
Dynamite	-	2
fakatele	-	4

226 This survey cannot show clearly the frequency of present fishing methods in the Tonga Archipelago, but at least it shows that the natives are still very familiar with the sea and use various methods. 226 177 Among these apparently only the shooting of fish under water (*sengai*) and the use of dynamite were introduced in Tonga during the European period; diving with goggles and the use of the sling (*sengai*) were probably taken over from the Samoans about 15 years ago, and the use of dynamite is probably also of a more recent date. The *sengai* method has become quite popular on several islands of the Archipelago (especially among the younger natives) and has now and then outstripped the fishing with nets, probably used more often in former times, (462)

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462. See J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. p. 279.

/179 cont./

226 though it has by no means displaced them. Even now, for example,
177 the casting net (kuenga sili) is still, as in old times, (463)

226
178
463. See J.J. Labillardiere, Relation du voyage... /Account of the voyage.../ II. p. 113/114; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative...I. p. 109; Th. West, Ten years...

a very important piece of fishing gear, especially among the Ha'apai group. Among the ancient Tongan fishing methods, however, bonito fishing (from a boat with bamboo pole, tow-line, hook and fiber bait) (464)

464. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 286/287; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 342/343.

has disappeared.

227 A change took place, chiefly with respect to the material used
286 for making the fishing gear. With the exception of tuki (see above
177 under /180/ uloa), no fish net in Tonga is today knotted of indigenous
178 material. (465)
(824)

465. Formerly, the bast of the olonga tree (Tonchaedia) in particular (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 279), coconut fiber cord (ibid.) and the bast of the fau tree (Hibiscus tiliaceus) (see Th. West, Ten years...p. 119) were used for net knotting.

(439) The natives use imported European twine which can be bought from
227 shopkeepers on most of the islands. Now and then they even acquire
177 ready-made nets in the department store of the chief towns. Most fish nets nowadays have weights made of lead instead of the traditional coral-stone sinkers; they buy the lead from merchants, heat it and pour it in the shape of a plate which they cut into small pieces that are bent into tubular shape and used as weights around the edge of the cord of the net. The natives prefer lead sinkers because they are
227 heavier than coral stones and make handling the net easier. The float,
178
824

/100 cont./

227 however,--usually of fau (Hibiscus tiliaceus) wood--is still made
178 exactly as it was in olden times. In the uloa community fishing
824 expedition they use the heavy net plaited of coconut fibers, as they
always have, since the available hemp material seems to be too weak
[177] for this purpose. However, the long rope required for this procedure
[283] is scarcely plaited any longer of the fau bast; they buy an imported
227 European rope. The fish spears today have iron points with barbs;
177 they buy the prongs ready-made from a shopkeeper or have them made by
178 a blacksmith in one of the chief towns. The points are inserted in
the spear shaft and fastened with a wrapping of European fishline.
[824] The ancient Tongan fishlines plaited of coconut fibers (466)
[283]

466. See, for example, J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 286.

have long since disappeared. Today the natives use the European
[237] lines available in quantities from shopkeepers, just as they use
exculsively the steel fishhooks introduced by whites and have
apparently forgotten the traditional, beautiful hooks of tortoise
shell and mother-of-pearl. (467)

467. Ibid.

226
416 Benzol pressure lamps have largely replaced the torches formerly customary
177 in night fishing. The traps (finaki) on many islands are
227 already made more often of wire netting than of the roots of coconut
177 palms, and there is scarcely a Tongan who goes to the trouble of making
[824] the weirs (pa) of bamboo and plaited coconut palm leaves, but generally
uses wire netting for this purpose as well. Finally, some of the
501
178 boats used in fishing are still the traditional outriggers (popao,
177 rarely tafa'anga) (468)

468. See p. 349 ff.

but some are also rowboats and European-type sailboats which have re-

/180 cont./

501 replaced the ancient Tongan catamarans (*kalia*). (469)
178
177 469. Natives of Vava'u also use the motor boats belonging to Neiafu merchants in fishing with the towline (*fakatele*).

226 /181/ The sandals (*teka*) plaited from the bast of the *fau* tree
292 (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) are today still worn by the men (sometimes also by
178
824 the women) when they fish on the rough coral reefs.

415 Fish are transported in part in the traditional fish baskets
226 (*'oa*) plaited of young coconut palm leaves; (470)
824 470. These are apparently the ones Mariner refers to in his account (J. Martin, *loc. cit.* I.
177 p. 309.)

however, they often use European bags, while the small fish--apparently according to ancient custom--are strung on sticks stuck through their heads.

286 According to Mariner (471)
463 471. J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. p. 96.
[178] net-knotting in ancient Tonga was a hereditary craft. Nowadays, to all appearances, it is not, though in every village there are a few natives (especially older ones) who are able to make fish nets. As in
[824] old times, they use a knotting shuttle (netting needle) (*hika*) which
[237] is carved from the wood of the *tao* tree (*Casuarina equisetifolia* L.) or of the *milo* tree, or a sperm whale bone, and a measure for the meshes (*mata kupenga*) cut out of tortoise shell or *fau* wood (*Hibiseus tiliaceus*). An old razor blade serves as knife. They buy the
[465] necessary amount of twine for making the net and ask one of the experts to knot a fish net; usually his work is acknowledged with a small gift (for example, tobacco). Since they are thus dependent
227
[463] on the work of a specialist and the twine also costs a certain sum of
[426] money, not every household nowadays owns nets; they lend them to each
[178] other. The situation was probably similar in ancient Tonga, through the supply of fish nets was in general probably greater.

/182 cont./

226 owners of plantations bordering on the shore. (475)
361
178

475. Perhaps the reason for this change is the fact that the natives today generally do not live on their plantations, but in the village.

226 It is only for the erection of weirs that they must apply to the
656 government for a license, and with that they are assured of the exclusive right to a specific fishing ground.

225 In former times the chiefs alone had the right to catch turtles
565 and consume them. (476)
178

476. See Th. West, Ten years...p. 122.

[177] As a result of Christianization and the gradual democratization of the Archipelago, commoners may today freely engage in turtle fishing.
(656) The only restriction--applying to all classes--is a legal closed
226 season for these animals (November to February). Tongan law (which
656 is the regulation that replaces the once arbitrary power of the chiefs)
671 furthermore determines a closed season for the 'ava fish of Nomuka (May to June), and forbids the use of dynamite.

226 Seen as a whole, present-day Tonga fishing is not essentially
178 different from that which was carried on in earlier times. The natives have largely kept their old methods, (477)

477. It is difficult to determine whether there was certain development within the old methods that was brought about by the Tongans themselves or was the result of foreign influences.

only one of which was apparently lost and to which two were added. In
227 the making of traditional fishing gear, European material is used to
177 a rather large extent; it is more serviceable and at the same time
226 more convenient. As in ancient Tonga, almost all the procuring of
462 sea food is the business of the men; women gather only along the shore
000 and on the reef (liku) and fish with the hand net (talaki). As in all

/183 cont./

262 seaweed, crabs), pigs and chickens (481)

481. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 282.

still make up the basic food of the natives of these islands. European influences, however, in the food sector, are of considerable and 262 growing importance. For approximately one hundred years, there has 177 been increasing interest in manioc which was introduced by whites, and for a few decades canned meat and fish, foods prepared with flour, white bread, zwieback and sugar have become very popular supplementary foods among the Tongans of all the islands, while the consumption of salted meat, condensed milk, marmelade, rice, tea, coffee and cocoa has been limited more to the seaports and the villages adjacent to them. Among European foods, canned corned beef is by far in the lead, and is a favorite supplement to meals which, according to our ideas, are very simply prepared and often consist exclusively of carbohydrates.

262 The following tables show 353 everyday meals consumed on certain
128 fixed days in April 1952 in 92 households in the village of 'Uiha, and
184 173 everyday meals consumed on certain fixed days in May 1952 in 37 households in the village of Fungamisi. 'Uiha is a typical village of the smaller islands, while Fungamisi may be cited as an example of a settlement near a seaport.

100: Koch--277 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

[ʹUiha]
[Fungamisi]

/184/

262
252
177
184

Meal consisting of	Number of meals in	
	'Uiha	Fungamisi
Breadfruit, b.(482)	40	28
Breadfruit, st.(482)	29	8
Breadfruit, r.(482)	1	5
Breadfruit, r., salted meat		1
Breadfruit, r., bread, butter, fat, tea, sugar		1
Breadfruit, b., seaweed	2	
Breadfruit, b., mussels		2
Breadfruit, b., fish	21	2
Breadfruit, b., fish, seaweed	1	
Breadfruit, b., seaweed, squid	1	
Breadfruit, b., taro leaves	4	
Breadfruit, b., maize	1	
Breadfruit, b., chicken		1
Breadfruit, b., pork	3	3
Breadfruit, b., corned beef	10	2
Breadfruit, b., taro leaves corned beef	1	
Breadfruit, b., corned-beef-soup	3	1
Breadfruit. b., roast beef	1	1
Breadfruit, b., roast beef tea	1	
Breadfruit, b., roast beef, bread, butter, marmalade, tea, sugar, milk		1
Breadfruit, b., corned beef, bread, butter, tea, sugar		1
Breadfruit, b., salted meat	1	10
Breadfruit, b., salted meat, vi leaves		1
Breadfruit, b., salted meat, taro leaves		1
Breadfruit, b., canned fish		6
Breadfruit, b., tea		2
Breadfruit, b., coffee	1	
Breadfruit, b., bread, marmalade, tea		2
Breadfruit, b., bread, butter, marmalade, tea sugar		3

482. The abbreviations signify: b.= boiled in pots; st.= stewed in earth-oven; r.= roasted in the fire.

['Uiha]
[Fungamisi]

/185 cont./

262
252
177
184

Meal consisting of	Number of meals in	
	'Uiha	Fungamisi
Breadfruit, b., mussels, bread, butter, coffee, sugar		1
Breadfruit, b., flour porridge	1	
Breadfruit, b., flour dumplings	1	
Breadfruit, r., coconut oil, sugar-"pudding"	1	2
Breadfruit, st., fish	11	1
Breadfruit, st., fish, zwieback, bread, tea	1	
Breadfruit, st., mussels		1
Breadfruit,st., fish, seaweed	1	
Breadfruit, st., fish, taro leaves	1	
Breadfruit, st., taro leaves, ifi-fruit	2	
Breadfruit, st., taro leaves, salted meat		1
Breadfruit, st., meat of ripe coconuts	3	
Breadfruit, st., Carica papaya	2	
Breadfruit, st., pork	7	
Breadfruit, b. bread, butter, coffee, sugar, oranges		1
Breadfruit, st., pork, fish	2	
Breadfruit, st., pork, bread	1	
Breadfruit, st., corned beef	3	
Breadfruit, st., corned-beef-soup	3	
Breadfruit, st., roast beef		2
Breadfruit, st., corned beef, fish	3	1
Breadfruit, st., canned fish		1
Breadfruit, st., corned beef, canned fish	1	1
Breadfruit, st., corned beef, taro leaves	1	
Breadfruit, st., salted meat		4
Breadfruit, st., salted meat, taro leaves		1
Yams, b.	5	5
Yams, st.	1	1
Yams, b., fish	5	
Yams, b., meat of ripe coconuts	1	
Yams, b., Chicken	1	1

['Uiha]
[Fungamisi]

/186/

262
252
177
184

Meal consisting of	Number of meals in	
	'Uiha	Fungamisi
Yams, b., corned beef	1	
Yams, b., corned-beef-soup		1
Yams, b., roast beef	1	
Yams, b., salted meat		2
Yams, b., salted meat, taro leaves		1
Yams, b., flour dumplings	1	
Yams, b., coffee	1	
Yams, st., mussels		2
Yams, st., Carica papaya	1	
Yams, st., chicken	1	
Yams, st., corned beef		1
Bananas (*hopa*), b.	2	
Bananas (*pata*), b.	1	
Bananas (*siaine*), b.	2	
Bananas (*siaine* and *pata*), b.	1	
Bananas (*hopa*), b., fish	2	
Bananas (*hopa*), b., corned beef	1	
Bananas (*hopa*), b., fried cakes	1	

Meal consisting of	Number of meals in	
	'Uiha	Fungamisi
Yams, b., pork	1	3
Bananas (*siaine*), b., fish	1	
Bananas (*siaine*), b., tea	1	
Manioc, b.	4	
Manioc, b., fish	2	
Manioc, b., pork	1	
Manioc, st., fish, pork	1	
Manioc, b., corned beef	2	
Taro, b.	1	2
Taro, st.	1	
Taro, b., fish	1	
Taro, b., octopus		2
Taro, b., bread, butter, marmalade, tea, sugar, condensed milk		3
Breadfruit, b., yams, b., *vai siaine*	11	
Breadfruit, st., yams, st.		1
Breadfruit, b., yams, b., seaweed	1	
Breadfruit, b., yams, b., taro leaves	1	

['Uiha]
[Fungamisi]

262
252
177
184

Meal consisting of	Number of meals in	
	'Uiha	Fungamisi
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., fish	7	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., fish, fried cakes, tea	3	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., corned beef	5	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., corned beef, sausage		1
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., salted meat, canned fish		1
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., fish	4	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., fish squid		1
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., ifi-fruit	1	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., Carica papaya	1	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., chicken	1	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st. pork	2	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., salted meat	1	
Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (hopa)	5	
Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (hopa), taro leaves	1	
Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (hopa), fish	2	
Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (pata)	6	
Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (pata), fish	2	
Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (pata), chicken	1	
Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (pata), corned beef	1	
Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (hopa, pata)	1	
Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (hopa, pata), fish	1	
Breadfruit, b., Bananas, st. (siaine)	2	

/187 cont./

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252
177
184

Meal consisting of	Number of meals in	
	'Uiha	Fungamisi
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., corned beef	2	
/188/ Breadfruit b., Manioc, b.	6	
Breadfruit, b. Manioc, b., fish	2	
Breadfruit, st., Manioc, st., pork	3	
Breadfruit, st., manioc pudding	1	
Breadfruit, st., Taro, st.	2	
Breadfruit, st., Taro, st., fish	2	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., Taro, b., salted meat, sausage		1
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., Bananas (pata), b.	1	
Breadfruit, b. Yams, b., Bananas (pata), b., fish	1	
Breadfruit, b., Manioc, b., Taro, b.	1	
Breadfruit, b., Manioc, b., Taro, b., fish	1	

Meal consisting of	Number of meals in	
	'Uiha	Fungamisi
Breadfruit, b., Bananas b. (siaine), taro leaves	1	
Yams, b., Bananas, b. (hopa), corned beef	1	
Yams, b., Manioc, b.	1	
Yams, b., Manioc, b., fish, mussels	1	
Yams, b. Bananas, b. (pata) Manioc, b.	2	
Yams, b., Bananas, b. (pata), Manioc, b., taro leaves	1	
Yams, b., Bananas, b. (hopa), Taro, b.	1	
Yams, b., Manioc, b., taro leaves	2	
Yams, st., Manioc, st., Taro, st., taro leaves	1	
Bananas, st. (pata), Manioc, st.	1	
Bananas, st. (hopa) Taro, st.	1	
Manioc, b., Taro, b.	1	

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252
177
184

/188 cont./

Meal consisting of	Number of meals in	
	'Uiha	Fungamisi
Breadfruit, b., Manioc, b., Taro, b., corned beef	1	
Yams, b., Bananas (pata) b., fish	2	
/189/ Rice, b.	1	
Flour dumplings (topai)	21	
Fried cakes (keke), tea	2	1
Bread	1	
Bread, tea (sugar)	1	4
Bread, corned beef	1	
Bread, corned beef, tea		1
Bread, butter, tea		1
Bread, butter, tea, sugar		13
Bread, butter, tea, condensed milk, (sugar)		8
Bread, butter, tea, sugar, Carica papaya		1

Meal consisting of	Number of meals in	
	'Uiha	Fungamisi
Manioc, st., Taro, st.	1	
ifi-fruit, st., flour dumplings	1	
/189/ Bread, butter, tea, sugar, 'avoka		2
Bread, banana cake, butter, tea, sugar		2
Bread, butter, marmalade, tea		2
Bread, butter, marmalade, tea, condensed milk, (sugar)		6
Bread, butter, marmalade, corned beef, tea, condensed milk, sugar		1
Bread, butter, cocoa made with water	1	3
Bread, butter, coffee	1	
Zwieback, tea	1	

/189 cont./

262 This list shows that 228 out of 353 'Uiha meals consisted
184 exclusively of products that were available even in ancient Tonga,
while 69 of the 173 Fungamisi meals were prepared on a purely "ancient
Tongan basis." The influence of the seaport of Neiafu on the village
of Fungamisi is recognizable; the example of the European and half-
caste households there, as well as abundant supplies in the shops of
that town clearly influence the standard of living of the neighboring
262 settlement. The proportion of salted meat, corned beef, white bread,
184 butter, tea, etc., is noticeable. The "European ingredients" (483)
of 'Uiha and Fungamisi meals are usually no more than "supplementary."
/190/ Manioc, however, appears as a basic food, and in Fungamisi
there are a few families who have already gone over to regular bread
262 meals. The very large proportion of breadfruit is due to the fact
[221] that the months of April/May are the main harvest time for it.

262 Basically, the meals for Sundays, holidays and feasts are the
264 same as everyday meals; they differ only in quantity and in richer
ingredients (and sometimes more complicated preparation). As examples
[527] we list 12 Sunday meals in the village of 'Uiha (April 1952) and
[574] four gala meals (faka afe) (484)
on Nomuka (December 1951):

177 483. "European ingredients" include all foods that
(244) were not available in ancient Tonga, but reached
(432) the Archipelago only as a result of European
influences and are procured today by planting
(for example, manioc, see pp. 231-232, 240-241) or by
purchase from shopkeepers (for example, corned
beef, roast beef, salted meat, sugar, flour,
white bread, zwieback, tea, cocoa, coffee).

484. See p. 142-143.

/190 cont./

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264
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177

Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of	Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of	Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of
Breadfruit, b., fish	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Carica papaya corned beef	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Taro, st. Carica papaya salted meat
Breadfruit, b. pork	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. taro leaves fish corned beef	Breadfruit, st. Manioc, st.
Breadfruit, st. fish octopus	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish	Breadfruit, st. Manioc, st. fish
Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. sweet potato leaves corned beef fish	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish	Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., sweet potato leaves corned beef		

262
264
527
574
177
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[272]

Gala Meal(faka afe) (Nomuka) consisting of	Gala Meal(faka afe) (Nomuka) consisting of
Yams, st. kape, st. Bananas (hopa), st. Tonga pudding(faikakai) pork chicken fish	Yams, st. Sweet potatoes, st. kape, st. bananas (siaine) English pudding pork chicken duck
Yams, st. Sweet potatoes, st. Bananas (hopa), st. watermelon English pudding pork fish corned beef red lemonade	Fried cakes Zwieback with marmalade Cocoa made with water, added condensed milk and sugar red lemonade

/191/

252 The Tongans prepare their food as in old times in (or near
[343] special cook huts (485)

[178] 485. See pp. 93-94.

on their properties; nowadays, meals are sometimes also prepared on
the plantations if these are more distant from the villages. The
252 natives use various methods. Most often they cook in pots. The
415 Tongans erect simple hearths of stones or old corned-beef cans and
177 iron rods laid over them. On this they set an iron pot or kettle, or
[372] an empty zwieback can, in which the food is cooked, while the fire
underneath the container is fed with coconut husks and shells as well
as firewood. Cooking (haka) in pots is most probably not an ancient
[439] Tongan custom. But for a long time the islanders have obtained clay
pots from the Fiji Islands,

486. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 284.

A century and a half ago they also began using iron pots which they obtained from European ships; (487)

487. Ibid.

however, it has only been in the past few decades, with the commercial
development of the South Seas, that cooking in pots has become the
252 predominant custom in food preparation. The characteristic Tongan
way of preparing food is to stew it in the earth-oven. This is more
work for the natives than boiling, but it is still often practiced
even for everyday cooking (especially on the smaller islands); on
Sundays, festivals and other special occasions, preparing an earth-oven is taken for granted in most Tongan families.

A typical, carefully prepared earth-oven ('umu) in Tonga is today put together in the following way: In the village, inside or next to their cook hut (or, if a meal is planned on the plantation, on a place there) the natives dig a circular hole, the size depending

/192 cont./

491. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 228; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 283/284.

they place in the pit as the main filling a whole pig (the inside of which is stuffed with hot stones wrapped in banana leaves) together with a few pieces of a tuber. Over the filled earth-oven they spread chunks of wood on which they place banana leaves. This in turn is
[177] nowadays covered with old European bags so that the layer of earth which is finally shoveled on top cannot soil the food. The finished earth-oven now forms a dome over the surface of the ground; the height of the small mound corresponds approximately to the depth of the pit. In three-quarters of an hour to an hour and a half, the Tongan knows that the food is done. The separate covering layers of the earth-oven are removed and the food is served.

Of course, not all earth-ovens are as elaborately filled in the manner described. Sometimes, a few breadfruits, for example, are the only filling in a correspondingly smaller pit.

[177] [178] Aside from the use of corned beef as filling and bags to cover the earth-oven, it seems scarcely to have changed as compared to the past.

[178] Now and then they also roast food in hot ashes, as was already done in ancient Tongan times. (492)

492. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 184.

This procedure (tunu) is as follows: On level ground they make a fire of dried coconut palm leaves, coconut husks or wood and, as soon as the flames die down, they place in it bananas or yams, manioc or taro cut in pieces, sometimes also a plucked and gutted hen. The food is roasted in the embers while being turned with a long forked stick. After 20 or 30 minutes it is done; the scorched banana skins (pata), for example, are beaten with a little stick so that they

/192 cont./

252 burst open and can easily be peeled off by hand. The natives like to roast food in this way on the plantations when they want to prepare a quick, improvised meal.

Boiling in pots, stewing in the earth-oven and roasting in the fire and ashes, these three methods of present-day food preparation in Tonga are numerically distributed in the preceding table of everyday meals as follows: Of the 345 meals prepared in this way in 'Uiha, 240 were boiled, 103 stewed and 2 roasted; of the 128 meals prepared in the same way in Fungamisi, /193/ 93 were boiled, 26 stewed and 9 roasted. According to statements of aged Tongans, the [178] earth-oven was used more often several decades ago than it is today; however, the figures show that the ancient Tonga method of preparation in the earth-oven has not yet been supplanted; rather, it plays an important part on an island like 'Uiha, and is used frequently even in a town near a seaport, such as Fungsmisi.

252
178 Small pigs are sometimes also roasted over an open fire--probably according to ancient custom--on a spit stuck through their bodies (from snout to anus); one end of the spit rests on a forked branch stuck into the ground, the other the native who is doing the work holds in his hand so that he can turn the piglet as needed.

Cooking with hot stones is seldom done any more, except occasionally to prepare the Tongan pudding (faikakai): in a large trough they mix manioc flour with water and heat the mash with red-hot stones until it boils.

Frying foods (for example, chicken, fish) on hot stones is still done now and then, as it was in the past. (493)

493. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ I. p. 96.

415
252
177 European frying pans, which are now found in some households and are used on the same fire areas as the cooking pots for preparing the

/193 cont./

415 flour-fried cake (keke) and for frying other foods, the Tongans find
252 a welcome addition to the rest of their methods. Up to the present
177 time, European cookstoves and ovens have found very little distribution
in the Archipelago; now and then, on special occasions, people bake "English cake" in self-built bake-ovens by placing the cake in a mold on the hot stones of an earth-oven, surrounding it with corrugated sheet metal and earth and covering it with a piece of corrugated sheet metal.

372 Today, in the villages, fire is produced with matches; occasion-
177 ally one sees European lighters. On the plantations, where often no
178 matches are available, the natives often use the ancient Tongan method
of striking fire, (494)

494. See p. 221.

and everywhere they like to "save" the fire in the traditional way in the form of a glowing coconut husk.

252 Preparing an earth-oven is chiefly men's work. They generally
462 heat the stones, peel and cut up the tubers and prepare the rest of
the filling for the oven; the women help with the easier tasks, for example preparing the banana-leaf pouches. This division of labor corresponds to that customary in ancient Tonga where food /194/ preparation was apparently largely the business of the men. (495)

495. See Th. West, Ten years...p. 267.

The easier activity of boiling in pots is today, however, usually performed by the women.

252 Commoners probably prepare most of their meals just as they did
[565] in the past; the nobles--in accordance with their simplified
[178] standard of living as compared to the past--serve meals which are not
very different from those of the people. Peeling, cutting-up and stewing tubers is still the most common way of preparing food, except for boiling. Extracting coconut milk with which the tubers

/194 cont./

252 (especially bananas or breadfruit) are enriched in stewing or boiling, is still done as in old times: They grate halved coconuts on the [412] [415] coconut grater (hakalo), (496)

496. This is a tripod made of a piece of branch up to more than two meters in length (or a simple board approximately 0.80 - 1.00 meters long) to the front part of which they nowadays fasten in place of a shell, a piece of iron hammered flat and serrated with a file.

mix the grated meat with water, knead it with their hands, and, with a sieve (made of hibiscus bast or the fibers of the coconut husk), they remove the pressed-out coconut flakes from the now ready milky 252 177 liquid. The popular sweet dish (faikakai) (497)

497. For this they peel roasted breadfruit, mash it (with a fresh breadfruit stuck on a stick), cut the glutinous substance into pieces and mix it with a sauce of coconut milk and sugar.

corresponds to the "Fy'caky' lolo tootoo" mentioned by Mariner for ancient Tonga, (498)

498. J Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 285.

except that sugar imported by Europeans replaces the former juice of Cordyline terminalis and cane sugar. Manioc today largely replaces the mahoa'a (arrowroot /cited in English/ = Tacca pinnatifida F.) which has been pretty much forgotten; similarly, the pudding mentioned by Mariner (who calls it "Loloi" (499))

499. Ibid. p. 286.

is now made out of the starchy flour of manioc roots grated on a 252 178 perforated piece of tin. The burying of fruit and bananas, (500)

500. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 288; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 209, II. p. 286.

popular in former times as a special way of preparing food and at the same time as "stockpiling" in which foods started to ferment and

/194 cont./

252 178 were then ultimately eaten or baked in this state, has almost completely fallen into oblivion. [177] [439] This may be attributed to the fact that today imported foods are available on all the islands of the Archipelago and that therefore stockpiling (for periods of shortage as a result of drought or storms) seems unnecessary. The fish that are caught are sometimes eaten /195/ raw, as in former times, (501)

501. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 197.

sometimes roasted in embers (ashes) or they are stewed, wrapped in banana leaves, in the earth-oven. (502)

[251] 502. Occasionally, they also preserve fish(for example, the 'ava on Nomuka), by cutting them open, cleaning them, salting them, hanging them up in the sun (with small sticks wedged into the fish to keep the two halves apart) or laying them out on platforms and then smoking them; octopus also often dried among the Ha'apai group.

Fish broth (with coconut milk) is still quite popular, as it was in ancient Tonga. (503)

503. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 161; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 285.

231 The natives generally slaughter pigs and chickens as in olden times by stunning them; (504)

504. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 228; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 282/283.

[177] larger pigs are shot. Nowadays they occasionally also slaughter animals according to the Jewish rites.

252 177 Among European foods, canned corned beef has gained special significance. They eat the meat either without any further preparation, or they heat the cans, but they also stew the corned beef in the earth-oven together with tubers by wrapping it in banana leaves and adding

/195 cont./

252 coconut milk; less frequently they fry it in a pan with onions (and
177 tomatoes). Rice, which is very popular but not always easily obtainable,
[439] apparently because of importing difficulties, is boiled in water with coconut milk and sugar added. Likewise, on the smaller islands, some natives know how to bake cakes in English fashion; they are made (only for special occasions) of flour, sugar, baking powder, creamed butter and bright yellow coloring. A few Tongan women also know how to make an English pudding with flour, shortening, sugar raisins and baking powder. Almost everywhere one finds the dumplings (topai) cooked in water and the very popular fried cakes (keke) that consist of a flour dough with baking powder and are fried in pans, usually with imported shortening. On only a few of the more important islands (Tongatapu, Vava'u, Lifuka) white bread is today baked by Tongans in simple, self-built ovens; this is so popular that the demand constantly exceeds the supply.

271 As beverages the Tongans use chiefly collected rainwater, as well
272 as the fruit water of young coconuts, as in the past, (505)

505. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 288; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... I. p/ 97.

312 at any time during the day. The water supply of the natives has been
177 improved during the last decades, with cement tanks (506)

506. From imported cement, sand and coral stones.

replacing the ancient Tongan "water pits" (lepa), (507)

507. See E. W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 178.

being built by natives on their own initiative or by order of the government; /196/ these /tanks/ catch the rainwater running down from the corrugated metal roofs of private dwellings, schools, administra-
312 tive buildings and churches. In addition, the natives on many islands make an effort to dig pits which furnish more or less brackish water.

/196 cont./

312 Occasionally, one also sees on the trunks of coconut palms, palm branches fastened lengthwise, which are supposed to catch rainwater flowing down the trunk, so that it runs into tubs, canisters or casks standing below. Naturally, the water which is sometimes kept unprotected for a very long time is seldom perfect according to European standards. (508)

508. See p. 55.

272 Nowadays, the natives also like to prepare refreshing beverages from grated coconut meat and fruit pulp, for example 'cta 'i mango (a mixture of grated green mangoes, grated coconut meat, water and sugar), 'ota 'i meleni (prepared in the same way but with grated watermelon instead of mango), and 'ota 'i faina (the same, but with grated pineapple instead of melon). These drinks are perhaps a further development of the traditional 'ota 'i si (consisting of coconut meat, the juice of the Cordyline terminalis root and water) which is still made. The popular drink vai siaine, for the preparation of which sliced ripe bananas (of the siaine variety) with coconut milk (squeezed out of grated coconut meat) and water are heated in the earth-oven, corresponds to the ancient Tongan beverage vai hopa (that is, with the hopa variety of banana) observed by Mariner; (509)

509. See J. Martin, loc. cit., II. p. 285.

nowadays, on the basis of this recipe, they also prepare "lo'i lesi" with Carica papaya cut in small pieces. The preparation of tea from [178] leaves of the plant moengalo (Melastoma denticulatum) growing on village properties, or of leaves of the orange tree is probably a modern development. In a limited number of households beverages of [177] imported tea, coffee and cocoa are also prepared, and for festive occasions soft drinks made of European ingredients and highly sweetened with sugar have become very popular. Kava (510) 000

/196 cont./ **Kava (510)**

276 510. See p. 144 ff.

574 is drunk--as always--chiefly at social gatherings, on ceremonial occasions and before gala meals.

264 [178] Most Tongans eat only two meals a day, as in the past. In the morning (between nine and eleven o'clock) they eat a rather large quantity of food, and in the afternoon (between 17 and 19 o'clock) they have a meal almost as large, at which they use any leftovers from the morning meal; the portions consumed by adults seem astonishingly large to Europeans. On Sundays they usually have an earth-oven meal after the second morning service, around 10 or 11 o'clock, /197/ the leftovers from which they often eat in the afternoon as their second meal. In the larger towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai, however, [177] [184] many families have gone over to the European example of having three meals a day (between 8 - 9, 12 - 13, and 18 - 19 o'clock), the first of which is often a breakfast of white bread. Thus, out of 92 households investigated in the remote village of 'Uiha, 89 have two meals a day and only three have three meals, whereas in Pungamisi, the "suburb" of Neiafu, out of 37 households checked, 22 have two meals and 15 have three meals a day. The great distance of plantations from the [252] villages is, in some instances, the reason why the natives also have "bush meals" (511)

511. Food roasted in embers or stewed in the earth-oven.

at irregular hours if they feel the need for them during their plantation work.

264 412 [516] Though spoons, forks, and knives are nowadays present in most households, the Tongans as a rule still eat with their fingers, as in pre-European times. They sit cross-legged in front of the meals they have been served, tear off, press, or cut off (512)

512. With a machete or table knife instead of

/197 cont./

264 the bamboo knife customary in former times.
412 pieces of tuber, fish or meat and put them in their mouths; in the
case of tubers, some also knead individual bites into balls. By far
264 the majority of natives today use European pottery and tin plates
415 instead of the banana and breadfruit leaves used as plates in ancient
177 Tonga. It is only for gala meals that food is still generally served
on banana leaves which are placed on plaited coconut-palm leaves or
even on pieces of corrugated sheet metal. While kava is drunk only
415 out of coconut mugs, cups and ordinary mugs are today present in all
276 households for the rest of the beverages; the ancient Tonga banana-
178 leaf mugs (513)

513. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative...I. p. 96/97; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 197.

264 have long since fallen into oblivion. Meals are eaten in the cook hut,
178 in the open, on the verandas of European houses and sometimes
(especially gala meals) in living rooms; eating inside the dwelling
means a break with ancient custom, but it has by no means become a
general habit.

264 Women were never excluded from common meals in Tonga. (514)
562

514. Even Cook was struck by this (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 289.

264 The once strictly observed social stratification among the people,
565 however, made a sharp distinction, especially at meals, between
members of the individual classes or the holders of various titles.
(515)

515. See also J. Cook, ibid.

[178] Though the differences /198/ are today less glaring in public, one
will scarcely see a person of higher rank dining with one of lower
rank.

264 The numerous ancient Tongan festivals belong to the past as a
574
178
261

/198 cont./

264 574 178 261 result of the Christianization and democratization of the Archipelago, and with them have disappeared the large gala meals which, in old times, could cause the danger of food shortage and hardship. (516)

516. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 214/215.

262 177 178 Seen as a whole, strong European influences are to be noted in the food sector, (517)

517. European foods even play a special role in festive customs.

which have led to a coexistence and merging of old and new and also to a loss of old traditions. Yet the main foundation of the ancient Tongan system of nutrition has been preserved: Though some imported foods have gained great importance, they have not become the chief foods, but are merely additions to the ancient Tongan fare. The traditional basic foods have not been replaced. Rather, the Tongans are largely meeting their own food needs through cultivation (especially of old indigenous plants), fishing (mostly with traditional methods) and domestic animal raising (with predominantly ancient Tongan domestic animals), and if today the islands should fall back into isolation, the entire population could go on living without particular readjustment and without hardship, solely from the products of their own land. (518)

[146] 518. Tongan everyday food is astonishingly poor in proteins and vitamins, according to European ideas. Yet the natives have been nourishing themselves in this way for many centuries, and are on the whole tall, well built and mostly plump figures.

Luxuries

276 261 262 272 273 If, by the term "luxury," we mean everything that is eaten and drunk merely because it is pleasant, regardless of its nutritional value, we must mention under this heading for Tonga kava, tobacco,

276 261 /198 cont./
262 chewing gum and candy, tea, coffee and cocoa, and finally alcoholic
272 beverages.
273

Of all these luxuries, kava alono belongs to ancient Tonga.
276 Since kava drinking for most Tongans is a purely social event, it was
574 already discussed in connection with the description of village life. (519)

519. See p. 144 ff.

[178] It merits repetition to say that today kava dominates all social life on the islands of the Archipelago at least as much as, if not more then in the past.

276 /199/ For more than a century the Tongans have been familiar with
[797] the use of tobacco, (520)

520. See Ch. Wilkes, Narrative.../cited in English/ III. p. 26.

and though the missionaries at first fought bitterly against this "vice,"

521. Ibid., p. 26/27; O. W. Brierly, Brief geographical sketch.../cited in English/ p. 117.

today by far the majority of adult natives of both sexes smoke. The
276 younger Tongan men and women and those of middle age smoke imported
177 English tobacco almost exclusively. They have become quite choosey
439 about its quality, since several different brands are imported. Using a two-ounce packet of tobacco, they generally roll 60 (thicker) or 90 (thinner) cigarettes (using cigarette papers that have likewise been imported). Girls and women are just as skilfull as the men in rolling the cigarettes freehand. Imported cigarettes, which are obtainable in sufficient quantities and are not much more expensive than the "prime cost" of the self-rolled ones, are seldom smoked.

276 Old people (men as well as women), however, still prefer the
887
178

/199 cont./

276 tobacco that has for some times been cultivated on many of the native
887 plantations in Tonga, and from this, together with dried pieces of
178 banana leaves (hulu ifi tapaka), they smoke the "suluka," the size of which is between a cigarette and a cigar.

They prefer to cut banana leaves (usually of the hopa variety) early in the morning when they are fresh with dew; if the leaves are too dry that are moistened for a moment with fresh water. After the leaves have been pressed (for example, under a bed) and dried, they are cut in rectangular pieces. On each of these is placed a small quantity of tobacco, dried and cut fine, and the whole is rolled into a conical shape. The leaf is held in this position while the tip of the "suluka" is folded over and then bitten off just before it is smoked.

The natives usually take only a few puffs of the "suluka"; it often goes out, whereupon they stick it behind one ear and, after some time, often hours later, they relight it and continue smoking. The tobacco is strong. Old Tongans who are used to this weed, generally refuse the tobacco and cigarettes of whites.

276 The natives usually light their cigarettes as well as the "suluka"
(372) with glowing coconut husks with which they traditionally keep the fire going and which they like to take along when they go to their plantations.

(177) Very few Tongans smoke European pipes.

Tobacco chewing is not very widespread; apparently only the indigenous tobacco is chewed.

261 /200/ Some boys, girls, men and women today are fond of chewing
177 gum, which probably became known in the Archipelago through the American troops stationed on Tongatapu during the last war.

262 Many natives of both sexes and various ages are fond of sucking
432

/200 cont./

262 sour and sweet hard candies, which, like chewing gum, may be obtained
432 from shopkeepers on most of the islands.

272 Tea, coffee and cocoa, though they may be bought today on many
432 islands of the Archipelago, have not attained great importance for the Tongans. (522)

522. See chapter on "Food," p. 275 ff.

273 The natives cannot easily obtain alcoholic beverages (kava
[439] papalangi). Limited amounts are probably imported, but only a few
[656] Tongans have the required permit from the minister of police that entitles them to one bottle of spirits per month. On the black market the natives obtain only very small quantities of alcohol.
● [177] Various Tongans have become experienced in making alcoholic beverages (using, for example, sugar [or artificial honey], yeast and pineapple), especially through their contact with foreign troops on Tongatapu
[687] during the second World War. But this illegal production that can be punished by imprisonment has heretofore been proportionately small, chiefly around Christmas time, and of late it has become insignificant.

276 Thus, European influences in the area of luxuries have brought
177 about a certain change, chiefly through the importation of tobacco. But, although most Tongans enjoy smoking, they have not become so addicted to tobacco that they are actually dependent on it; (523)

523. For example, on the small islands, shopkeepers often run out of tobacco, and the Tongans who then lack smoking supplies usually bear the time they must wait for a new shipment with equanimity.

this is, of course, also not the case with the other new and less important luxuries.

C. Copra Production

245
177 Copra production (524)

/200 cont./

245
[177] 524. Copra is the cut-up and dried kernel meat (endosperm) loosened from the hard shell of the ripe coconut.

is a relatively new activity for the Tongans, which goes back only to contact with Europeans and is today carried out on all the inhabited islands of the Archipelago. The work itself, as well as particularly the money made from it, influence the life of these natives to a certain extent.

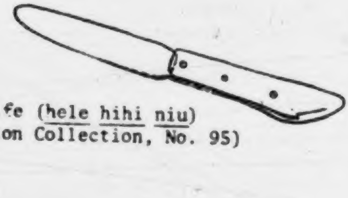
/201/The work of copra production in the Tonga Archipelago proceeds as follows: On his plantation the native gathers the ripe nuts that have dropped from the coconut palms. He usually takes these [492] to his place in the village in his own or a borrowed horse cart, (525)

525. See p. 256-258.

or he carries out the entire process of copra production directly on his plantation, especially if he has a little drying hut and the distance to the village seems too great. In sunny weather he splits 245 412 the nuts (which are still encased in their fiber husks) with an axe into two halves and spreads out rather large quantities of these, with the meat side up, to dry in the sun. After two or three days, (526)

526. In bad weather, or at night, he turns the halves upside down and places them slatwise against each other so that they form chains and the rain can run off the rounded outer sides.

he takes the meat (in larger or smaller pieces) out of the hard shells with the copra knife.



Copra knife (hele hihi niu)
(Expedition Collection, No. 95)

/203 cont./

245 the same throughout the year, since the months in which more nuts fall
433 (summer) they are usually not all gathered, whereas in the periods of
rather more scarcity (winter and the dry seasons) the natives seem
245 concerned about every nut. On a plantation of 8½ acres an average of
433 approximately two tons of copra may be produced in a year; since the
434 price paid by the Copra Board for A-quality was, for example, 62£T.
[435] per ton in 1952, the owner of such a plantation was able to earn
about 124£T. (or about 1170 German marks) that year for his copra, if
he delivered the best quality. The plantations that are available to
individual families, however, differ in size, (528)

528. See p. 173 ff.

so that the profit in terms of money from copra production fluctuates
very much among individual households, and at present amounts to perhaps 30 and 300£T. annually. (529)

529. In 1952 in the Vava'u group, for instance, every household made an average of 170£T.

245 Moreover, the price of copra constantly rises and falls on the world
435 market, (530)

458 530. Before the second World War the price paid
434 for one ton of copra in Tonga dropped to 4£T.

so that the Tongans, with their heavy dependence on copra production
as their most important source of money, have experienced "rich" and
"poor" periods during the past decades. Nonetheless, with the money
439 they receive for their copra production the natives are able to buy
177 various imported goods which contribute in some respects to a change
511 in their material culture as compared with the past. Most of these
goods are not vitally necessary for the islanders, for today all
Tongans can still support themselves solely by means of their agriculture (along with their fishing and domestic-animal raising).
Since the quantities of bark cloth and mats that were made in the

511 /203 cont./ Since the quantities of bark cloth and mats that were made in the
439 Archipelago have long since ceased to be used for clothing, as a re-
177 29 sult of European influence, but only for the sleeping places and
65 for festive occasions, the natives are obliged to buy fabric for
794 clothing or readymade clothing; (531)

531. See chapter on "Clothing," p. 67.

they must also pay the relatively low taxes and make substantial
511 contributions to churches. Aside from that, all money--and this is,
439 as a rule, the larger part of the proceeds from their copra work--
177 /204/ is used to buy supplementary European amenities. Among these
are, first of all foodstuffs such as canned meat and fish, flour, sugar,
etc., luxuries, above all tobacco, furthermore household objects such
as lamps (including oil), dishes, bowls and pots, equipment, raw
material and tools for building, fishing and woodworking, and finally
things which for the Tongans are definite luxury articles, such as
bicycles and cabinet-type sewing machines, perfume and powder.

245 Thus copra production has exerted a certain influence on the
434 daily life of the Tongans. The whole family takes part in this work--
(592) at any rate, in some phases of it; the men devote many hours of the
[461] year to it. The money they make with this activity is largely con-
(439) verted into goods that change the external picture of Tongan culture--
(177) from clothing and food to house-building and household goods; money
and goods also affect the character of the people and their inter-
relations--though up to now only to a slight extent. (532)

532. See pp. 17-22, 29-31.

[439] For the Tongans state the duty on the export of copra and the import
of goods that results from this is the most substantial source of
income. (533)

533. See Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the years 1950 and 1951 /cited in English/. London, 1952. p. 8/9. Copra export rose to

/204 cont./

245 16,704 tons in 1950 and to 19,222 tons in
434 1951 (ibid., p. 12); only a few white
[439] planters are included in these amounts.

245 Finally, the fact that the Tonga Islands, through their copra produc-
433 tion, have become a member (though a small one) of world economy is
439 having a certain political, commercial and, above all, economic
importance for the natives, depending on the state of the world
market.

245 Yet the possibility of producing copra is too limited on the
433 islands, and the traditional economic and communal system of the
182 Tongans is too closely knit, and the people themselves are too even-
178 tempered for this to lead to the destruction of the traditional life
177 of the natives. The old, basic economic structure has remained.
Copra and money have become an essential attribute to their former
way of life, but still only an attribute that can be renounced,
though renunciation would bring with it all kinds of hardships.

D. Plaiting, Knotting, and Tapa-Making

285 Most Tongan women even today spend a large part of their time
[462] plaiting, knotting and making tapa.

/205/ Among the plait work, mats are particularly important on account of the labor involved in making them and their significance for Tongan daily life as well as for festivities. The following types may be distinguished: floor mats, seat mats, sleeping mats, belt mats and display mats; the "pola" plaited of coconut palm leaves, which are used to make walls and to cover roofs, are also to be mentioned here. Some of the mat types--because of various raw materials and different ways of making them--must be further subdivided into individual types. The following list may give a picture of how the most common Tongan mats are used and made:

/205 cont./

285 [412] they cut them into strips from which they then plait the papa.

3. Sleeping Mats

lo taha:

[513] The lo taha is the most ordinary sleeping mat and often serves as the bottom mat of a complete bed for girls, women and men. It is also /206/ placed over the papa as a seat mat. On journeys (by boat) it is usually the only sleeping pad. Its size fluctuates around 1.80 x 1.10 meters.

[824] The lo taha is generally made of the pandanus species lou tofua. From the cut leaves the natives remove the thorny edges and part of the midrib with a knife; then they roll the leaves into rather large bundles (of about 40 leaves each) until the leaves change color. Thereupon the leaves are dried in the sun (about four to six days). Then they divide them along the midrib into two halves and store these rolled up (as many as 100 halves per roll) or separately. [412] Before plaiting them they draw a mussel shell or the bowl of a spoon over the leaf halves thus prepared, make them soft and pliable and cut them into narrow strips with a sharp shell splinter, a small piece of tin or a knife. The lo taha are often ornamented with [386] interwoven uniform black strips which have been suitably dyed by [824] being buried in the mud of a bog (for about three days) and boiled [531] with manaui leaves (and kokoa leaves, or also tavahi leaves). For a [531] few decades these mats have also been ornamented along the edges with [177] knotted, colored European wool threads.

fala tutu'ila:

The fala tutu'ila is also a sleeping mat and similar to the lo taha in kind and use.

It is made of leaf strips of the lou tutu'ila pandanus species which is not boiled, but simply dried in the air, like the lou paongo

/207 cont./

285 a few days (about seven), desalt them in fresh water, dry them for
[824] three or four days in the sun and roll them up again. Before plaiting
them the natives stretch these upper skins of the leaves, make them
pliable and divide them into narrow strips.

Sometimes the natives smoke-dry this belt mat to make it some-
what darker (that is, yellowish brown). Nowadays, they also some-
[531] times interweave it with *lou kie* strips that have been dyed with multi-
[177] colored, artificial European dyes.
[386]

ta'o-vala kie-kie:

The *ta'o-vala kie-kie* is very probably a "new discovery" that is
[291] no more than two decades old. This is not so much a mat as a plaited
belt with pendant strips that are plaited in the same way. Men and
women wear it like the *ta'o-vala tofua.*

[824] They plait the *ta'o-vala kie-kie* out of leaf strips of the *lou
[531] tofua* variety of pandanus (see above under *lo taha*) and ornament it
with interwoven black-dyed (see above under *lo taha*) leaf strips of
the same species.

/208/

5. Display Mats

fala fihu:

285 The *fala fihu* is a valuable mat which is generally not used by
565 commoners, but is stored away and dept for a special purpose. It is
[431] given by a relative or close friend on the occasion of a wedding; a
[585] girl will give it to the man she loves, and a young man will also
ask his sister for a *fala fihu* to give to a male of female friend as
[585] a special token of affection. At her wedding, a very well-to-do
[292] bride is wrapped in such a mat (but usually of a larger variety known
[764] as "*fihu*"), and at a burial the corpse is sometimes covered with it.
[513] The daughter of a high-ranking man also sleeps on such a mat.

285 The *fala fihu* is made from the pandanus species *lou kie* (see
824 above under *ta'o -vala kie*).

/209 cont./

285 ornamental mats were formerly plaited. (544)
178

544. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 283.

New creations, however, are the "seat mat for one person" (see above) and the belt mat ta'o-vala kie-kie (see above). The Tongan mats of today seem largely cruder as compared with the past. (545)

545. For example, throughout the Archipelago there are no mats that compare in quality with Numbers. Oz. 141, 144 and 148 in the Gottingen Institute of Ethnology (Cook-Forster Collection, Cook's second South Sea expedition).

285 Furthermore, we must mention the influx of European ornamental materials;
178 the natives like to use the artificial dyes and wool threads for some
177 types of mats because of their novel color effects. Today, they also
(531) often simplify the work of securing the edge of the mats by giving it
a sewing-machine seam; in preparing the material, they now boil various
leaf species instead of baking them in the earth-oven which was
apparently done in former times.

285 And still another change is to be noted: As a result of Tonga's
565 gradual democratization, some mats that were meant to be used only by
178 persons of higher rank lost their status and have fallen into common
use by people, (546)

546. See for example, ta'o-vala kie, kie Tonga.

who, in any case, probably have a greater wealth of mats of all types today than they had in the past.

285 On the other hand, however, it also seems important to note that
178 in this area the past has been preserved to a great extent: Today
in Tonga there is still no dwelling without mats. The natives cling
to many different kinds of mats and still use the individual types
/210/ for their traditional purposes; for example, the takapau has

/211 cont./

285 and from narrow pandanus-leaf strips of the lou tofua species (see [824] above) in a spiral coil technique. "Geometric" patterns are worked [531] in with black dyed (see above) lou tofua strips and natural colored lou paongo strips.

/212/

kato lou kie:

[482] This small pouch with a handle is used to hold money, tobacco, matches, etc. It is carried only by women and girls who like to take it along when they go shopping.

The kato lou kie is plaited by women and girls from pandanus strips (upper skin) of the lou kie species, (555) some of which are dyed with European colors.

555. See ta'o-vala kie, p. 309-310.

kato alu:

[585] The kato alu is a "wedding basket" for a wedding of some importance in ancient Tongan style. (556)

556. See p. 114-116.

There are two shapes: a smaller, oval one for the bridegroom and a larger, round one which was originally intended for the bride.

[462] These baskets, which are made only by women, are plaited with [824] the separated midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm and the split leaf ribs of the creeper alu. They are dyed with a [386] mixture of the soot of burned Aleurites and the sap of the koka tree (Bischofia javanica [flower]). With thin strings twisted from the [283] [237] bast of the paper mulberry tree, small rings cut out of shells (or snail shells [pule] with coconut fiber strings) are fastened to the [283] [237] outer surface of the basket. The carrying cord is plaited out of women's hair.

285 177 178 From the foregoing list of the most important types of baskets we may conclude that the natives expend considerable time, effort and

/212 cont./

285 177 178 care in making these receptacles which are still of rather fundamental importance in their everyday life. A definite change has taken place in this area, however, during the period of European influence: The number of ancient Tongan types has been reduced by the once so artistically plaited coconut fiber baskets (some with ornaments of shell disks) (557)

557. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 283; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 295.

and today we are experiencing the gradual disappearance of the last "wedding baskets" (kato alu, see above). (558)

558. See pp. 114-116.

Even though the Tongan women still make baskets with considerable expenditure of energy and with the use of complicated methods (see foregoing list), nevertheless the results of their efforts often seem crudely and sometimes unevenly worked. The types listed are an ancient Tongan cultural heritage, except for kato lou kie. This small basket with a handle is an imitation of European purses, according to the natives. It
[531] is worth mentioning that the other types of baskets have apparently re-
[386] mained basically unchanged, though some of them are used only to hold European articles, and that the natives have conservatively kept the old black and white patterns of their pandanus-leaf baskets (with the original black dyeing of the leaf strips), even though European /213/ dyes are easily obtainable; the latter are, significantly, used only for the new
285 462 creation of the kato lou kie.--As in old times, (559)

559. See J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 283.

basket-making is typically women's work, and the men, as in former times, (560)

560. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

only plait the crude baskets (see above, kato lou niu).

/213 cont./

285 i fulu fulu 'i moa:

(293) This is the typical "good" fan of females, especially girls; they
like to use it in public, in church, at choir practice, etc.

[462] Women and girls plait it of pandanus strips of the lou tofua
[824] variety (as well as lou paongo); (564)

(531) 564. See pp. 306-308.

according to the old style, they work in lou tofua strips dyed black
or tinted (for example, crimson) with European dyes. A wooden handle is
[237] plaited in as reinforcement, and the entire edge of the fan is trimmed
with white chicken down.

/214/ i lou fau:

[462] The i'lou fau is used mostly by women, but also by men, and is
made by the former.

[824] They use the midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm,
leaf strips of the lou tofua (or lou kie) variety of pandanus and
[177] hibiscus bast (fau). The latter is usually colored with European dyes.
[386] A wooden handle is plaited in as reinforcement. Sometimes they also
[237] fasten chicken down to the edge of the fan.

285 Without doubt, these are products that are basically of ancient
(177) Tongan origin. In the absence of comparative material it is difficult
for us to determine how great the change is in this area. In any case,
[439] the frequent use of European dyes, as well as the bits of imported
construction timber used to reinforce the handle are recent influences.
[178] Probably the more "elegent" fans (for example, i fulu fulu 'i moa,
[565] i tu'a niu) were reserved for nobles in ancient Tonga, and in general
we may assume that the work has perhaps become cruder.

Finally, in a discussion of Tongan plaitwork we must mention
sandals and hats.

/214 cont./

Sandals

teka:

285 292 These are an ancient Tongan cultural heritage. Today, as in the past, they are worn on the sharp-edged coral reefs by fishermen (sometimes also by women).

285 462 824 The men (not so much the women) plait these sandals from the bast of Hibiscus tiliaceus. Nowadays, they sometimes also use (for convenience) the less durable leaf strips of pandanus.

Hats

285 177 291 The occasional wearing of hats may be traced back to European influence. Hence the plaiting of such head coverings is also a new type of work in Tonga.

tata lou 'akau:

292 794 These hats are worn by older women when they go to church; they are a sign of membership in the Wesleyan congregation where the wearers have made a special confession. Younger women and girls wear these hats not only for church-going, but also on other festive
292 177 occasions, and as sunshades on Sunday. In the opinion of one Tongan who is in general well informed, hats have been made in the Archipelago for about 40 years and are an imitation of models taken from the (Europeanized) Niue Island where indeed very similar models are plaited to this day.

285 462 824 531 /215/ The tata lou 'akau are made only by women from the leaf strips of the lou tofua pandanus species; (565)

565. See lo taha, pp. 305-308.

they plait patterns into them with pandanus leaf strips of the lou kie species, (566)

566. See ta'o-vala kie, p. 309.

dyed with European dyes, and put a band of cotton around the hat.

/215 cont./

285 off (all around) in one strip. After it has dried in the sun for
283 about two days /216/ the white bast (= on the inner side of the re-
824 maining bark) is removed. This the women (girls) divide into narrow
strips and therewith knot the mana fau which is actually only a strand
of bast slung around the hips, from which the bast fibers, knotted to
it in close succession, hang down to below the knees.

kie-kie lou fau:

292 The kie-kie lou fau is worn especially by women and girls,
though sometimes also by men. They wear it instead of a ta'o-vala
(764) to church, when visiting chiefs, for festivals and other occasions,
(574) and for dances (laka-laka, ma'ulu'ulu, hula hula, tau'olunga, hula,
(535) ulu); they also decorate fresh graves with it.

285 This ornamental belt which originated only in recent times (end
292 of the last century?/ is made by women and girls, likewise out of
(462) hibiscus bast, and consists of a plaited belt cord on which are
(824) knotted long, narrow bast strips that hang down. It usually has
(283) special knotted ornaments in the hip section (for example, bast
(777) strips tied into rosettes), and parts of it, in contrast to mana fau,
(386) are always dyed with European dyes (particularly green, lavender, pink,
and blue).

kie-kie pueki:

292 This ornamental belt, which is also worn by women and girls
(438) (and occasionally by men) in place of the ta'o-vala, is a typical
product of the island of Niua Toputapu situated in the very northern
part of the Archipelago. It may be an ancient cultural heritage.

292 The natives there make the kie-kie pueki, like the mana fau, of
237 hibiscus bast (with long pendant bast strips); all around the hip
(283) section, however, they knot snail shells on a band about eight centi-
(285) meters wide. The snail shells, which are whitish-yellow in their
(777)
(386)

292 /216 cont./
237 natural state, are today occasionally dyed with European dyes (for
177 example, crimson) for ornamental arrangements.
386

kie-kie lopa:

292 The *kie-kie lopa* is worn by women and girls (more seldom by men)
[535] as a *ta'o-vala;* they also like to wear it at dances (*laka-laka*,
[353] *tau'olunga*, *kailao*, *hula*, *ula*, *ma'ulu'ulu*) and often use it to decorate
their dwellings. This may be an ancient cultural heritage. It is
[462] made by women and girls and consists of a plaited cord of bast
(283) (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) on which bast fibers are knotted; upon these they
[824] string red *lopa* seeds (*Adenanthera pavonina*?). Today the bast fibers
[386] of the *kie-kie lopa* are also sometimes dyed with European dyes.
(177)

Perhaps the principle of these ornamental belts is an ancient
Tongan cultural heritage. With much love and zeal they are individually
(283) knotted today by women and girls. European dyes are an essential
(386) feature of all of them except *mana fau*.
(177)

287 The bast cloth (tapa) (567)
177
[196]

567. Tapa is actually an incorrect designation, though long since established even for the dyed and figured bark cloth (more correctly: bast cloth); in the Tongan language only the non-dyed edge of the bast cloth is called *tapa*, whereas the dyed (figured) bast cloth is called *ngatu*.

is still made in the Tonga Archipelago on a large scale, even though the process is very tedious and in part /217/ entails hard work, and European textiles are relatively easily obtainable for the inhabitants of all the islands.

287 As clothing, however, tapa is used only on certain special
292 occasions; (568)
784

568. See p. 66 ff.

178 since the old belief in taboos has been lost, strips of bast cloth are

/221 cont./

287 wedding gift and as a cover on which to lay a corpse.

287 The customary method of producing tapa today corresponds largely
178 to that observed by Cook (577)

177 577. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 203/204.

386
531 in the second half of the 18th century and by Mariner (578)

578. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 288-293.

at the beginning of the 19th century. On the whole, and in numerous details, the work procedure has remained the same, though various changes are to be noted. Thus, European knives (and axes) replaced the shells formerly used to cut the paper mulberry trees; the outer bark is no longer scraped off the bast layer with shells; rather, bast and bark are today more quickly separated with knife and hand; manioc roots are now used as glue (in the koko'anga process) instead of the "toe" berries and maho'a (arrow root, Tacca pinnatifida Forst. f.) the koka scrapers are, of course, a modern device, just as the wooden half-cylinders with boards and nails used in dyeing have been "modernized"; the printed panels show symbols and objects from present-day Tonga and lettered inscriptions, along with the traditional patterns; moreover, the tapa lengths may today be wider and shorter if Mariner's account ("about six feet in breadth, and generally about forty or fifty yards in length" /cited in English/) is correct; the painting on of the segment numbers in Arabic numerals is, of course, the result of European influences; a certain simplification of the work process means the abolishment of the "baking below ground" (earth oven?) which, according to Mariner, was formerly customary and apparently made the color more permanent; finally, it may be mentioned that the re-drawing of the decorations is today more thorough and is not done with hea juice, but with a mixture of koka color and Aleurites soot.

/221 cont./

287 178 177 Yet these changes, which are partly the result of direct European influences and partly an independent development, seem trivial in view of the fact that the very complicated process of tapa-making has otherwise been preserved to the greatest extent, for Mariner's detailed and accurate account of it could--with the foregoing modifications--have been written in the year 1952 instead of 1816. However, it cannot be foreseen whether, with the isolated technical changes occurring today, which aim to simplify /222/ the process, the way is being paved for a deterioration of this ancient craft, as has long since occurred on almost all the other islands of Polynesia. These changes include: the use of imported wheat flour as paste, the employment of simple paper patterns to be painted, and the application of free-hand designs (based on printed-panel models). (579)

Manifestations such as these are not yet common by any means; they are seen here and there, especially in and around the harbor towns.

A noteworthy change in the field of tapa production, which, however, did not affect the technical side, occurred as a result of the gradual democratization of the Tonga state: The printed panels are no longer
(565) exclusively made by women of higher rank, (580) but are in general made by commoners who thus carry out the entire work process and who, in contrast to past times, keep all the products of their activity, save for occasional voluntary gifts to nobles.

The majority of Tongans, therefore, in view of the quantities of tapa produced in the Archipelago, probably do not own less bast cloth
(565) than they did in the past. Whether this drifting-away of tapa

579. In Fungamisi/Vava'u the natives use for their koka'anga work, for example, a net knotted out of European yarn instead of printing panels and coconut twine.

580. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 292.

/222 cont./

287 178 177 [565] production from the supervision of nobles coarsened the results is difficult to say. The old tapa pieces in the Göttingen Institute of Ethnology, (581)

581. That is, Numbers Oz. 575, 578-580; all from the Cook-Forster Collection.

for example, scarcely surpass the products of the present, and though the patterns customary today may seem in part clumsy, yet they show a certain skill and assurance in the decoration of large areas.

287 527 177 The Christianization of the Archipelago has influenced tapa-making insofar as this work, like every other, is laid aside on Sundays and is scarcely done even on Saturdays. (582)

582. On account of preparations for Sunday.

287 461 The Tongan women also try to finish all planned koka'anga work (that is, the pasting and coloring of the large pieces) before the Christmas season; in the new year they gradually start beating feta'aki (raw tapa), and it often takes months before the first koka'anga again takes place.

285 283 287 177 178 In summary we may say about the plait- and knotwork as well as tapa-making of the Tongans that in their use of materials and in their technique they have, to a large extent, preserved their heritage from the past. True, some of it has been lost, new things have arisen, European expedients have gained entrance, and the products of today seem /223/ in part cruder in comparison with ancient Tongan work. Yet one can scarcely spead of an actual deterioration.

[565] In addition to employment of materials and technique, it may be interesting to note the distribution of these products among the Tongan people in the past and at present. In this connection we discover that today a certain quantity of such pieces are to be found in every Tongan household, and that, as a result of the "liberation" of commoners and the attendant "debasing" of types once reserved for

/223 cont./

285
283 nobles to the realm of the common people, most of the traditional
287 plaitwork, knotwork and tapa-making is scarcely less numerous than
178 it was in the past.

177
[565] During the last few decades there seems to have been danger,
especially in and around the harbor towns, that these ancient crafts
285 might be lost. For this reason a course in "Tongan handicrafts"
287
178 /cited in English/ was introduced in all Tongan schools of the
871 Archipelago, in order to teach children the important ancient Tongan
crafts. Many a girl from Nuku'alofa, for example, whose mother was
already inexperienced in the old handicrafts, has in this way been
made familiar with them, and even in the harbor towns one now constantly hears the sound of the tapa mallets, though even here it was
never completely silenced. For here, and especially on the small
[868] islands, the ancient Tongan crafts have been handed down to this day
from mothers and grandmothers to their children and grandchildren.
285 The "liberation" of commoners also brought about no essential decrease
287 in industriousness after they were no longer obliged to work for the
178 nobles; the authority of the latter passed over to the government,
565 though in milder form, and the Tongan district and town officers
656 /cited in English/ serving in the individual villages--who are subject
to a higher authority--see to it that the Tongan women living within
their jurisdiction produce certain quantities of tapa and mats--for
their own use--during prescribed periods. The majority of women and
[556] girls willingly carry out these orders, though there is no law that
forces them to do so, for mats and tapa are still a standard of
prosperity; no one wants to be regarded as "poor," and women will
therefore work for their good reputation.

285 The question as to why the ancient Tongan treasures are still
287 held in such high regard can scarcely be answered simply by pointing
178

/223 cont./

285 out that the Tongan women can obtain the necessary raw material from
287 their own land, and that they are simply continuing a centuries-old
178 tradition that has long been taken for granted. The chapters on
clothing and house-building alone show that this answer does not
285 suffice. No intensive European influences affected the area of
287 plaiting, knotting and tapa work, as they did the area of clothing
178 (missionization). Yet the various examples set by whites and the
177 possibilities of obtaining new goods and materials, as in the case
of house-building, could alone have caused a rather great change.
/224/ The fact that this did not occur must doubtless be explained
by the inertia of the Tongans, by their sometimes quite definite
conservative attitude. (583)

[386] 583. Interesting in this connection is the fact that the natives can easily obtain European dyes and that they like to use them (for example, for certain types of mats and for ornamental belts), yet they strictly avoid these otherwise so popular garish colors in making their traditional pandanus-leaf baskets and in dyeing their tapa lengths.

E. Division of Labor and Daily Routine

462 The division of labor according to sex among the Tongan population living in the villages is based on the principle that the men generally do the heavy work while the lighter tasks are left to the women.

A list of the chief tasks may show this:

MEN	WOMEN
Plantation work	Food preparation and cooking
Harvest transport	Tending children
Copra-making	Taking care of house
Fishing	Washing clothes and sewing
Preparation of earth-oven	Mat-making, along with plaitwork (and knot work)
Keeping domestic animals	
Grass-cutting (village property)	Tapa-making

/225 cont./

462 making or helps with tapa-making.

462 The principle of the present customary division of labor
178 between the sexes corresponds to that of the past. For example, Cook
(584)

584. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 282/283.

as well as Mariner (585)

585. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 132, 301; see also E.P.E. de Rossel, Voyage de Dentrecasteaux... I. p. 310.

reported that Tongan men at that time did all the heavy work, while
the lighter tasks were the responsibility of their wives. The new
462 tasks that arose as a result of European influence (copra-making,
177 cooking, washing, sewing) were also shared by the two sexes in
accordance with this principle. (586)

586. If the situation demands it, however, the women are perfectly willing to do heavy work; for example, one sometimes sees women and girls splitting ripe coconuts with the axe (for making copra), if the male members of the family, for some reason, are prevented from doing this.

461 The "division of labor" between nobles and commoners, (587)
464
565
587. On the occupational division of labor see the chapter "Vocations and Trades" p. 357 ff.

178 which was so much taken for granted in ancient Tonga and, according to
which, commoners were obliged to work for nobles who supervised
and guided them, was fundamentally changed through the Christianization
and democratization of the Archipelago: The commoners today generally
work for themselves, for their family alone; some chiefs work their
plantation none, others work together with several commoners, and a
few let the latter work for them on a voluntary basis and for
remuneration (food, kava, money), while they spend their days at leisure.

512 The daily routine of the Tongans is still characterized by the
181

/225 cont./

512 [181] tranquility and equanimity of these human beings who, with a measure of regularity, go about their customary tasks, duties and forms of relaxation.

/226/ They usually get up quite early in the morning (between five and six o'clock) and often start the day with a short prayer. While the wife busies herself preparing the morning meal and the children help her or finish their schoolwork, the husband usually (after feeding his pigs) goes to his plantation (588)

588. Sometimes he also goes fishing.

in order to take advantage of the pleasant morning coolness. The [264] family has its first meal some time between nine and eleven o'clock, in which the husband of course takes part if by that time he has returned from his plantation (where he would also be able to prepare a meal for himself). The wife spends the morning "taking care of the house" (she spreads out the sleeping-mats and -tapa in the sun in front of the house, cleans and sweeps the interior and straightens out and rolls up the bedding), and, besides attending to the small children (the older children are at school), she might busy herself with the plaiting of a mat that may have been started a long time before; she might also go to the beach on the surf side of the island in order to look for algae, polyps, mussels or crabs. In case the husband has not remained on his plantation he will probably attend to his copra-making or his fishing. While some families in the larger towns will have another [264] meal around noon, according to the European example, most of the [177] natives on the smaller islands simply take a longer rest which lasts [461] until the worst heat is over (about 15 o'clock). Then the villages wake up to new life. The men visit the plantations or they now go fishing or take up their planned copra work with which the women sometimes help; otherwise, the women continue with their plaitwork or now

/228 cont./

512
527 (592)

[796] 592. Children also attend Sunday school.

[794] in which most of the natives (of both sexes and all ages) take part.
[252] Chiefly in the morning (around eight o'clock) the men, with the help
[264] of their wives, prepare an earth-oven (593)

593. This work, of course, the men also performed during the week if their wives have not prepared food in a simple manner.

the contents of which, around ten or eleven o'clock, serve as the main
[264] Sunday dinner, the leftovers of which they like to eat in the afternoon
as a second meal. As for the rest of the day, they prefer to spend it
[574] sleeping and chatting and also paying visits; some Tongans read the
[212] bible for a long time (as they often do evenings during the rest of the
[571] week), and in every village men belonging to individual community groups
[264] gather for the gala meal of thanksgiving sponsored by the church (_faka-afe_).

512 The daily routine of the Tongans, like their division of labor, essentially does not change throughout the seasons. Not only the population in general, (594)

[463]
[461] 594. The daily schedule of Tongans who have special professions (for example, teachers, physicians, clerks, government employees) is, of course, determined by their work.

but also many nobles, in contrast to the past, spend their days in this manner, provided they do not hold an office that carries with it a special honor.

512 Thus the daily routine reflects the changes, the transformation of
177 Tongan culture: Included in the array of traditional tasks, duties
178 and leisure activities are new activities (595)

[527] 595. Copra-production; clothes washing; church duties; attendance at church services, prayers,

/228 cont./

512 choir practice; school work.
177 and Christianization has brought the idea of the "week" and of Sunday.
178 Yet, aside from this day of rest, the rhythm of the daily activity
[527] seems to have remained the same: the Tongan functions with matter-
[181] of-fact equanimity, and the abundance of new duties and tasks has not
been able to decrease, much less destroy, his inner calm.

F. Transportation (Land and Sea)

489 In examining the development of Tongan transportation we must naturally make a distinction between land traffic (on the islands) and sea traffic (within the Archipelago as well as between other islands and countries of the Pacific).

489
481
177 With regard to travel by land, it may be said that the majority of natives still travel on foot. They often walk hour-long /229/ distances--transporting burdens at the same time--(596)

596. See pp. 249-251.

on the small islands as well as the large ones, though on the latter, in order to cover great distances, they make increasing use of means of transportation that have come to the Archipelago as a result of European influence.

492
177 The horse (597)

597. See p. 256-258.

that was introduced by Europeans has become very important for many natives (of the large as well as the small islands) as a riding- and pack-animal.

[493]
[401] As a draft animal it is used to draw the two-wheeled carts (598)

598. See p. 256-258.

which have proved very useful on the streets, roads and paths of the islands (even in the bush) and are also European imports; in ancient
000 Tonga the principle of the wheel was unknown. These wagons are not

/230 cont./

484
494 of all kinds (even for carrying pigs). In 1951 there was a total of
493 80 private cars in the Archipelago (600)

600. Ibid. p.23.

almost all of which drove on Tongatapu; some were owned by whites living there. Moreover, in the same year, 16 motorcycles (601)

601. Ibid. p. 23.

were registered in the Archipelago.

491 The old Tongan roads were, of course, not equal to traffic by such vehicles. From the sources we can scarcely tell whether the former "roads" were in any way paved or were simply surfaced with hard-pounded clay. While the small islands are today still criss-crossed by the traditional unpaved and, in the rainy season, very soggy roads and paths, some of which go back to the distant past, others to the beginning of the settlements, the islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u have a few good highways, fully adequate for truck traffic year round, surfaced with coral stone or even asphalt; these were built by Tongans under the supervision of Whites. In 1951 there were about 60 miles of such roads on Tongatapu and 18 miles on Vava'u. (602)

602. Colonial Office, Report 1950/51. p. 23.

484
501 As for sea traffic, the most important change in comparison with the past is the complete stop of long trips to other archipelagos
501 with catamarans. It has been a very long time since those so
177 "carefully and skillfully built" (603)
484

603. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 287.

catamarans (604)

604. In the second half of the 18th century, the Tongans gave up their catamaran-type known as "tungiakia" in favor of the Fijian "ndrua"-catamaran, which they felt was superior, and which they copied masterfully and called

/230 cont./

501
177
484 "kalia" (see Th. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians /cited in English/. Third ed... London 1870. p. 64; W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 121). A description of "kalia," for example in Th. West, Ten Years.../cited in English./ pp. 49/50.

which in construction and speed once aroused the admiration of the great European seafarers, and with which the natives set out for distant destinations, such as Samoa, Fiji, Niue, Futuna, Uvea, Totuma and even some of the Ellice and Gilbert Islands. (605)

605. See E. W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. pp. 14/15, 205.

505 The Tongans who wish to travel to Samoa, Fiji, New Zealand or Australia for visits or for educational purposes use the New Zealand steamer which makes an approximately monthly round trip: Auckland--/231/ Suva--Nuku'alofa--Neiafu--Apia--Suva--Auckland. (606)

606. With occasional stops at Niue. The old hopes that Tonga would become a point of intersection of trans-Pacific routes were not fulfilled because of the development of the Fiji colony. Thus the Archipelago still lies at the edge of world traffic. Except for the "monthly steamer" from New Zealand, freighters only occasionally stop at Nuku'alofa or Vava'u to deliver goods or take on copra. An airfield built a few years ago on Tongatapu provided passenger service only from January 1, 1950 to July 2, 1951; then the New Zealand company discontinued this line's service which was apparently uprofitable. However, there are plans for a resumption and expansion of air connections (with Fiji, New Zealand and West Samoa). [508]

For journeys from Tongatapu and Vava'u the natives like to use the [501] monthly steamer. For the rest, traffic within the Archipelago is served by the auxiliary ketch "Hifofua" of the government, the auxiliary ketch "Aoniu" of the Copra Board, (607)

/231 cont./

505

607. Both are sailboats with auxiliary motors and a displacement of approximately 80 to 100 tons.

[501] the motor boats and sailboats (with auxiliary motors) of the churches and especially all the sailboats (cutters, sloops) owned by Tongans and today stationed on almost all inhabited islands of the Archipelago. (608)

608. In 1952, for example, six such sailboats belonged to the village of Nomuka (567 inhabitants, ten to the village of 'Uiha (647 inhabitaznts) and two (along with two motor boats) to the village of Fungamisi (263 inhabitants). The price of such a sailboat depends on its size and the circumstances of its acquisition. Today it may cost up to 800£T. (about 7320 German marks). (435)

(396) (177) (422) (471) These sailboats built entirely after European models are built by Whites or half-castes, sometimes also by Tongans themselves with imported material. They are the property of one person or of several who formed a sort of cooperative. For a fixed fare, paid in Tongan currency, the generally altogether overloaded vessels transport human beings and cargo; people travel on them to visit relatives or go shopping, students travel on them to their colleges at the beginning and end of vacation, copra is shipped on these sailboats to the receiving stations of the Copra Board, and the supply of goods from the commercial centers of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai to the small and smallest islands is made possible only by this traffic; natives also set out to fish in the high seas (deep sea angling) in cutters and sloops.

(501) In such boats, which are approximately between 4 and 15 tons, the natives often sail a hundred and more sea miles on the open sea, and there are seldom accidents even during stormy night journeys. The Tongans (609)

/233 cont./

501 178 612. Today also with cotton or cement.

and of which only a very few exist in the Archipelago, will probably soon share the fate of kalai which disappeared seven decades ago.

501 A tafa'anga boat observed on Nomula Iki in December 1951 was built there that same year by a Tongan (from Niua Toputapu) and was used for short trips between Nomuka and Nomuka Iki. [824] The keel was made of wood of the ifi tree (*Inocarpus fagiferus* [Park.] Fosb), the planks and the float were made of fau wood (*Hibiscua tiliaceus*), the outrigger poles could not be definitely determined, and the connecting timbers (four) between the three outrigger poles and the float were made of toa wood (*Casuarina equisetifolia* L.) . [284] There were holes bored in the planks which were held together with coconut-fiber lashings. Old tapa served as caulking. Two seat boards were nailed on fore and aft. The body of the boat had a coat of crimson oil paint to protect it against sea water. Two paddles propelled the boat.

501 177 178 Aside from the European additions (nails in the seat boards and oil paint) this boat in its rather crude form seemed unchanged from its ancient Tongan model, which had polish-like smoothness and was ornamented, (613)

[113] 613. See G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 347; Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise... /Diary of a voyage of discovery/ translated by J. R. Forster, Berlin 1781. p. 93.

and used for bonito fishing, no longer practiced today. (614)

614. See Th. West, Ten years...p.146.

501 The popao, namely the simple (and unadorned) dugout outrigger boats, are the universal craft used for short-distance trips. They usually take on one or two persons and are propelled with wooden paddles (having an oval or pointed-oval blade) or with improvised, trimmed coconut-palm-leaf stems. Sometimes the natives also use a

/234 cont./

396 use the quite effective toki hoka that consists of a handle about
412 1.60 meters long and with a larger gouge screwed to one end, with which the wood can be forcefully chipped off. The outer surface of [177] the hull is hewn with the transverse hatchet fale-vatu (see p. 200-202) until it shows the proper curvature and seems almost smoothly planed; if possible, however, they work with a European iron plane.

(284) [824] To attach the two outrigger poles (kiato) (616)

616. For example, from wood of the milo tree = Thespesia populnea (L.) Solander.

they drill holes with a European drill at two opposite points of the boat's side, enlarge the holes with a red-hot iron, place the outrigger poles (their ends notched with the small transverse hatchet) crosswise over the rims of the boat's side and lash them in this position with coconut fiber cords soaked in water, which are drawn through the bored and burned holes and are tightly and neatly wound and finally pounded firm with a small transverse hatchet (used as a hammer). Sometimes they also connect the two outrigger poles about 0.80 to 1 meter from the hull with a rod ('akau puke) (617)

617. Of milo-wood, for instance.

lashed to them, in order to achieve greater strength of the outriggers.

396 The float (hama) (618)

(824) 618. For example, of mohokol wood = Cananga odorata (Lam.) Hook. f. and Thomson.

which has already been prepared, with ends tapering to a point, is then provided with four (or five to six) drilled holes (European drill) in the two sections where the outrigger poles are to be fastened; into the holes, trimmed and pointed struts (tuki-tuki) (619)

(824) 619. For example, of toa wood = Casuarina equisetifolia L.

/235 cont./

412 Though the popao seems unchanged in principle from that of the
178 past, the tools used in building it are quite different from those
177 used in ancient Tonga. The axes with black stone blades, the drills
[237] with shark's teeth and fish-skin scrapers (621)

621. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 287.

have long since disappeared, and new equipment is used instead, which represents, in part, a combination of European material and Tongan form, (622)

622. See transverse hatchets, p. 200-202.

in part, purely imported materials of whites.

501 To propel a popao one or two paddles are required. Special
[415] bailers (box at the bottom of the boat) with a handle inside are very
(178) seldom made any more. The natives usually use rather large coconut shells or empty cans to bail out.

501 The supply of boats of the popao type is by no means uniform on
184 the individual islands. Investigations made by the author in 1951/52
422 for instance, showed that in 'Uiha (Ha'apai) only three out of 100 households had popao, whereas the 85 households of Nomuka (Ha'apai) had about 40, and the 45 households of Fugamisi (Vava'u) had 17 boats of this type. There are apparently no particular reasons for this unequal distribution, for the living conditions of the natives of 'Uiha and Nomuka are very similar. The people of the remote village of 'Uiha--in which, according to statements of older Tongans, only a few decades ago almost every household owned a popao--seem to have simply lost the inclination to build these boats, whereas the inhabitants of Fungamisi (the "suburb" of the urbanized harbor settlement of Neiafu) still show a greater interest in this boat, though
501 there is no compelling necessity for it. One may assume, in general,
178 that the supply of these simple outriggers--considerable though it

/235 cont./

501 seems to be on many islands--has very much decreased and will continue 178 to do so. The reason for this, however, is not that superior [177] European types of boats are replacing the popao, (623)

623. The cutters and sloops have replaced the old catamarans, and the few rowboats (dingi) of European construction in the Archipelago, made with expensive imported material, present no serious competition for the popao which are so easily built.

but that the /236/ Tongans today seem to turn less to the sea than they did formerly. (624)

624. For instance, only relatively few Tongans are able to handle a popao really skilfully in a somewhat turbulent sea.

501 The "countless numbers of small boats or canoes" (625)

625. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise.../Diary of a journey of exploration/ translated by J.R. Forster. p. 93 (he means the tafaanga).

which welcomed Cook, for instance, could today no longer be assembled, even if one included cutters, sloops, popao and rowboats of several islands lying close together. For example, of the 108 households in [422] the village of 'Uiha in April/May 1952, 86 had no watercraft; of the 45 households of the village of Fungamisi during the same period, 24 were without such a craft, and the natives of the four villages of the island of Lifuka had a total of scarcely 20 boats of various kinds.

489 177 178 Much has therefore changed in the area of transportation. Though the majority of Tongans go about on foot on the islands, the influence of modern methods of transportation (horse, cart, bicycle or motor vehicle) is in part considerable. Modern vehicles will undoubtedly increase in importance on the larger islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u in the coming years, while on the smaller islands, with shorter

489 /236 cont./
177 distances and poor, unpaved roads, the optimum seems to have been
178 reached at this time.

505 With regard to sea traffic, it is noteworthy that the seafaring
178 Tongans doubtless still possess the nautical sense of their renown
177 ancestors, but in comparison with the past, in general, a certain
estrangement from the sea can be seen. Since they depend on the
monthly steamer for transportation outside Tonga (and in part also
within Tonga), and since, for transportation between the islands of
the Archipelago, they use sailboats whose building material (626)
must be imported, they have become dependent on Europeans in their
501 traffic on the high seas. Of the ancient Tongan type of boats--with
505 the exception of the now very rare tafa'anga--the simplest type of out-
178 rigger, the popao, has alone been preserved and is used on short
trips for various purposes rather frequently.

489 There is no noticeable difference between nobles and commoners
565 with respect to means of transportation. Not origin, but economic
184 potential is decisive for the acquisition of land- and seacraft. (627)

501 In accordance with the social structure of ancient Tonga, the
422 catamarans of those days were solely in possession of the nobility.
565 Today the /237/ sailboats that have replaced the catamarans belong
178 largely to commoners, and money plays a part in the traffic of these
cutters and sloops which transport almost all passengers and goods
for money.

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626. The wood for building these boats must also be imported, since the natives lumber does not seem resistant enough.

627. In addition, there is borrowing without direct return service (see p. 136-137.

/237 cont./

463 and *mu'a*, (632)

565 632. The *mu'a* are individuals one of whose parents has the rank of chief, while the other is of *matapule* rank (see E.W. Gifford, *loc*. *cit*. p. 109.

those who had other vocations were *mu'a* or commoners, except barbers and cooks who belonged exclusively to the commoners.

463 According to Mariner, (633)

428 633. J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. II. p. 96.

565 all these vocations were hereditary, with certain reservations in the case of tattooists, carvers of clubs and barbers. However, there seems to have been no compulsion toward hereditary vocations; in the highly esteemed vocations the son took over the activity (usually along with the title) /238/ (634)

634. See E.W. Gifford, *loc*. *cit*. p. 145.

of his father, if only out of self-interest and in accordance with what had become a general custom, while in the less esteemed vocations the sons probably followed in their father's footsteps as a result of the rigidity of social stratification. (635)

635. See J. Martin, *loc*, *cit*. II. pp. 94/95.

463 The members of particularly esteemed professions were paid for
431 their work with gifts from the chiefs; (636)

636. Ibid. p. 93.

the natives who practiced the less respected vocations apparently also received occasional gifts. (637)

637. See J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. II. p. 92.

463 These conditions in ancient Tonga have now undergone a funda-
177 mental change as a result of European influences.

There are no longer any boat-builders or sailmakers in the old sense, since the catamarans have been given up; the carvers of clubs

/238 cont./

463 have likewise long since lost their reason for existence, since,
177 already a century ago, clubs were replaced by the more effective fire-
arms and, in any case, by that time a peaceful era had dawned in the
Archipelago; the demise of the old tattooing art also meant the end
of this vocation, and there are likewise no longer any occupational
cord-winders because of the decline of the traditional way of building
houses. Changes in tombs hint at what will be the last of the stone
[178] cutters' work. On account of the progressive democratization and with
[565] it the relaxation of the common people's obligation toward the
nobility, the occupations of cook, barber, net-maker, fisherman and
house-builder have also disappeared, insofar as they applied to the
households of the chieftains.

463 The choice of occupation is today freely left to the individual, and usually ability is more decisive than origin. In modern Tonga some new occupations arose, only a few of which are comparable to those of ancient Tonga:

Clergyman (of various churches)
Teacher (of the government, of churches)
Physician (government service)
Administrative employee (of the government, of the Copra Board) (also: postal employee including telegraph service, customs official, policeman, road worker)
Business employee (of white or Tongan merchants)
Carpenter (for building modern and ancient Tongan houses and boats)
/239/ Blacksmith (often carpenter and blacksmith simultaneously)
Car driver and auto mechanic
Baker
Tailor (seamstress)
Hair-stylist
Merchant
Seaman (on small sailboats within the Archipelago; very occasionally on foreign ships on the pacific)

Employee of the administration (except for district officer and town officer), shop employee, car driver, auto mechanic, baker,

/241 cont./
472 these available for transporting persons and freight to make money.
[463] Finally, workmen of the chief towns (bakers, tailors, hair-cutters)
also belong to those engaged in business, while most of the
carpenters and blacksmiths in the villages of the small islands do
not yet show a purely acquisitive sense.

472 Thus a trade engaged in on the principle of permanent monetary gain
●177 has arisen in Tonga only as a result of European influence, and a few
181 natives can today be called "tradesmen" in this sense. Only pressure
for moneymaking resulting from overpopulation as well as a considerable
increase of /242/ European influence will probably arouse economic
acqusitiveness among the majority of Tongans and will be able to
overcome the feelings and values of these natives /incompatible
with such activity/.

H. Money in the Life of the Tongans

436 Money is something utterly new in Tonga. In the past the chiefs,
425 in accordance with their authority, obtained freely everything they
565 wished from commoners without compensation, (643)

643. Particularly esteemed workers, however, were repaid with gifts.

and the commoners among themselves probably acted according to the still current system of "anticipated reciprocity." (644)

644. Namely, request for something without direct return service (see pp. 136-137).

This arrangement was taken for granted by all Tongans.

436 Today money plays an important role in the economic life of
[177] these people. Tongan currency, modeled on the British pattern,
works with pounds, shillings and pence. The value of a Tongan
pound (£T) corresponds to an Australian pound. The bank notes
issued by the Kingdom of Tonga are made out in the amount of 5£T.,
1£T., 10 shillings and 4 shillings. In addition, there are Australian

/242 cont./

436 (not so much English, New Zealand and Fiji) silver and copper coins in circulation. The bank notes in circulation on December 31, 1951 amounted to 175,683£T. (645)

645. Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951 /cited in English/. p. 11.

Tongan money--though made of paper--is regarded as a positive measure of value, not only by whites, but especially by natives, even on the smallest islands of the Archipelago. The government pays with it, its civil servants and employees; the Copra Board buys copra made by the natives with this money; the Tongans pay their taxes with it, do all their shopping at storekeepers with it, and even like to use money in the villages on the small islands to buy a house, for example, or a boat. The present economic life of the Kingdom of Tonga (including all imports and exports) would be unthinkable without the presence of money. It still seems necessary, however, for a
[563] white man to fill the post of minister of finance and supervise the
[645] regulation and security of Tongan currency. Owing to this European
652 influence, and especially to the favorable economic conditions of
436 the Kingdom of Tonga, the currency as well as the entire national
[177] budget are quite sound; the country is without debts and in 1950
[454] 424,808£T. were even invested abroad. (646)

646. Report of the Honourable the Minister for Finance for the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p. 2.

434 The average Tongan earns his cash chiefly from copra production; the annual income from this aimed at by most families /243/ is today probably somewhere between 30 and 300£T. (647)

647. See p. 302-304.

[439] In addition, in the chief towns, there are limited opportunities for
[432] earning money through banana export and the sale of watermelons and pineapples.

/243 cont./
000 pineapples.

436 The natives have become well accustomed to the significance and
178 use of money, since they take for granted shopping even in places
where Tongans own the trading stations. Here no one tries /to invoke/
[425] the old system of "asking something without direct return service";
[437] the established prices of the shopkeepers are paid without demur, nor
[435] is there any bargaining or dickering.

434 The Tongans use the money they have earned mainly to buy fabric
432 for clothing and readymade clothing, oil to burn, soap, matches,
436 tobacco, canned mean and fish, flour, sugar, housewares and tools,
to pay land rent and taxes and to contribute to churches. Usually
the native spends his money rapidly. For example, if he has received
20£T. for delivering copra, he often immediately buys 10 to 15£T.
worth of the aforementioned items and sometimes also things for
which he has no particular use. After a while, he has made more
copra and the process is repeated. Many Tongans regularly spend all
their money, knowing that they will presently produce more copra and
436 earn money anew. How could they have the European concept of money
● [177] when there is no dependence on it here and all the customary and
usually necessary European calculation is completely unknown to most
425 Tongans. They can also live on /the products of/ their plantations
426 and the sea, and if they can no longer put off payments due on their
436 pole tax and land rent or the purchase of a new article of clothing,
178 they may ask for the required sum, according to their old custom,
from a relative or a neighbor and--especially on the small islands--
there is scarcely anyone who will, without special reason, break
with the old system of "anticipated reciprocity" and leave such a
426 wish unfulfilled. Often they do indeed regard such money as borrowed
436 and return it after a time; but if the debtor completely forgets to
178

/244 cont./

454 however, represent a very small minority with an "un-Tongan business
[436] sense."--It is quite interesting that a larger group of Tongans, such
[472] as probably exists from what has just been said, seems to have taken
[181] over the European habit of money-saving, for at the end of 1951 the
[177] Government Savings Bank /cited in English/ reported 6134 savings
[652] accounts with deposits of 181,611£T. (649)
[453]

649. Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951. p. 11.

However, it is more a matter of "safe-keeping of sums of money for a limited time: than a "continuous accumulation of deposits," for in the same year the withdrawals exceeded the deposits.

452 There is no real indebtedness among the Tongans, for shopkeepers
426 throughout the Archipelago today sell mostly for cash. Only a few
Tongan grocers on the smaller islands sell goods on credit. But they
[671] demand of those countrymen, who /245/ seem to them unreliable,
securities (for example, valuable mats); it also happens that natives
pawn coconut harvests and other plantation products, though this is
forbidden by law.

436 Money has had a certain negative influence on the social life of
177 the Tongans inasmuch as some natives have gone over to selling food
178 and other things to their countrymen, which were formerly, as a matter
182 of principle, given them without direct *quid pro quo*. Some
[425] Tongans even take advantage of the old traditional system of
"anticipated reciprocity" by asking their neighbors for something
and receiving this "for nothing," according to the old custom, while
they themselves fulfill similar wishes only against payment in money.
Another case is that of S.M. on Nomuka who immediately pays for
everything he requests and receives from his neighbors, in order to
avoid the obligation of having to give something himself, the next
time, without being repaid. Thus money can have an alienating effect

/245 cont./

436 within the community. Yet up to the present time the old feeling of
177 solidarity of the Tongans proved to be stronger, especially on the
178 small islands where those who, for instance, give plantation
182 products to their neighbors only for money are regarded as alien
elements in the village community. In and around the chief towns,
[432] however, selling of food is already taken for granted, but at the
[574] same time community feeling has not been destroyed in these settlements;
for example, every Tongan can enter here a house uninvited and take
part in a meal.

Thus money has become an important economic factor in Tonga. The natives have become accustomed to it to a certain extent. In the harbor towns of the Archipelago, especially, money has brought about certain changes and has had, in part, a negative, though as yet a limited influence on the old community life. An average Tongan, however, does not have the attitude toward money characteristic of a European. The reasons for this lies not only in the more even-
[181] tempered, casual manner of these natives and in the fact that thinking in terms of money and self-interest are contrary to the Tongan tradition, but especially in the fact that today, as in old times, they can still live without money. Although every Tongan man and woman, even on the smallest islands of the Archipelago, comes into contact with money, some of these natives do not have a penny, for they live chiefly on their land and can ask relatives or neighbors for whatever they need from the outside world.

771 /246/

4. THEIR RELIGION

177 As for the religion of the Tongans, the strongest European
797 influences (missions) are to be noted, which have led to a fundamental
change in this field.

772 The ancient Polynesian (and the ancient Tongan) conception of the

/247 cont./

771 p. 207 ff.).

which were closely associated with the high chiefs, there was no systematic worship of the gods. There were few temples on the
[346] islands; they did not differ greatly from the dwellings of the chiefs.
[778] Only a few wooden figures of gods existed in the Archipelago. The
793 (shamanlike) /248/ priests played a subordinate role and were by no
771 means united in a special, powerful rank. (664)

664. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 145 ff.

[776] They were inspired by the gods which each priest served; the chiefs
[787] asked them for counsel and the sick and dying were brought in front of their dwellings so that they might induce the gods to heal them.
755 In order to dispose the gods favorably toward the recovery of the
782 sufferers, their relatives of lower rank offered joints of their
304 565 little fingers (or parts of the fingers), (665)

771 665. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 454; II. pp. 222/223.

and if all pleading and even the finger sacrifices were unable to save the dying chief, then a child of one's circle of relatives was strangled in order to dispose the gods to be merciful by means of this supreme sacrifice. (666)

[784] 666. Ibid. I. pp. 378 ff., 454; II. p. 220 ff. If a specially serious crime was committed, the natives also tried to avert disaster threatened by the gods through a child sacrifice (ibid. I. p. 228 ff.).

771 In Tongan society there are few examples of definite disbelief
779 (667)

177 667. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society. p. 347; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 159, 338/339. II. p. 1 ff.

and although perhaps not all commoners could become reconciled to their lot of complete extinction after death, (668)

/248 cont./

771 668. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 136.

797 nevertheless, the great majority of all strata of the population
177 believed firmly and unshakably in the power of the gods and obediently subordinated themselves to the supposed expression of their will and especially to the taboos--until the missionaries, through skillful and systematic work, destroyed this religion and Christianized the Tongan people.

797 After unsuccessful missionary attempts of the London Mission Society (1797/99) and of the Wesleyans (1822/23), the latter, in 1826, renewed their work of conversion and, through zealous and purposeful work, succeeded in completing most of their Christinization of the entire Archipelago by the year 1852. They, like their churches, were Anglo-Saxon puritanical missionaries, and preached Christianity with an Old Testament coloring. Despite all kinds of difficulties and, in part, stubborn resistance and distrust on the part of the Tongans, they achieved their goal by winning over influential chiefs and by demonstrating the impotence of the Tongan gods. No resistance was
[793] possible from a united, consolidated priesthood, since this did not exist. However, the chiefs who feared the loss of their old powerful supremacy were a strong obstacle, as were all those who, consciously or unconsciously, felt that Christianization would mean the loss of ancient Tongan values. On the other hand, during their contact with Europeans, the Tongans came to know their superiority in many areas of life, /249/ and some natives believed that the whites owed their superior knowledge, their might and wealth to the special power of their gods, and they were therefore willing to listen to the new teaching. In the personality of Chief Taufa'ahau, finally, the Wesleyan missionaries found an invaluable aid in the conversion of the Tongans. In 1842, Catholic missionaries also started their work on Tongatapu; they came too late to be able to

/249 cont./ The
771 old, so greatly feared power of the tapu is gone. In place of this
784 178 merely negative law of prohibition, of avoidance and abstention has
778 come the idea of sanctity; though this also includes prohibition, its
meaning is far more ethical then that of the tapu, for the sacred, the
lofty and the godly is not so much "that which is dangerous, "
771 but rather "that which is to be venerated." For the natives, the
783 principle of sin and atonement of all human beings was also new; this
776 meant /250/ a considerable change in the ancient Tongan idea of the
178 deity, since the gods were not ideal beings beyond good and evil, and
did not punish sins (in the Christian sense). The old belief in the
[753] absolute dependence of human beings on the gods who sent illness and
suffering as punishment for the neglect of religious duties and other
[784] transgressions, is today equivalent to the conviction that God is
almighty; suffering and sickness are regarded as blows of fate sent
by God, though not merely in the sense of punishment, but of trial
771 and purification. Whereas in the past there were few rites and no
776 formalized general veneration of the gods in Tonga, there are today
178 several churches on all the inhabited islands, and the natives take
part in the numerous church services conducted in accordance with
793 their denominational procedure. The Tongan clergymen who serve the
554 congregations are respected and influential in the community, in con-
178 trast to the rather unimportant ancient Tongan priests. The former
782 sacrifices of the harvest, of fingers and of children have not been
178 carried out for a long time, buy, in a sense, the very high
794 donations to churches by members of the congregations may replace
771 these. Today, as in the past, there is general devoutness, and only
178 occasionally one comes across outspoken disbelief.

These comparisons, despite their brevity, may give an insight
● (177) into the change that came about in Tonga in the field of religion,

/250 cont./

771 insofar it is theoretically clear and comprehensible; for even though
178 today one can observe devotion to Christian faith, it probably
177 takes on, as everywhere in the world, countless forms in the minds
and attitudes of human beings, thus making generalizations difficult.
Yet it can be said that the Christian religion with its main doctrines
is today firmly rooted in Tonga. The natives, with their characteris-
[181] tic Polynesian emotionalism (which often increases to sentimentalism),
[152] give themselves wholeheartedly to this religion. They believe--or
think they believe; for if their old religion with its tremendous number of gods was scarcely comprehensible to the individual, the Christian religion with its often complicated and abstract doctrines is perhaps even more difficult for the Tongans to understand. One may probably say: this native is a devout Christian insofar as he understands the Christian religion. (670)

And even here, a reservation is necessary: the Tongan today thinks and feels like a Christian, especially during the church services and in his prayers, while his practical /251/ actions (for example, with regard to the observance of rules pertaining to marriage) sometimes seem to be dictated by other motives. This discovery, however, is probably nothing unusal, since it is more or less true not only of Tonga, but of all countries in which Christians live.

771 The old religion has been forgotten, except for a few surviving
178 remnants that seem insignificant and are similar to European
775 superstitions. Above all, the fear of ghosts is a religious heritage
from the past. Many old people and even young ones avoid passing
[784] certain places (for example, cemeteries) in the dark. Even strong and

670. According to a Catholic missionary questioned in Tonga, some Tongans are able to grasp the core of Christian doctrines, but very many do not understand them entirely. "We must simply try to get as far as we possibly can..." he said.

/253 cont./

795 the Catholic church, and that conversely Catholics do the same, that
578 members of the Free Wesleyan Church actively help one of the dissenting
churches build their church (as happened on Nomuka, for example, in
1951/52) and that Wesleyans send their children to Catholic schools
(and vice versa). The Tongans are, after all, too even-tempered to
let serious inner conflicts arise just because each of the seven
795 churches regards its doctrine to be the only true one. They belong
794 to a church and give themselves more or less to its services and find
771 inner contentment therein. And if they do not find this, if for
some reason they are dissatisfied and learn of the very convincing
doctrine of another church, they will simply change over. However, such
transfers are not frequent enough to cause a continuing turnover
amongst the membership of the individual church communities.

346 In an average Tongan village there are perhaps three or four
177 (five) churches. They are either simple structures shaped like larger
dwellings of ancient Tonga style, roofed over and covered with interwoven halved coconut palm leaves (pola) or provided with board walls, glass windows and corrugated iron roofs, or they are simple European-type rectangular frame houses (with corrugated iron roofs) or, in rare cases, buildings resembling European churches, made of coral limstone, sand and cement, or of reinforced concrete with a regular church steeple. (676)

> 676. The Catholic church of Pangai/Lifuka, for example, was built in the 20s of this century in the style of a French village church, and even has a steeple clock. The Catholic church of Fungamisi/Vava'u, built in 1946 of reinforced concrete, has a steeple 16 meters high. In 1952 the Wesleyans completed the largest church building of the Archipelago in Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu), a modern-style reinforced concrete construction which is huge by their standards.

346 The interiors of the Wesleyan churches vary from simple seat mats on
352

794 /255 cont./ Although the younger
883 Tongans generally have a similar attitude toward the church as the older ones, there are a few among them who are freer (680)

680. Some young Tongans, for example, attend the Wesleyan services only on Sunday.

and more critical, and some who are even skeptical; it is difficult to say whether this is the beginning of a certain change (that is, a weakening of the old zealous faith), or whether it is merely an attitude that can be attributed to the youth of the persons in question, which will change as they grow older and will become more stable in the religious sense.

771 In summarizing we may therefore conclude: The ancient Tongan
177 religion is a thing of the past except for a few insignificant surving elements, and Christianity has become an essential factor in the life of all Tongans whose religious needs are obviously being satisfied by the churches, and whose zealous devoutness is today probably stronger than in many traditional Christian countries.
[797] Although the missionaries destroyed the belief in the ancient gods and the effectiveness of the tapu which cast its shadow over all of life, this did not mean a disruption and a catastrophe in the lives of the Tongans. For in place of the old that was overthrown there
[829] was immediately something new that was highly revered and they could believe in, all the more so because Christianity seemed to the natives the reason for Europe's so successful development. (681)

681. During their conversion the bible was often regarded as the source of ability and power, and thus they were very willing to learn to read.

[565] Since the commoners were recognized as having the same status before God, the same prospects for a life in the next world as did the nobles, the population could be won over to the new religion all the more easily. The present findings show that the great majority of Tongans
[797] are very devout Christians, hence the goal of the early missionaries

/255 cont./
771 in this Archipelago was reached; the discrepancy occasional observed
177 between belief and action is doubtless a universal attribute of
[797] human nature.

/256/ The change in Tongan religion is thus merely an exchange of the old belief in supernatural powers for a new belief in divine omnipotence. At the same time we must not forget that Christianization strengthened and deepened the religiousness of this people.

5. THEIR ART AND THEIR PLAY

A. Music, Poetry and Dance

764 The visual arts were not very highly developed in ancient Tonga.
349 Noteworthy are only the step pyramids (langi) (682)
643 built up out of coral limestone plates, in which the supreme rulers,
the Tu'i Tonga (and their high-ranking relatives) were once interred,
as well as the large trilithon "Ha'amonga 'a Maui," a gate-shaped
stone structure (probably around 1200 A.D.) at Kolonga/Tongatapu.
532 Aside from that, only the few wooden sculptures of gods are to be
mentioned.

341 In present-day Tonga there are no visual arts, since such works
532 of architecture and sculpture have not been created for a long time
178 because of political and religious changes in the Archipelago, and
the modern period has apparently given no impetus to such efforts.

533 The musical and poetic arts, on the other hand, were carried on
538 in the pre-European era to a great extent. Ancient Tongan music and
explorers and the great seafarers who came after them. Europeaniza-
(177) tion, especially the Wesleyan Christianization of these islands,
[797] however, brought a change and also a suppression of these arts which
therefore appear today in an essentially altered form.

533 Song was quite popular in ancient Tonga. The natives sang

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682. See also W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 33 ff.

/256 cont./ The natives sang

533 534 461 chiefly to accompany dances (683)

683. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 329-337.

(at which rhythm-stampers, percussion sticks and slit-drums /?/ provided the rhythm) and also to encourage people at certain work (for (hiva), (685)

685. Ibid. p. 333; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ I. p. 106.

by individuals or small groups (sometimes accompanied by a nose flute). (686)

686. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 334.

533 The beauty and the assets of the islands and the sea were the subject of such songs, but events of the past were also celebrated in song.

533 ●177 [461] /257/ Today there are no longer any purely Tongan songs, except for an old taua'alo melody. (687)

687. taua'alo are the typical ancient Tongan work songs, sung especially in paddling; perhaps the lomepeau song sometimes still sung to the laka-laka dance is also of Tongan origin.

533 One hears songs of European (English) origin or purely European (English) songs. Most of the secular songs today sung by individual natives or by small groups are written and composed by Tongans on various English models. Most of these songs contain landscape descriptions, though many--in contrast to the past--are pure love songs. Other themes, as for example historical events, are rare. The natives

[574] [535] sing at social gatherings, for example in the kava circles, (688)

688. See p. 147-149.

to accompany dances and sometimes also by themselves if they happen to feel like it.

[796] [194] But most of all and most heartily the Tongans (689)

689. Their singing voices (especially those of

/257 cont./

533 the women and girls) -still have a nasal
796 sound.

[194] today sing at services in their churches. The Free Wesleyan Church
795 of Tonga prefers purely European (English) melodies which have been
796 borrowed from hymns as well as secular songs. In the Free Church of
533 Tonga, which is more conservative and apparently also does not have
177 the personnel to teach congregations the European song literature, one
still hears predominantly European-influenced ancient Tongan melodies.

533 The choirs of the various Wesleyan churches cultivate singing to
794 an especially great extent. They meet several evenings a week and, by
177 a system of numbered notes written on blackboards, which was introduced
in Tonga, they practice with great patience and notable musical talent the songs composed by their choir masters or adapted from European printed notes; these songs they sing with an enthusiasm intensified by their Christian faith. In this way even works of European masters (as for example, the Hallelujah chorus of Handel's "Messiah") have been introduced in Tonga.

533 The influence of sacred songs is today so great that even on sea journeys between the islands the natives sing chiefly these songs and rarely secular ones.

Thus Tongan song has changed essentially in comparison with the
(177) past. Yet the joy of singing is probably at least as great today as
it was in ancient Tonga, since the new European /258/ melodies and particularly the singing furthered by religious motives have brought great stimulation.

534 In pre-European Tonga there were relatively few, simple musical instruments. At dances the natives liked to use "rhythm-stampers," that is, bamboo tubes of various lengths closed at the lower end, the proportions of which determined the pitch of the tone. (690)

/258 cont./

534 [202] instruments; they were used to give signals (as they sometimes are even today).

534 178 [231] The rhythm-stampers, the beating sticks (697)

> 697. Very occasionally, however, one still sees on plantation land on the small islands two slim trunks lying over a pit; the natives drum on these with two sticks and produce various tones to call the chickens for feeding.

and the nafa slit-drums, as well as the panpipes are today no longer found in Tonga. There are only a very few examples of the nose flute in the Archipelago, and very rarely an aged native will bring out such an instrument and play a few tones on it; (698)

[162]

> 698. On the island of Nomuka (567 inhabitants), for example, there was only one nose flute in 1952, and its aged female owner was unable to play it; among the people there was only one man who was able to blow a short and incomplete melody on it.

very probably the nose flute, which was apparently seldom used even in Mariner's time (that is, at the beginning of the past century), will soon be forgotten.

534 /259/ To accompany the ma'ulu'ulu dance the Tongans in modern times have made a drum which they call nafa. This instrument that is widespread today has only its name in common with the ancient [177] Tongan nafa, which was a cylindrical slit-drum, for it consists of an old metal can with the bottom and top removed and the resulting open sides stretched with animal skin (of cow, horse or goat). This drum is beaten with sticks that have been made like European [178] [202] kettledrum sticks. To accompany the me'etu'upaki, an old Tongan dance, natives today use, instead of the nafa slit-drum customary in former times, the lali slit-drum, (699)

> 699. The lali are about 1.60 to 2.00 meters long

/259 cont./

> 534 with a diameter of about 40-50 centimeters and
> a slit-width of about 30 to 40 centimeters.
> 534 824 They are pieces of trunk of the fehi (Intsia
> bijuga), telie (Terminalia species), 'ifi
> (Inocarpus fagiferus [Park.] Fosb.), feta'u
> (Calophyllum inophyllum) or kau trees, and
> are hollowed out in such a way that the body
> of the drum extends a good handbreadth
> beyond the side walls that enclose the hollow.
> The drumsticks are carved in various sizes,
> usually out of the soft wood of the tuitui tree
> (Aleurites moluccana [L.] Willd.). It is
> [177] possible that the lali was once upon a time
> borrowed from Fiji.

534 which was originally a signal drum for wartime and still exists in
178 large numbers on the islands and is sometimes still made, for it is
202 used where there are no church bells to call together the church-goers
to the services of the various village congregations, and in some places
534 it is used to announce the start of school. At various dances the
177 old drums and other instruments used for rhythm are replaced by
ordinary tin cans beaten with sticks.

For the rest, the natives have adopted various European musical instruments. Guitars especially are very popular; (700)

> [162] 700. On Nomuka (567 inhabitants) were , for
> example, about 20 guitars in 1952, while
> in Fungamisi/Vava'u (263 inhabitants)
> there were about 12.

they are played almost exclusively by young Tongans for group singing
and also to accompany the tau'olunga and hula dances, for example.
One seldom sees mandolins or violins. In almost every village today
there are also a few mouth organs; the natives like to buy them
shortly before Christmas from the shopkeeper and then organize a
533 small mouth-organ orchestra for the holidays. Chiefly in the large
towns there are brass bands founded by churches. Using European
[177] scores they play on special occasions, for instance at burials and

/259 cont./

533 [177] for large festivals in the villages, but mainly at Christmas time. On the more remote, small island of Nomuka there is even such a brass band whose six members, after diligent practice, have acquired a certain skill in performing on instruments which they bought from a Wesleyan brass band in Nuku'alofa, and some of which
534 were 50 years old. Moreover, /260/ in a few native huts of the main island there are pianos whose owners once acquired them by chance and can scarcely play, and a few Catholic churches and chapels have organs or harmoniums. (701)

[216] [207] 701. Portable gramophones and radios are rather scarce in the Archipelago.

[177] With respect to musical instruments of the Tongans there is thus extensive Europeanization to be noted.

538 554 Poets were once highly honored in Tonga. They were under the protection of the chiefs (702)

702. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/. p. 153. E.E.V. Collocott, "Tales and poems of Tonga," /cited in English/ B.P.B.M., Bulletin 46, 1928. p. 64.

who liked them because of the entertainment they provided; they also
538 [533] acted as chroniclers. Their poetry, (703)

703. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 336.

which they prepared in solitude, they sang (it was also performed by singing groups) (704)

704. Ibid. p. 337.

or recited before an audience that was often quite critical.

[124] According to the statements of a few Tongan informants, the solo performance (recitation) seems to be given even today, though rarely.
[574] If there is a large festival (katoanga) in which a member of the royal family, for instance, participates, a native will get up after a dance performance and recite a poem (about remarkable landscapes or

/260 cont./

538 famous places, or allegedly also about the beauty of girls). Likewise,
574 at an informal village kava circle it is said that sometimes a Tongan
[533] will recite an individual verses of his poem in between the group
538 singing of a few songs. On the basis of the sparse and fragmentary
178 historical sources on this subject it is difficult to say definitely whether the solo performance occurred more often in ancient Tonga than at present. It is quite possible that this art which once flourished under the protection of the chiefs became more rare when their power waned and the once grand "royal court" disappeared.

538 The art of poet-composers who taught their songs to singing
533 groups has, however, been preserved to a great extent. Commoners
[178] and nobles are today active in this field, both for the high nobility
[565] (for example, at festivals of the royal family) and especially for the common people. As in the past, they create their poems and the melodies for them in solitude and then rehearse the new song with a group which is to sing it at a planned festivity. Or else they gather
[574] together only a few young men and sing and play the little composition to them often enough so that they master it (705)

[177] 705. Today they also practice the new songs by writing the (European) note-numbers on a blackboard and part-singing them.

/261/ and then in turn make it known further by singing it at an evening kava circle. (706)

[535] 706. If they wish to learn a new dance they will create a text, set it to music and then practice the dance to it.

533 The change in comparison with the past consists in the fact that
177 today song composing has largely become popular and texts (as well as melodies) show European influence. (707)

707. See p. 387-388.

535 Dances were very popular in ancient Tonga. They apparently

/261 cont./

535 served chiefly as entertainment and were performed on joyful occasions, especially at the festivities of chiefs; (708)

708. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 137.

but big dances were also staged on the occasion of important acts of worship (for example, burials of great chiefs, (709)

709. S.J.Wilson, Missions-Reise /Missionary journey/...p. 365; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 417.

inasi-festival) (710)

710. See E.E.V. Collocott, Tales...p. 116.

large dances were staged. The reports of European seafarers who visited the islands in those days are full of admiration for the skill and perfect uniformity of movement which the Tongans displayed in the grand group dances.

535
178
[177]
[777] Today large dances are seldom performed. Since the suppression of this art by the early Wesleyan missionaries who substituted studying the bible in place of the "heathenish games, dances and similar endless amusements," (711)

711. See Th. West, Ten years...pp. 213/214.

the ancient Tongan dance has not had a special flowering, although, thanks to the (diplomatic) tolerance of the Catholic missionaries (712)

712. See Annales...XVIII. pp. 26/27.

and to the conservative attitude of older chiefs, (713)

713. See B. Thomson, Savage island /cited in English/ p. 218.

it has been handed down to the present in various forms, and is today even taught in the schools and practiced for the large school festivals to be presented in contests between individual classes.

[527] Nonetheless, for very special occasions (for example, a wedding

/261 cont./

535 in the royal family or some other extraordinary festival such as the
178 50th anniversary of the Treaty with England) the natives learn such
529 dances in the various villages, (714)

714. Older men and women are the dance teachers (punake).

and they often practice these for months until the individual movements of all participants are very precisely coordinated, as
535 in the past. Besides such dances intended for the most important festivals, there are today two forms of a casual, improvised native dance, the tau'olunga and the hula. These, as well as the rest /262/ of the most well-known Tongan dances may be briefly described in the following list which will also give some idea of the changes that have taken place in comparison with the past.

tau'olunga:

is danced by Tongan men and women of all ages, even by children and very old people. The majority of natives master this simplest of Tongan dances.

Generally, two men and two women demonstrate it. They wear
[291] European clothing, but often only underwear and over it ornamental
[177] belts (for example, mana fau, kie-kie lou fau) (see pp. 321-324)
[292] and necklaces of plant material (kakala) (see pp. 82-84).
[301]

Especially at kava gatherings, at village festivals and at
[574] weddings, a few young men and girls dance the tau'olunga, the various steps and movements of which are improvised. They accompany
[533] the dance with special songs (containing descriptions of landscapes, various flowers, the fragrance of blossoms, the moon, the sun, love and so on) and also play guitar accompaniments while the audience mark time with hand-clapping. The tau'olunga is danced at any time of the day, but usually in the evening.

/262 cont./

535
[177] This dance does not seem to be very old in Tonga, and was probably borrowed from Samoa about a century ago.

hula:

is danced only by girls (women) about 12 to 30 years of age. The hula is quite popular; about half the young women can perform it.

Only one or two girls (women) at a time demonstrate this dance.
[292] They usually put on the ornamental belt (for example, mana fau,
[301] kie-kie lou fau) (see pp. 321-324) and necklaces of plant material
[291] (kakala) (see pp. 82-84) and wear European underwear. On many occasions,
[177] for example kava- picnic- birthday- and wedding-gatherings, the hula
[574] may be danced. The dancers move (especially their hips and the upper
[527] part of their bodies) to the singing of a chorus and the playing of several guitars. The hula may be danced at any time of day.

[177] The hula is a new dance taken over from Hawaii in the 30s of this century. There too it originated only in recent times.

laka-laka:

is danced by Tongan men and women about 16 to 60 years of age. The laka-laka is probably the most popular and most often performed of the large dances. Approximately half of all natives are proficient in it.

About 60 natives take part in a laka-laka; however, their number may reach 400. Both sexes are about equally represented, but equal numbers are not a prerequisite. Usually all male participants wear the same dance costume (for example, white shirt, black vala of European material, ta'o-vala [see pp. 69-71], kahoa and sisi kakala [see pp. 82-84]), just as all /263/ female participants are uniformily dressed (for example, dance shirt kofu lou fau and vala of tapa [ngatu 'uli] [see pp. 84-85 and 330-333]).

[554] The dancers usually stand in two rows (more, if many people

/263 cont./

535 dance movements in the many-faceted *laka-laka*.

ma'ulu'ulu:

is danced by natives of both sexes aged 10 to 60 (70) years. The *ma'ulu'ulu* is the most well-known dance next to the *laka-laka*; almost half the Tongans have probably learned it.

Approximately 40 to 60 natives take part in the *ma'ulu'ulu* (the two
sexes in about the same proportion). The costume is similar to that of
[177] the *laka-laka*, but the male and female dancers all wear the same colors;
[292] often they also make do with European fabrics and add ornamental belts
[301] (*sisi kakala*) and necklaces (*kakala*).

The *ma'ulu'ulu* is a sitting dance. The participants group them-
[554] selves similarly as for the *laka-laka*, with the highest ranking man and
the highest ranking woman in the center of the first row; no more
than two rows are formed for this dance.

535 Behind the dancers sits a chorus (of mixed age, sex and rank), to
533 whose singing several *nafa* barrel drums stretched with skins (see p 390-392) are beaten. After a drum prelude, which is supposed "to rouse the hearts of the dancers," the male and female dancers, with movements of the hands (and arms), of the /264/ head and eyes, begin to portray the content of the song that is being sung (and that contains the same themes as the *laka-laka*), and to indicate the rhythm with foot movements.

535 The *ma'ulu'ulu* is danced at any time of day.

[177] This dance was borrowed from Samoa (probably a long time ago).

tafi:

is a dance very similar to the *ma'ulu'ulu*. It is presented less
often than the latter, and no more than perhaps one-third of the
natives are experienced in it. The *tafi* differs from the *ma'ulu'ulu*
[533] particularly by the fact that there is scarcely any singing to
accompany it, and the movements are determined chiefly by the drum

/264 cont./

535 beats of the nafa.

[533] This is probably an ancient Tongan dance.

kailao:

is danced only by men (chiefly young ones, though also older ones). Some two-thirds of the Tongans have probably learned it.

Various numbers of natives (usually between 20 and 100) may
take part in a kailao. They dance with naked torsos preferably
[301] decorated with kakala necklaces (see page 82-84) in addition, they wear
[292] [177] ornamental belts (mana fau, kie-kie lou fau [see pp. 321-324]) over
[291] European underpants and feather hats (made of tapa and red-dyed chicken
[237] feathers).

The dancers generally arrange themselves in rows of 20 men each.
Each man holds a dance paddle. The accompaniment consists of rhythmic
[533] beating with sticks on one or two empty cans by a few men. The dancers
display considerable movement (including steps).

The kailao may be danced at any time of day.

[177] The kailao--originally probably a war dance--was taken over a long
[534] time ago from Uvea. Tin cans have replaced the wooden drums formerly
[178] customary.

tau faka-niua:

is a dance very similar to the kailao but not more than about one-
fourth of the Tongans (including especially the natives of Niua Topu-
tapu) are experienced in it. The tau faka-niua differs from the
kailao by the fact that the dancers carry bamboo sticks rather than
paddles. The rhythm here too is indicated by the beating of cans
[533] (one to six); /correct/ beat is maintained by the use of pieces of
bamboo (notched to form four points).

The tau faka-niua may be danced at any time of day.

The tau faka-niua seems to be an old Tongan war dance from the
[534] island of Niua Toputapu. In former times wooden drums were used
[178] instead of tine cans.

/264 cont./
535 instead of tin cans.

eke:

is danced by male and female Tongans aged 12 to 70 years. The eke is a popular, but rather difficult dance; probably only about one-fourth of the natives have learned it.

The number of participants must be divisible by four, and consists generally of 4 to 20. The costumes of the dancers are the same as for the kailao (see above).

[533] /265/ One or two tin cans are beaten with sticks to accompany the eke. The natives dance in groups of four: two persons each carry (approximately 1.40 meter-long) uhi sticks (Evodia hortensis Forster var. simplicifolia [Rech.] K. Schumann) and two have shorter ones (approximately 0.60 meters). They beat with the short sticks and parry with the long ones.

The eke may be danced at any time of day.

[534] The eke is perhaps an ancient Tongan war dance. Here too the tin
(178) cans probably replaced the wooden drums.

ula:

is danced only by girls and women from the ages of about 12 to 70. The ula is not easy and apparently not very popular. About one-fifth of all female Tongans have probably learned it.

In general, two to ten dancers take part. They wear vala and
[292] dance shirts made of black tapa (ngatu 'uli) trimmed with black-dyed
[177] leaves (also without leaf trimming; or "white" tapa trimmed with
leaves; or hibiscus bast shirts [kofu lou fau] see pp. 84-85); to an increasing extent they also wear European-type clothing and vala made of European fabrics.

[533] The dancers stand in a row and, while singing to the accompaniment of a chorus (men and women) sitting behind them, they perform movements

/265 cont./

535 that are similar to those of the *laka-laka* (see above), but are
533 slower. These movements apparently do not express the contents of
the songs sung (for example, "sweet potatoes are good...", "yams will
make us fat...").

535 The *ula* may be danced at any time of day.

Even in ancient Tongan times the ula was one of the most important
[177] dances of these natives; possibly it was once borrowed from Samoa. (716)

716. See J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. II. p. 329 ff.

A century and a half ago it was still a typical night dance. (717)

717. Ibid. pp. 330, 332.

Today the *ula* performance is no longer bound to a specific time, but has probably also been simplified throughout.

me'etu'upaki:

is danced by young and older male and female Tongans (but more by the former). The *me'etu'upaki* is not particularly popular because it is difficult. Probably about one-tenth of the natives have learned it.

Approximately 60 to 100 male and female dancers take part in it.
[292] All dancers are dressed alike; for example, they wear *vala* made of
[177] *ngatu tahina*, (718)

718. See pp. 328-331.

white European shirts (men) and white blouses (women).

[554] All participants hold short-stemmed dance paddles (approximately
80 centimeters long) in their right hands and stand in two (or more)
rows (the sexes separated) (for example, 20 men and women respectively)
with the highest-ranking and the chief male (female) dancers in the
center of the first row (arrangement as for the *laka-laka* [see above]).

535 The singing of a chorus of men and women behind the rows (for
533 example, about food: "If you do not plant you will be hungry...")
and the reverberating sound of the *lali*(a wooden slit-drum, see pp. 390-392) accompany the dancers' movements which follow the rhythm and

/265 cont./

535 (533) apparently do not express the contents of the song.

/266/ The me'etu'upaki may be danced at any time of the day.

The me'etu'upaki is an ancient Tongan dance; early European visitors to the Archipelago already reported on it, for at that time it was one of the most important performances of the natives. (719)

719. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 205/206; J. J. Labillardiere, Relation du voyage.../Account of the voyage.../ II. p. 153; E.P.E. de Rossel, Voyage de Dentrecasteaux...I. p. 293.

535 178 Today this dance is in danger of being forgotten.

To judge by the --albeit fragmentary--historical sources, the me'etu'upaki has by no means been handed down to the present time unchanged. For example, in early times no women and girls took part (533) (534) in it, and the short and thick nafa slit-drum beaten for it (720)

720. See J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 205.

is today replaced by the lali which is actually a signal slit-drum.

535 mako:

is danced by male and female Tongans aged approximately 20 to 60. Apparently not many Tongans master the mako. It is performed at kava-, birthday-, and wedding getherings, as well as on other festive occasions. Generally, only two or three individuals perform (177) this dance. They wear European clothing.

(533) To the accompaniment of a song (which in the mako, unlike other dances, always has the same melody) sung by the audience (=chorus), the dancers perform similar, mutually coordinated movements (of the arms and the rest of the body, but keep more or less to the same spot), and utter cries and calls (for example: "murderer") which are supposed to terrify the audience.

The mako may be danced at any time of day.

The mako, which resembles a war dance (and perhaps once was one),

/266 cont./

535 is very old in Tonga. According to an otherwise well-informed Tonga,
[124] this dance was once upon a time taken over from Uvea.
[177] Today, as in the past, the Tongan dance is closely connected with
[538] poetry and music. (721)
[533]

721. In general, only dances recently written and composed (within the framework of the customary pattern) are practiced and performed.

Among the natives the desire to dance and the talent for dancing are still basically present. The list given above, which is by no means exhaustive, shows that some native dances are still known in Tonga. Once the natives practice a dance they take great pains and, on the basis of many rehearsals, strive to achieve a precision for which these natives were so very much praised in the past. In contrast to
[292] the customary everyday and festive clothing in which European fabrics
[177] predominate, (722)

722. See p. 67 ff.

the natives still use for their dances costumes of bast-cloth and bast (723)

723. Over European underwear.

that are probably similar to the traditional dance dress.

535 On the other hand, one must note that nowadays there are very
178 few ancient Tongan dances in the Archipelago, and that these very ones are seldom shown. They /267/ have also not been handed down unchanged; women and girls take part in such dance which once were apparently reserved for men; the separation into day and night dances has been forgotten, and it is to be presumed that the movements as well as the accompanying songs have also changed to a certain extent.
535 The borrowed dances are far more familiar and popular than the ancient
177 Tongan ones, and are thus more often performed. Yet this is to be traced back less to European influences than to the Tongan tendency

[No p. 404 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

/267 cont./

535 to take over and imitate something new. (724)

177 724. For data about the dances and dance songs borrowed from Samoa at the beginning of the previous centruy see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 330-333.

535 The dances today are also free from any religious meaning; on the
765 occasion of a death in the village the natives even refrain--in
177 Christian fashion--from any activity of this kind for several days.

535 European dances such as the foxtrot, the march, the slow waltz,
177 etc., are today also familiar to many Tongans.

Younger Tongans of both sexes from the age of approximately 14
[574] to 40 take part in these dances; on special occasions (for example, the visit of the High Commissioner in Nuku'alofa) older natives (for example [government] ministers) also dance at evening parties.

In general, such "European dances" (hulo hula) take place on
[527] Constitution Day, when foreign visitors are being welcomed, when there
[574] is a wedding or a birthday celebration, especially in the chief towns, but even in the more remote villages of the large and small islands.

European dress is worn (for example, the cloth vala) and people dance (mainly in houses with wooden or cement floors) in couples to the playing of guitars (or violins, banjos, mandolins, etc.).

These European dances are given only in the evening.

535 The most important result of the development, however, is the
178 fact that today there is considerably less dancing than there was in ancient Tonga. The large native dances have to a great extent disappeared from public life. While at the end of the 18th century the
[574] Tongans could at all times entertain with excellent dance performances European seafarers who visited them unexpectedly, they will now only occasionally and with difficulty rehearse a few dances for large special occasions. The reason for this decline is doubtless the

/269 cont./

000 of Tongan culture.

524 The changes which occurred in this field in recent times as a
526 result of European influences, however, comes close to a collapse. All
177 the aforementioned games of adults, with the exception of lafo and hiko,
178 have today been forgotten. Although lafo is familiar to some Tongans and is occasionally played, now also by commoners, it is rather insignificant compared to other games customary today. Hiko is apparently a children's game more than it was in the past (see below).

European games have generally replaced the ancient Tongan ones.
[525] Playing cards are seen today in most settlements, and various kinds of card games (sometimes also played for money, despite prohibition) have
526 become known in Archipelago. /270/ But sports have become more wide-
177 spread. Cricket is today rather popular and, to judge by the cement courts seen in many villages and now partly disintegrated, it was played far more a few decades ago than it is today. The natives like to use bats cut from breadfruit wood and balls made of nonu wood (also,
[824] instead of these, moli Tonga = tough oranges). The enthusiasm for tennis varies in individual villages. Young Tongans especially like to play it. They play with home-made wooden rackets that in shape are copied from European rackets (or else with regular rackets) and with European rubber balls or genuine tennis balls which they buy in shops; usually an old rectangular fishnet serves as net. Such tennis games are arranged at any time of the day (except on Sundays) on grassy areas in the villages. They usually do not bother to have a precisely marked-off court, but they try to play "singles" and "doubles" with scores if they know the rules. While tennis in many villages (even on the small islands) is the typical summer game, they devote themselves to football (rugby), which involves more movement, during the cooler time of year. The players are 30 to 40 years old, and they fight with more or less skill for the ball (bought at the shopkeeper's) and the goals. In some

/270 cont./
526 villages there are also table tennis installations; the game of
177 billards, however, is limited to the chief towns of the Archipelago.

541 Horse-racing, especially on Tongatapu and Vava'u, is also
popular; it is engaged in mostly by young men who race along a definite
course before a rather large crowd of onlookers (of all ages and classes)
on horses kept in the villages; the victor always receives a prize in
526 money or goods. At the large school sport festivals (especially
in Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu), gymnastics and track-and-field events attract
lively interest of the people.

857 Today, children play among themselves, for the most part also in
526 European fashion. Following the example of adults, the boys like to
177 play cricket and tennis. In this they are, of course, not pretentious;
when they play tennis, for example, a rope stretched between two palm
trees serves as the "net" and with a simple wooden bat they knock an
857 old tennis ball over it. Marbles bought at the storekeeper's are popular
524 among smaller boys. Many boys have little kites stretched with
177 packing paper; these the boys also make more simply by /271/ inserting
the midribs of two coconut leaflets crosswise through a piece of paper
torn from their school notebooks and then, with the help of a string,
they let this simple wind-bird provided with a tapa tail climb five to
fifteen meters into the air. Empty corned-beef cans with their colorful
labels also serve as toys; boys aged about eight to twelve like to
push around "can scooters" consisting of two such (low) cans forming
"wheels" that are nailed to the ends of a short piece of wood in the
center of which the "shaft" is fastened at right angles. Ten- to
twelve-year-old boys often put together small sailboats with a halved
coconut (or a wooden) hull and a tree leaf (or scrap of cotton) as a sail;
they let this little boat sail in shallow water. Some boys also play
with carved wooden propellers that are nailed to a small rod and that
526 turn in the wind. Boys aged about eight to thirteen like to ride the
857

/272 cont./

524 There are numerous variations of this game; for example, in the subse-
857 quent tossing series, while the first nut is in the air, a girl will pick up three of the four nuts lying on the ground and finally the last one, or she will keep all five nuts in her hand, throw one in the air, put another on the ground while the first one is in flight, then catch the first one and continue with this tossing-putting down-catching until all five nuts have been placed on the ground. If she misses catching one, if her hand slips, she has lost and another girl takes her turn.

Nowadays girls also sometimes play "Hinkekasten" /?/ and the smaller ones also simply play with empty cans to which they fasten a piece of string so that they have a little pail. The coconut-shell "stilts" with which one sometimes sees little girls walking around are, as the name indicates (su nge'esi niu = coconut-shell shoes), a modern toy; they put their feet on two coconut-shell halves lying on their open sides on the ground; on each of these, through a hole in the curvature, a band (for example, a pandanus-leaf strip) is fastened, and by pulling these bands which are slipped between the first two toes and drawing them taut with their hands they hold the shells firmly under their feet and can stalk about in this way.

524 In summary we may say about the modern games of adults and children
526 that most of them are of European origin. This change probably came
177 about chiefly as a result of the influence of Wesleyan puritanical
[797] missionaries who strove to replace the "heathen games" with church
services, prayers and bible-study. (743)

743. See Th. West, Ten years...pp. 213/214.

[565] The democratization of the Islands brought about by Christianization led to a decline of the power of the nobility and with it the loss of games tied to the nobility, as well as group sports and contests organized at the suggestion of the nobility. After Christianization of

/272 cont./

524 526 the Archipelago European games replaced the ancient Tonga ones, some of which were by that time already forgotten or seemed uninteresting. [177] [517] Probably people play less today in Tonga than they did in the past, for the church takes up much of the Tongans' time, and the energy required by their work (on plantations and at copra production) is now greater than it was in past centuries. Nonetheless, the idea of play, though in new forms, has been preserved on the Islands.

/273/

6. THEIR KNOWLEDGE

861 178 [871] In ancient Tonga the natives learned everything they needed to know for living through oral tradition, unsystematic guidance and their own experience. To judge from ancient sources, there were no "schools" of any kind (not even for priests and seafarers). The young natives of both sexes and all ranks grew into their life tasks and in this way acquired all the knowledge they needed to regulate their affairs.

Today too most Tongan men and women do not obtain the knowledge they need for their everyday life systematically; they simply imitate their elders; they learn chiefly by "seeing and taking part." Tonga--as in the past--is an island country with a predominantly farming population. Only a few trades are more widespread and, in contrast to the past, only a small group of natives out of the total number of inhabitants are engaged in newly created professions. (744)

744. See pp. 358-361.

From the standpoint of present economic life, an increase and change in their knowledge as seen from the European point of view is scarcely necessary, since in the villages children as a matter of course grow into the activities of their parents (who are "masters of their world"), and on the small islands there are few opportunities of applying the school-acquired knowledge of the whites.

871 177 797 Nevertheless, schools were established in the Archipelago as early

/273 cont./

871 177 [797] an 1826 by the Wesleyan missionaries because these messengers of the faith regarded the transmission of European knowledge an indispensable prerequisite for the successful work of conversion. European teaching increased more and more in the course of decades, and soon had considerable success among these islanders who were intelligent and for the most part eager to learn. Almost all Tongan adults living in the Archipelago, of all ages and ranks, have attended one of the schools now run by the government and by the various religious groups. The natives have thus largely adopted the average school knowledge of the whites.

212 Today, among this once illiterate people, there are only a few who cannot read and write. Of the adult Tongans of both sexes up to about 40 or 50 years of age approximately 97 to 99 percent can read and write, while at least 70 to 75 percent of the older generation have some experience in it.

803 177 /274/ The vast majority of Tongans, who knew the decimal system even in the pre-European era, (745) are now likewise skilled in European-style math (approximately 85 to 100 percent, depending on their stage of life).

745. See E.A.W. von Zimmermann, Australien... /Australia/ vol. I. section 2. p. 654.

871 814 The "history of Tonga" (as taught in schools today) is known to almost all the younger generation, whereas the older generation was usually not taught this newer subject. About half the natives over 50 years, and about 80 - 90 percent of the younger Tongan men and women have become acquainted with the "history of the world," (especially the history of Great Britain.)

Most of the younger natives are well aquainted with the geography of the Tonga Archipelago--especially through their school (map-drawing) --whereas the information of the older generation (on account of the newness of this teaching subject) is limited to personal experiences

/274 cont./

871 and stories they have heard, and a truly full knowledge of this island
814 world may be assumed among only about half of these men and women. The essentials of world geography are known to approximately 25 - 80 percent, depending on their age group; for instance, there are some who are even able to draw an outline map of Europe from memory.

191 About one-fifth of the older generation and about one-third of the younger generation know English well to reasonably well (that is, they have the ability to understand English and to make themselves understood. (746)

[197]
[192]
[178] 746. The Tongan language has remained the common national language and, aside from the adoption of a number of words (for the newer concepts) borrowed from English, it apparently has not substantially changed, although for more than a century many Tongans have become acquainted with the English language (see, for example, J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise... /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 162).

178 This knowledge, however, has little practical effect on the every-
177 day life of the broad masses of natives. The essential activity needed
[191] for their subsistence is still based on the old, traditional knowledge.
[805] The Tongans of the younger generation, however, follow today for the most part the European calendar, in planting and harvesting, whereas half of the middle-aged and probably all of the old generation prefer the old Tongan "calendar"; (747) weddings and other festivities, however, are quite generally scheduled
803 according to the European calendar. Arithmetic has gained a certain significance in the everyday life of the natives, especially in selling
000 their copra and in their shopping in stores. Many older Tongan men and

[821] 747. The December new moon is the first moon of the year; See E.E.V. Collocott, "Tongan astronomy and calendar" /cited in English/ B.P.B.M. Occ. Papers, col. VIII, no. 4. 1922.

/274 cont./ Many older Tongan men and

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women still /275/ can not tell their age, (748)

748. Years were not counted in ancient Tongan times (see ibid. p. 164).

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[205]
whereas members of the middle-aged generation and especially the young are mostly able to give their exact year of birth. For most of the natives reading is limited to the study of the bible and other church writings. The average native needs to write only when he has to sign his name to a document; they seldom write a letter to a relative or friend, although there is postal service in the Archipelago.

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The conception of the world (749)

749. In ancient Tongan times the natives apparently visualized the world as flat with abrupt precipices on the edges (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 134), and they believed there were a number of superimposed sky-domes (see E.E.V. Collcott, Collcott, "Tongan astronomy"... pp. 157/158). For the natives their Archipelago was, of course, the most important of all island territories and, in a way, the center of their known world.

of these islanders was changed fundamentally not only by their Christianization, (750)

750. See p. 375 ff.

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but also by the knowledge imparted in their schools. The knowledge and belief of the whites took the place of the old myths and tales. Geography and history, cosmology (751)

751. Modern cosmology, however, did not lead to a revival of a thorough knowledge of the stars which the old Tongans had and which was lost through the use of the compass (see E.E.V. Collocott, "Tongan astronomy..." pp. 157/158).

[771]
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and European division of time brought a rational conception of the world which was relatively well understood and adopted by many natives. For most of these natives it is not to be separated from the religious conception of the world of Christianity in which it seems embedded

/275 cont./

772 and to which school-knowledge of these natives is still to a large
771 extent subordinated--in accordance with the wishes of the early mission-
177 aries; even the art of reading, for the majority of present-day Tongans
212 is--as it was more than a century ago--almost exclusively meant for bible
538 study and the reading of other church literature, since there is still
no secular literature in the Tongan language.

871 The Tongan school system has constantly expended and increased.
Today there is compulsory education for all children between the ages
872 of six and fourteen, with free school attendance. In 1950 (752)
there were 134 elementary schools on the Islands; 70 of them were run by the government, 35 by the Free Wesleyan Church, 21 by the Roman Catholic Church, four by the Adventists, two by the Free Church (Wesleyan), one by the Anglican Church and one by the Mormons. In them 335 teachers taught 10,626 boys and girls. (753)

/276/ These schools, like the English elementary schools, teach basic knowledge; some subjects are adapted to specific Tongan needs. Teaching includes: arithmetic (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, fractions), English (reading, spelling, translation, dictation, grammar, composition, letter-writing), Tongan language (reading, dictation, composition), hygiene (and first aid), geography (the Tonga-Archipelago and the Pacific), history (especially of Tonga), nature study (plants and animals), music (singing, scales), penmanship, drawing, gymnastics, agriculture (once a week plantation work), (sewing) and Tongan handcraft (plaiting, making tapa printing plates,
[994] woodwork such as boat models and paddles, etc.). The schools organized
by the churches also give religious instruction. Teaching is done in

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[113] 752. See Report of the Department of Education for the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p.1.

753. Ibid. p. 1.

/276 cont./
872 the Tongan language and takes place on all the inhabited islands of the
Archipelago, from Monday to Friday, from 8 to 13 o'clock. Vacations
are in June (about four weeks) and from mid-December to the end of
January. Half-yearly examinations are held and grades given out.

[875] The teachers who teach the mixed classes of boys and girls are
mostly Tongans; only six schools have white teachers. Schoolbooks are
mostly the property of the teachers. The children are taught with the
help of blackboards and have notebooks, pens and ink. The schoolhouses,
[346] most of which are built of wood in European style (with corrugated iron
[177] roofs), are partly in bad repair. While the children of the lower grades
872 sit on the floor in Tongan fashion, the intermediate and upper classes
875 are in part provided with school benches--A certain drawback in this
[516] elementary school teaching is the much too small number of male and
[352] female teachers. Moreover, the teachers do not all have the necessary
[191] knowledge; some of them teach English, for example, and are themselves
unable to speak English fluently.

873 Two of the intermediate schools /cited in English/ run by the Free
Wesleyan Church are attended only by girls (between the ages of 11 and 18)
who therewith complete their schooling or go on to college. The subjects
[875] of the primary schools are here developed further. The teaching staff
consists of white and Tongan teachers.

There are ten "secondary schools" /cited in English/ (colleges) in
the Tonga Archipelago, one run by the government, four by the
Wesleyan Mission, two by the Roman Catholic Church and one each by the
Mormon Mission, the Anglican Church and the Adventist Mission. The
male and female pupils are aged 11 to 18 (21) and attend the colleges
for about five years. In 1950 (754)

754. See Report of the Department of Education...p. 3.

there were 1650 boys and girls (commoners as well as nobles) at these
educational institutions. Most of them are boarding schools to which

/276 cont./

873 students are admitted on the basis of elementary school examinations. The cost of such school attendance is quite low and is mostly borne by the parents.

[177] [178] These colleges are also run on the English system but, in keeping with Tongan needs, this is somewhat changed and less academic; there is /277/ practical training included (for example, agriculture [partly with machines] and animal husbandry [pigs, cows and dairy operation], cabinet making. The subjects taught are about the same as in the elementary schools, but the contents are of course correspondingly more difficult, and the boys are also given some basic knowledge of natural science and technology (simple mechanics). Teaching is done partly [191] in the Tongan language, partly in English. The colleges apparently do not have a high standard; they dorrespond more or less to the English [875] intermediate schools. Teaching is done by white and Tongan male and female teachers.

In the Tonga High School (Matriculation School) /cited in English/, which opened in 1947 in Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu, European and selected Tongan male and female students are trained up to university level.

This school is organized on the model of the New Zealand District High School /cited in English/. In 1950 (755)

755. See Report of the Department of Education...p. 3.

42 white and 39 Tongan male and female students were taught here. The [875] teaching body consists of a white "headmaster" /cited in English/ and [191] three white "assistants" /cited in English/. Teaching is done in the English language.

874 In addition there is a vocational school in which young Tongans (over 18) are taught in subjects such as typing, bookkeeping and shorthand; after two years they take an examination and can obtain a positon [875] in government service. Only white teachers teach in this school. In 1950 (756)

/277 cont./

874 756. See Report of the Department of Education...p. 4.

28 Tongans were trained here.

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875 In 1944 there was also an educational center founded in the Archipelago for male and female Tongan teachers: the Teachers' Training College /cited in English/.

Here those natives are trained who are to teach in the elementary schools of the government and the churches. Before that, they attended an elementary school and a college and took a final examination. Their training at the Teachers' Training College lasts two years and is conducted by whites and a few Tongans; in addition they must do practice teaching for a year as assistant teachers in selected schools. In 1951 (757)

757. See Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951 /cited in English/ p. 14.

45 natives were studying at this institution.

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177 For more than 20 years the Tongans have also gone abroad to study; their education is financed chiefly by scholarships.

Thus in the year 1951 (758)

758. See Colonial Office, Report on Tongan for the Years 1950 and 1951. p. 14.

two Tongans studied at Gatton Agricultural College in Queensland/Australia, one at the Auckland University College (New Zealand) and one at Otago University (New Zealand), while three were trained at the Central Medical School in Suva (Fiji). Some Tongan children also (thanks to the intitiative of their parents or relatives) visit "secondary schools" /cited in English/ in New Zealand and Australia.

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645 /278/ The Tongan educational system is under the supervision of the Department of Education of the Tongan government. Crown Prince and Premier Tungi, who himself studied in Sydney, is the Minister of Education, and under him is a white "Director of Education" /cited in English/.

/278 cont./
000 English/.

871 The children and with them the parents are relatively open-minded
177 about this European educational system. Today--in contrast to condi-
tions a few decades ago--school attendance is apparently quite regular.

872 In 1952, for example, about 150 boys and girls went to the government elementary school of the village of 'Uiha ('Uiha"), a typical settlement of the small islands, and all but four of them attended classes rather regularly. The teacher had the parents of children who played truant force them to attend school. The four pupils mentioned, however, were generally regarded as "hopeless cases" since, immediately after they were brought to school by their parents, they ran away again and could not bring themselves to spend the morning sitting in school. About half the children really like to attend because of their interest in the teaching and their pleasure in the group games; the rest of the boys and girls attended school because it was compulsory.

873 The number of those who have attended college is relatively large
considering the slight opportunity they have to apply this education
of several years' duration. Investigations conducted by the author
[162] in 1952 in the village of 'Uiha/'Uiha showed that of the 358 adults
living there, 57 (chiefly men) had attended college, while in Fungamisi/
Vava'u there were 23 (chiefly men) who attended among the 135 adults
of the settlement.

153 The Tongan boys and girls seem generally intelligent and receptive
157 in the classroom. A leading white educator who was questioned empha-
871 sized that there was "apparently nothing wrong with their intelligence,"
/cited in English/ but that their temperament and their entire
ambience was different, as though their motto were: "Don't worry, go to
sleep!" Despite a great deal of honest effort Tongan boys and girls are

/278 cont./

153 generally somewhat slower than European children; yet, other things
157 being equal, they usually outdo the natives of other Pacific islands
871 in their achievements, and in the Tongan colleges, especially in practical subjects, they certainly achieve the standard of whites in the equivalent schools of New Zealand, even though they have the disadvantage of an environment that does not give them much cultural stimulation.

876 Although in schools run by churches the purpose of the early
177 missionaries is still alive, namely, by imparting European knowledge,
871 /279/ to provide the prerequisites for successful Christianization, nevertheless today the trend in the modern, improved educational system of the government and the churches is to give the Tongans more education and with it greater understanding, so that the natives will "do
[645] everything better" and achieve a higher standard of living. This is
also expressed in the plans of the Prime Minister and Minister of Education Tungi who, in the near future, would like to make accessible to his people European specialized knowledge (in agriculture, fishing and handicraft) by appointing white and yellow teachers of special subjects and by means of literature and radio.

871 The practical effects of the present educational system on the
876 life of the Tongan masses seem, however, to be slight. Although their educational institutions are not too academic and try to accomodate themselves to Tongan limitations, the most suitable solution of the educational problem has apparently still not been found. White critics point out that there is still too much emphasis on teaching subjects that are, after all, useless to the natives. The schools would have to pay far more attention to agriculture if this farming population is actually to change and raise its standard of living.
[177] The educational system as it now exists simply means, for the majority
of Tongans, and "additional acquisition of European knowledge" and is

/279 cont./

871 truly beneficial only for the small group of natives who find employment
876 in the government, in the church or in trade.

[177] The transmission of European knowledge outside the schools is very
177 slight. There is no Tongan secular literature. The natives have few
[538] radios. Newspapers and magazines only occasionally come into the hands
[209] of the Tongans. In Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu and Neiafu/Vava'u they can see
[204] films in small cinemas. The few natives working among whites (mission-
[546] aries, teachers, physicians, administrative employees, traders), as
attentive observers, become acquainted with all kinds of European ideas.
[521] But the majority of Tongan men and women, after having attended school,
are dependent for an increase in their knowledge on face-to-face conversations, especially at the evening kava circles in the villages; and in this case actual knowledge is mixed with exaggerated tales and wild rumors.

871 Seen as a whole, the natives of this Archipelago doubtless know
828 more than is needed for life on their small islands. /280/ This is not
177 to be traced back solely to the school system as such, but actually
181 to the lively eagerness to learn on the part of many Tongans. Their
185 pleasure in learning is above all the result of the natives' so typical interest in everything new and worth knowing. Added to that is the desire to share in the superior world of the whites. Moreover, since "education" has become a measure of value within the community, the desire for recognition of the individual strengthens the general eagerness to learn. Ultimately this is also very much furthered by democratization, since commoners are now able to achieve special
871 positions through proper training. Almost the entire population of the
181 Archipelago has a positive attitude toward the modern school system.
185 Most elementary pupils probably have the ambition to go on to one of
the very respected colleges, (759)

759. After their final examination the young natives

/281 cont./

871 177 The adoption of European book-learning as well as the excessive amount of theoretical knowledge have not heretofore had a negative effect because Tonga is independent in its domestic policy; there is no discrimination against, much less suppression of, native intelligence by whites. The Tongans realize that the possibilities for applying their knowledge, their education, are limited by natural conditions (the smallness of their kingdom), and that they are not deliberately held back by a European administration. On the contrary, the British [657] [463] protectorate authority seeks to raise their level through the training of Tongan physicians, teachers and administrative officials. And therein lies the visible benefit of their adoption of European knowledge: The Tongans have to a certain extent learned to administer their state in the European manner, so that they may exist in the midst of a Europeanized world.

7. The Attitude of the Tongans to the Change in their Culture

829 The majority of Tongans, both in the chief towns as well as the villages of the large and small islands of the Archipelago accept the changes in their way of life and their culture not only as something to be taken for granted and unalterable, but something they even welcome [563] and try to promote. None of the natives resists this development, and there is no hostility against Europeans.

829 177 186 Most of them see in the life style of the whites an ideal worth striving for; they would like to know as much, be able to do as much, be as neat and prosperous as they are. Yet, despite this wish, the Tongans are not giving up their own nature, their old point of view which was so typical even at the time they were discovered. With considerable self-assurance they face Europeans and have a pride which in the community increases to a national consciousness. In general they adopt from the

/281 cont./

829 whites only what seems good to them and are by no means uncritical--
177 insofar as circumstances make criticism possible for them. Faced with
[186] the superiority of European materials and the European mind they
maintain ease and equanimity.

/282/ To be sure, most Tongans feel that their way of life is poor compared to the high material and intellectual standard of Europeans.
[565] But they accept this as a fact and do not seem burdened by it, especially since they are all, nobles as well as commoners, on the same level and actual comparisons with the European way of life are very rare or indeed quite impossible.

829 The majority of natives are not at all aware of the fact that their
177 culture is no longer pure and aboriginal, but rather a mixed culture
178 which contains much that for the Tongan is actually useless and merely "imitation." There is no resigned looking-back to ancient Tongan culture and history, (760)

[969] 760. The ruins of grave sites (tombstones, "langi") of the ancient Tongan supreme rulers (Tu'i Tonga) at Mu'a/Tongatapu are for the most part overgrown. and in the midst of two old stone monuments on the island of Nomuka/Ha'apai there is even kape planted.

but rather affirmation of the present and anticipation of the future. (761)

761. Only a few chiefs regret the decline of those customs which once stressed their social rank so clearly.

Many natives, however, have the painful feeling that the Tongan can never become "like the European." Very few conclude, on the basis of this, consciously to preserve their ancient Tongan cultural heritage alongside the adopted European /culture/ and to unite it with the latter. The majority of the people, however, do this quite unconsciously.

[184]
[369] There is a certain difference between the attitude of the population

/282 cont./

829 in the villages and the seaports. The Tongans of the village settlements,
184 especially on the small islands, seem to be passive. They approve of the
369 development, they have a certain pride in their admiration and respect
177 for the competence and the mind of the whites, even though they remain
178 self-assured. The "urbanized" Tongans living in the principal towns
have somewhat more contact with Europeans and their world, and are more
lively and flexible. They too take an affirmative attitude toward the
development because they see its necessity and its usefulness, and they
are always interested in learning from whites. Yet they do not
necessarily believe in the unselfishness and sincerity of all Europeans,
but often critical of them. Many value the whites merely as advisers
and teachers who open up for Tonga the material and technical facilities
of Europe and who can also develop education, hygiene and administration
to such an extent that the standard of the small kingdom can be raised
and it can assert itself in the world; they reject a leadership role of
[186] Europeans. These natives often show a rather marked patriotism; they
are proud of their own small kingdom and of /283/ the fact that their
Archipelago is the only one in the Pacific that has remained an independent
state. Some of them are anxious to increase the political
freedom of their country.

829 In general, therefore, it may be said of the Tongan attitude toward
177 their development that scarcely anyone longs for the past, for the
178 ancient Tongan way of life. Many realize the value of their own culture
[186] and point to it with a certain pride, and some also try consciously to
preserve it. But on the whole they willingly and happily affirm the
progressive change of Tongan culture and only unconsciously impede it by
certain conservative tendencies and a pronounced inclination towards
equanimity.

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II. AN ATTEMPT TO INTERPRET THE PRESENT DEVELOPMENT

178 1. The General Course of Cultural Change in Tonga

177 Ancient Tongan culture grew naturally over a long period of history and was a well-balanced system that was taken for granted by all the individuals of this island and that met their various needs.

177 The cultural change in Tonga described in the preceding chapters is the result of the contact this native culture had with the more complex and active European culture.

During the influencing process the whites did not bring "European culture" as a unit to the Archipelago, but only parts of it, such as material goods, religion, democratic government reform, music.

Seen as a whole, these influences were not brought in a systematic and coordinated form. Europeans of very different types and often with opposing purposes established this contact: seafarers, run-away sailors, missionaries, traders, clerks, visitors and soldiers had, naturally, no common goal. Even today there is no unified plan for the further development of Tonga; however, the government does have the overall intent to bring the population culturally and economically (technically) up to a "modern" level and thus make the small kingdom a country that can hold its own in the midst of the European world.

175
177 The cultural change in Tonga did not by any means proceed at an even pace. Though the discovery of the Archipelago by Schouten and Le Maire in 1616 may have been exciting for the natives of the northern islands, it was, after all, only an encounter which was followed by other, similar visits of white seafarers over a long period of time. Neither at the beginning nor later on was there anything that would merit the designation "cultural impact." During the period from 1616 to 1826, chiefly material cultural assets were brought to the Archipelago, at first occasionally, later to an increaseing extent. For the Tongans

/284 cont./

175 these meant only the possession of supplementary or improved equipment.
177 /285/ No essential changes were created as a result of them, except
for the fact that iron was introduced and gained importance in Tongan
177 culture which had been without metal. European influences were very
much intensified, however, with the beginning of systematic missionizing
work in the Archipelago in 1826. In 1852 the Islands were Christianized.
In 1862 the democratized system of government received a special
constitution which, in 1875, was replaced by one fashioned on the
British model. During this development toward a Christianized,
constitutional kingdom, the material and spiritual influence or the
inhabitants steadily continued. Yet the pace of this process was never
too rapid nor were its effect too great since, because of the remoteness
and smallness of the island territory that had no riches worth
mentioning, there was never great interest concentrated on it by whites,
and the indifferent and conservative attitude of the Tongans also had
a deterring effect.

177 The cultural change in Tonga came about in various ways: In
797 particular, purposeful whites who brought about this contact (above all,
the missionaries, as well as officials and merchants) effected it by
destroying the old religion, "liberating" the commoners and importing
consumer goods on a large scale; but the ideas and the products of the
whites were also disseminated by the Tongans themselves, even as far as
the smallest island of the Archipelago. In some cases it was a matter
of a whole complex of changes, since the missionaries, for example, felt
obliged to change not individual aspects of Tongan life, but several
interrelated areas of their culture; thus they strove to obliterate the
power of the taboo along with the ancient Tongan religion, and to
replace the godlike chieftain system with its arbitrary power by a
177 Christian and democratic state with a proper judicial system. In
178

/285 cont./

177 178 addition, there occurred a sort of chain reaction in which one change carried another along with it; for example, as a result of the importation of European tools, the individual's intimate relation with the workpiece was apparently lost through easier and quicker work, and there was a certain decline in the old handicraft art, that is to say, a deterioration in the field of ornamentation, house-building, boat-building and so forth; another type of chain reaction resulted from the "liberation" of commoners instigated by the Christian missionaries, for this caused a revival of the old customs surrounding weddings and deaths, an increase in the old handcrafts of tapa-making and plaiting, and an advancement of the art of poetry, and this emancipation also gave an important impetus to the dissemination of Christianity and European book-learning. Some areas of Tongan culture, on the other hand, experienced /286/ little or no influence; for example, the old conjugal and family life of commoners, as well as the communal system and the means of sustenance (planting, domestic animal raising and fishing) have been largely preserved, and it seems noteworthy that the natives preserved much of their ancient cultural heritage, which in other Polynesian archipelagos already belongs to the distant past. (1)

1. For example, kava gatherings, tapa-making, earth-oven, old house styles.

The change in individual areas of Tongan culture varied in intensity as a result of the type of European influences, the Tongan attitude to these, and the situation at the time, which either furthered or inhabited them. As may be inferred from the individual description of this cultural change, (2)

2. See pp. 12-427.

it was not a simple, mechanical process, but rather a "battle of forces": thus, for example, the freer Tongan conception of marriage could not be wiped out by the intensive and unchecked influence of the puritanical

/286 cont./

177 missionaries.

178 The Tongans themselves seem scarcely changed in their nature and in their physical build; they have also kept their ancient custom of circumcision. Their hair style, their clothing and their tattooing have, however, changed fundamentally. In the care of their bodies (grooming, hygiene) and in adornment a certain change is to be noted.

In the social realm, the love life and especially the old conjugal and family life of commoners, as well as their social system have scarcely changed, whereas everything connected with the privileged position of the nobility has undergone considerable change; this includes the conjugal and family life of men of rank, the general social stratification, the old system of government, the former administration of justice, land distribution, as well as the division of labor according to rank. A certain change took place in the old manners and customs connected with family taboos (for example, child-father, brother-sister taboo) and the festivals tied to stages of life (birth, marriage, death) and in connection with name-giving.

In the sphere of economic life, house-building seems to be, in part, very much changed, though the old style of living has been largely retained. Planting, domestic animal-raising and fishing have changed very little, while food is more strongly European-influenced though it has not lost its essential ancient Tongan nature; among luxuries, tobacco, which was brought to Tonga by Europeans, has become very popular. Copra production must be mentioned as an entirely new work of the men (and also of the family). The /287/ old typical women's tasks (tapa-making, plaitwork) have been preserved to a great extent. Among the majority of the people division of labor according to sex has remained ancient Tongan in principle, and the daily routine has undergone only a limited change through new duties and tasks. European

/287 cont./

177 178 influences brought about a major change in the area of traffic. New professions, the development of trades and the use of money are further evidences of change in the economic life of Tonga.

The religion of these natives--except for a few insignificant remnants--was obliterated and replaced by the Christian faith.

The art of the Tongans seems very much changed, for song, instrumental music and poetry have been strongly influenced by Europe, and the ancient Tongan dance has largely disappeared from public life. The present-day games of these natives have almost all been borrowed from whites.

Knowledge and with it the islanders' image of the world are today decisively determined by European school-learning.

177 178 184 369 In various areas of daily life the cultural change is uniform throughout the Archipelago; in others, however, there is a certain difference between the seaports and the villages, as well as between the larger islands (Tongatapu and Vav'u) and the smaller ones (especially of the Ha'apai group), where a more "indirect" Europeanization (through Tongans as intermediaries) has taken place.

In the urbanized harbor towns there are more European and European-style influenced houses. Some of the streets are paved and are used by motor cars. Here there are some business sectors (department stores) and offices with files, telephones and typewriters. The natives may visit cinemas and buy ice cream. There are some whites living in these districts.

Despite the still strong community feeling, the Tongans living in the seaports seem to have experienced a slight measure of individualization and alienation among themselves. Here one naturally sees more fully European dress (trousers) than on the smaller islands, and the natives have become more accustomed to European supplementary foods

/287 cont./

177 (including bread) ahd a third meal. These Tongans seem somewhat more
178 efficient; they make use of the postal and telegraph service with a
184 certain matter-of-factness, and in case of illness they are more apt to
869 go to hospitals. Here also, thinking in terms of money has found more acceptance than in the villages.

Though the ancient Tongan manners and customs that have been retained seem to be taken somewhat more lightly in the urbanized seaports, it is noteworthy that the "Tongan wedding," for example, has been preserved here almost as it is on the small islands, and that the right to take what belongs to the mother's brother (tu'asina) is still largely practiced. In these towns, especially, people also still like to wear /288/ the vala and respectfully to don the ta'o-vala (3)

3. See pp. 67-71.

when they attend a fono (4)

4. Gathering to announce government reports.

or wish to visit a chief.

In these settlements, tapa is still made even in the center /of town/, near the main thoroughfare, and most of the Tongans living here still carry on their planting, some of them along with their professional work.

The natives of the urbanized settlements and the smallest islands of the Archipelago adhere equally to their Chrisitian faith.

In general it may be said about the differences in cultural change within the Archipelago that many changes have been greater in the seaports (and on the larger islands) than on the small islands of the group. But even in those "urbanized" settlements they are not so great that one could speak of a complete "break with the past." Despite the stronger Europeanization of the harbor towns, essential ancient Tongan ways of life have remained there. We might rather speak of a

/288 cont./

177 178 [184] [369] "uniformity of cultural change with a certain margin of fluctuation" throughout the entire Archipelago.

Seen as a whole, the cultural change in Tonga has brought no collapse of the old way of life of the natives. It should rather be regarded as a steady development during which the previous order was modified and new values (along with the existing old ones) became the substance of life. The material and cultural loss caused by the change was replaced by something new--to the extent, at any rate, that for the modern Tongan men and women who were, after all, born into this development, the essential phases of which were long since completed, there was no noticeable gap. Rather, we see today a firmly established state and community in which almost everyone feels comfortable and secure and does not have any particular cares and privations; life for the majority of the people is even more worthwhile than it was in the past, while the nobility does not quarrel too much with its readjustment, the basis for which was already laid two generations ago.

177 178 565 The necessary "adjustment change" resulting from the "change of circumstances" was all the easier for commoners because their traditional family and community life and their livelihood (from planting, domestic animal-raisng and fishing) scarcely changed in the villages, and because the change in religion was more an "exchange in a superior force that commanded respect," and because in many areas new and old attributes in a fortunate fusion. The nobility who, as a result of Christianization and democratization of the islands, lost considerable power, accepted what seemed unalterable, /289/ especially since, on the whole, it still enjoys a certain respect--at least formally--and also occupies the most important key positions in the government.

177 178 154 The life of these natives shows no particular restlessness or tension, but rather a considerable balance of factors. The Tongans seem

177 /289 cont./

178 [154] to be neither physically nor psychically weakened by the change in their culture, or in their way of life.

The process of cultural change in Tonga is long past its beginning. The change in most areas has gone as far as was possible under the conditions, and a certain stabilization can be observed. The result is a new, sound and strong culture that is neither ancient Tongan nor European. Yet the development is by no means completed, but is still going on. It is noteworthy that the Tongans scarcely carry it further, but simply make use of it. We may thus speak of a "new order" that continues and is further developed almost entirely by advice and teaching, enticement and intervention on the part of Europeans. A creative development of their own, but for a few exceptions that seem unimportant, (5) is not to be noted. This has its cause chiefly in the nature of these human beings. But one must also consider that the time for a further development has been relatively brief, (6) that the Archipelago lies rather isolated in the ocean, and the environment of these people is not stimulating, that the Islands have no mineral resources and that no climatic or other special pressures stimulate the islanders and spur them on to a further development of what they have received.

[182] As for the command of their environment, these natives still

5. For example, in the material culture, the transverse hatchet *fale-vatu* (pp. 200-202), the lead sinker for fishnets (pp. 270-272), the iron coconut scraper (pp. 289-291), cigars (*suluka*) (pp. 297-298), the copra knife (pp. 300-301) and the *koka* scraper (pp. 326-328); these things (or some of them) the Tongans could also have borrowed from the other archipelagos!

6. The inner relationship to that which was taken over is, to a certain extent, still lacking, for it has not been entirely internalized.

/289 cont./

177 178 182 possess, in essence, their old capabilities, they have remained "masters of their world." They have even added to their former ability through ideas and facilities taken over from Europeans. But with it they have come to depend, to a certain extent, on whites and their goods, though this /dependence/ is not too great, since they could, even today, live without the help of Europeans.

If today all whites should leave and the Archipelago should sink back to its pre-European isolation, there would be no privation and no chaos. The Tongans could provide for themselves from their own land. The lack of canned meat they would have to make up for by somewhat more industrious fishing. Sugar they could /290/ obtain from their sugarcane and by planting *Cordyline terminalis* (see pp. 249-250). Other European items that are convenient accessories and improvements would be replaced by corresponding old Tongan commodities; thus, for example, instead of kerosene lamps they would go back to coconut oil lamps and torches, and instead of Lux soap they would use sand, bark and leaves. They still know how to build houses in the traditional way using indigenous material. Real emergencies would arise only in the case of tools, clothing and boat-building. But there would be no actual hardship, since some axe blades (in the case of *fale-vatu*, for example) (7) have been in use often more than 80 years (inherited from grandfathers) and the Tongans themselves know how to make tools from old iron they often find in the ground; they would then gradually go back to stone blades of which many Tongans still possess "models." The question of clothing too is not acute since tapa and mats are still commonly produced. In boat-building they would go back as much as possible to native construction, though here there would be some difficulties

7. See pp. 200-202.

/290 cont./

177 178 182 which they would have to overcome. The Europeanized, that is, Anglicized government and administration would easily fall back into the ancient Tongan rhythm, especially since much of it is carried out in form rather than meaning, and the whites are more or less the driving force. Christianity, the churches, would, however, continue to flourish. In sum--it would be a Tongan culture with European enrichment, perhaps drowsing away, perhaps left alone too soon to act on its own, but it would be autarkic and altogether capable of survival.

177 178 The further question arises, whether or not the influence on Tongan culture and its change may be called "good and useful."

Modern Tonga is more of less in the state wished for by the missionaries and the white administrative officals; perhaps for the latter its development is a little too slow. For the whites in general relatively little gain has accrued from the Europeanization of the Tonga Archipelago: Christianity has spread over this territory, there is some advantage for world trade, and there are small benefits for the British Empire.--

The natives have lost the inclusiveness of their ancient Tongan culture. The European-Tongan contact produced an adapted culture in transition in which, in some cases, old and new have long since become fused, but in others they still exist side by side. Exposed to the useful as well as the harmful influences of a culture that grew in distant Europe, the Tongans have not become unhappy.--

Since the Tonga Islands were, after all, discovered and therefore confrontation with the Europeanized world had to be faced, one feels that this development is not the worst for these people. In viewing it, we must free ourselves from emotional thinking and prejudices. Even though we must not forget that this mixed culture does not have the unique quality and the complete inner coherence of ancient Tongan

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culture, and /291/ it is at present not capable of continuing in this way without the help of whites, nevertheless, alongside a recognition of the negative, the disintegration of the old, we should place the evaluation of the new that has been created. Since this has brought about no catastrophe for the native, but makes his existence altogether worthwhile, it probably fulfills the most important function of culture, namely, to provide for the human being a good existance in his world.

Final alignment with Western civilization does not seem very probably for present Tongan culture and is perhaps also not worth striving for, since the preservation of the ancient Tongan community life and the bases of their traditional means of subsistence can largely avert the dangers of commercialization and individualization, social disintegration and mental alienation, uprootedness and discontent. The future is completely open and lies not only in the hands of the British protectorate power, but in those of the Tongans themselves, and is moreover controlled by imponderables which are so often decisive in such developments. It is possible--and probably to be hoped for the Tongans' sake--that this native culture will in the future, as today, (and probably to a greater extent) happily satisfy Tongan nature and European circumstances. The pre-conditions are certainly there.

2. The Cultural Change in Tonga Compared with Change

A. In the Samoa Islands

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[121]
It may help us to understand the causes of this change of Tongan culture if we compare it with a few other European-influenced native cultures.

S
177
Samoan culture offers the example of a similar culture under approximately similar influences, which was altered to a similar extent. It too is a simpler, more passive culture which came under the impact

S /293 cont./

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(113)

H. Nevermann, "Die sudsee und der Kintinent Australien." in: Die heutigen Naturvolker im Ausgleich mit der neuen Zeit /The South Seas and the continent of Australia in: Present-day primitives coming to terms with the new age / edited by D. Westermann. Stuttgart 1940; W.E.H. Stanner, The South Seas in transition /cited in English/. Sydney 1953.

S
177
157 The natives--like the Tongans--seem scarcely changed in essence;
T European influences were not strong enough to undermine the basic
● 177 nature of the Samoans, especially their pride and self-assurance. The
T
142 physical stature of the majority of Samoans, like that of the Tongans,
S has apparently scarcely changed in comparison with the past; however,
142 in this Archipelago there is a larger group of half-castes, which may
563 be traced to the stronger influence of the whites. Like the Tongans,
S the Samoans in approximately the last three decades have been among
161
T the most rapidly increasing population groups of the world. In West
[161] Samoa their number increased from 32,601 in 1921 (12)

12. Department of external affairs, Western Samoa 1947 /cited in English/. p. 58.

to 74, 663 at the end of 1950. (13)

13. Department of island territories, Western Samoa /cited in English/ wellington 1951. p. 63.

S /294/ As a result of the efforts of whites there is a change
944 to be noted in public health service, which is perhaps greater than
177 that observed on the Tonga Islands, since in West Samoa, alongside
171
759 white physicians and trained Samoan medical practitioners /cited
575 in English/, the people themselves are involved in this service in the
form of women's committees /cited in English/; (14)

S
[596]

14. These committees made up of the women of the heads of "extended families" in the villages have, in the last three decades, superseded the old meetings of noble women.

T /294 cont./
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361 which was customary even in ancient times--in contrast to Tonga--
177 has been retained; but /295/ in larger settlements that consist of
individual sections these have, in some cases, made themselves
T S independent to a certain extent. As in the Tongan Archipelago, the
621 old encompassing community system in the villages is still alive.
178 With respect to social stratification, however, the power of the
S
565 nobility--in complete contrast to changes on the Tonga Islands-- has
178 been preserved to a remarkable extent, the position of the *matai* in
596 recent times has suffered to some extent by the fact that the young
584 generation is gaining influence in the family and, with the decline
of the *taupou* system, (15)
the function of the *tulafale* (speaker) as marriage go-between belongs
S to the past. The fact that the exceptional position of the nobility
565 here in Samoa has not been weakened as much as in Tonga may probably
178 not be explained solely by the rather conservative nature of the
177 797 Samoans, but by the fact that the missionaries here did not see any
T particular need to attack the old social system, for in this semi-
565 democratic system the rule of the *matai* was apparently never as absolute and arbitrary as that of the Tongan nobility, and on the Samoa Islands there was no permanent division between nobility and commoners, for the serving non-noble still had a chance to be promoted to the nobility.

S As a result of the self-confident and conservative nature of
177 these natives as well as the restraint of the missionaries and the
178 white government the traditional political organization in West
623 Samoa is still largely intact, with the village governments (council
S of *matai*) preserved. As a result of the occupation of the Archipelago
657 by whites the Samoa Islands have become two political entities
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15. See F.J.H. Grattan, *loc*. *cit*. p. 152.

S /296 cont./
T 177 canned goods have even been introduced into their ceremonial life.
178 Food preparation shows many traditional features--as among the Tongans
[262] and perhaps even more so--along with certain innovations (for example
[252] iron cooking pots), and the typical method of eating with one's
[415] [264] fingers has also been retained.--The conservative Samoans have probably
not felt the need for further changes in their tried-and-true methods
in areas relating to their means of subsistence, which, moreover, have
not been influenced very much by Europeans and indeed would be difficult
to change if only because of geographic conditions.

S
T In both Archipelagos tobacco, a luxury imported by Europeans, has
276 177 become quite important; the natives grow it themselves to a large
249 432 extent and also buy it from shopkeepers.

S
T /297/ As in Tonga, copra production in Samoa has become a very
245 common occupation, and to this has been added cocoa-growing. However,
S here too these new activities have not brought about much change; there
[434] has been no profit- mania, and the old social system has proved strong
[596] enough to withstand these influences, for the matai take over the
proceeds and use them on behalf of the entire family.

S
T The typical women's handwork of tapa-making and plaiting lives
462 on in Samoa--at least with respect to quality--as it does in Tonga.
178 Division of labor according to sex has also scarcely changed on the
463 Samoa Islands; however, in contrast to the development in the Tonga
Archipelago, the social division of labor (titles-untitles) has still
S been largely upheld. The daily routine has remained basically the
T 512 same in both island groups, and has been influenced only to a certain
178 extent by new duties and tasks. Land and sea traffic has changed very
S
T much in Samoa, as in Tonga, but it is noteworthy that the Samoans build
489 and use the simple outriggers (paopao) and in addition rather large
178 S numbers of the more complicated bonito-boats (va'aalo).
(501)

S /297 cont./

463 In Samoa, too, new professions such as pastor, physician
177 (Samoan medical practitioner /cited in English/), teacher, administrative
official and shopkeeper, have arisen as a result of European influence
S on the Islands. However, only a few natives, probably fewer than in
(441) Tonga, have begun to carry on in business; their traditional community
(178) system does not by any means favor such individual enterprises. These
S 177 changes have thus far had no great influence on the economic life of
S the masses of Samoans. As in Tonga, such an influence should not be seen
177 in the use of money, though this is widespread in the Archipelago as a
436 result of copra, cocoa and banana sales, and it has even entered into
their customs in the most remote villages, (17)

S (585) 17. For example at weddings, the exchange of a rather large sum of money (family of the bridegroom) and Samoan goods (family of the bride).

yet has nowhere made the natives absolutely dependent on money, nor has
S it resulted in a true cash economy. Every Samoan--like every Tongan--
T 177 can still, if necessary, live in his village without money. (18)

436 18. Thanks to their social and economic system.

178 and there is scarcely any methodical use of money, (19)

S (161) (433) 19. For example, although the population doubled from 1921 to 1947, the total production of copra remained the same during this period (see Department of External Affairs, Western Samoa 1947. p. 43).

because it does not fit in with the character and needs of these people
and because the old community system has been preserved /298/ and has
hitherto proved stronger than the corrupting effect of money.

S T The old Samoan religion, like that of the Tongans, was obliterated
771 long ago (likewise approximately a century ago), and Christianity has
177 permeated the life of these natives; only insignificant remnants of their

S /298 cont./

T 871 schools of five missions) is less effective than the Tongan, and mass education has not as yet been particularly successful, especially since in West Samoa (with a majority of the population) there is no compulsory education and in all the villages of the Islands the existing schools are attended rather irregularly. S T Even though the so proud and conservative Samoans do not have the same ambition to become [181] educated that the Tongans seem to have, it is nevertheless noteworthy S [212] that today almost all Samoans can read and write. In comparison with Tonga, however, only very few get beyond the elementary school level.

S T 177 178 184 369 /299/ In Samoa, as in Tonga, there is a difference in the change that has taken place in the culture between the more remote villages and the settlements favorably situated with regard to transport facilities and the commercial centers. In these "urbanized" towns one often notices in an occasional outsider who come there a detachment from his "extended family" in addition to a slight alienation and a growing importance attached to money, and the way of life of some natives shows considerable change in clothing, food and dwelling. In the city of Apia some people, especially young natives, are at times disdainful of the ancient Samoan way of life and the customs of their fathers, and feel superior to their countrymen who come "from the most backward villages" for a visit.

However, at present, such manifestations can be observed only among a minority of Samoans and should be regarded as exceptions. S 177 178 Up to now the Samoan culture has shown itself to be at least as strong as the Tongan. It has remained sound and dominant, despite the variety of European influences. (23)

23. Even the large sums of money which came into the country as a result of the presence of American troops on the Islands and the possibility of easy acquisition during that

/299 cont./

S 177 178 time were not able radically to change the ancient Samoan way of life.

In its most important aspects it has changed only slightly. The social order has remained (more than in Tonga), and important parts of the economic life have been preserved. Even the change in religion has disrupted little and has scarcely altered the culture as a whole. As among most Tongans, the traditional way of life satisfies the majority of Samoans and, in spite of unmistakable new interests and needs, it leaves them content. (24)

S [596] (554) 24. One danger for the old order is the fact that the great population increase has not been accompanied by an increase (dividing-up) of the *matai* titles, and thus the prospect which the non-titled have of being chosen a *matai* head even more critical is the fact that it is precisely the younger generation that aspires to greater influence in the families.

T [177] These natives, like the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands, have managed perfectly to take over individual parts of European culture and to fit them into their own or to modify them so that they are given typical Samoan characteristics; (25)

S [596] 25. For example, in music, dance and play; also with respect to religion (the *matai* who, in former times, as head of the family, invoked the gods, today leads the prayers of his family), and with respect to the use of various European commodities (tools), imported food and money (marriage customs).

thus an adaptation to European ways has been achieved which is scarcely felt as an alien element in the dominant Samoan culture. Here too, however, there has been no independent creative, later development of what was taken over.

S T 177 182 The Samoans, like their relatives in the small kingdom, have kept their old ability to master their environment, and /300/ this has

S /300 cont./

T 177 182 increased through European ideas and the material goods of the whites. The /state of/ dependence which this has brought about for these islanders is limited, as in the case of the Tongans; for basically, the Samoans can also live on what land and sea and their work can give them, and the loss of all that has been newly acquired would not mean a catastrophe.

S T 177 178 S (181) Thus a comparison of the culture change in Tonga with that of Samoa shows a similar development and a similar result. The, in part, greater preservation of culture in the latter Archipelago may be traced back, first of all, to the more conservative attitude of the Samoans; on the other hand, this difference may be explained by the absence of strong European influences in the areas in question, quite apart from the multiplicity of imponderables that are often so important in such developments.

B. In the Fiji Islands

F 177 As a further example for comparison let us mention the culture change among the Fijians. Here too we find a simple island-native culture remote from the continents, which came under the impact of the diverse and superior European culture. F [563] [648] This Archipelago, however, in the course of its development, became a British economic colony in which an important third population element (after that of the whites), namely the Indian one, became indigenous and outstripped the native population both numerically and economically.

F 177 648 Naturally, "European culture as a whole" was not transplanted to the Fiji Islands; rather, the natives became acquainted only with individual parts or major segments of it, and the contact, especially in its early phases, was not systematic, though it must be emphasized that British administration after the Islands were taken over sought to preserve not only the trade-policy interests of the whites, but

000 /305 cont./
T F especially in building of "bath houses." In the care of their bodies
515 there is a certain change to be noted--as in Tonga--through European
177 T influences (soap, towel) and their continued use of the ancient body oil.
F 302 Their hair style has likewise changed, for the Fijians--like the
177 Tongans--often cut their hair short nowadays in the European fashion,
T F and the old, puffed-out hair style is seen rather seldom. The clothing
291 of these natives--like that of the Tongans--has also changed very
177 much as a result of missionization and the importation of textiles; however, the younger Fijians wear pants (shorts /cited in English/) far
more than is customary in the other Archipelago. Old articles of
adprnment are scarcely seen any more among the natives of both sexes;
the change, the loss in this area is even greater than among the
T F Tongans. Tattooing, which was little practiced in former times in Fiji
304 has probably been forgotten everywhere, and does not live on in
178 "modern" form as on the Tonga Islands. However, circumcision is
apparently still commonly practiced among the Fijians and, as in Tonga,
is today a custom that the natives adhere to without attributing to it
a deeper significance.

T In the social sphere it is to be noted, first of all, that in
F 581 Fiji--exactly as in Tonga--marriage has been given a Christian basis
177 as a result of the missionization of the natives. A freer conception
797 of married life is, however, to be observed here as in the Archipelago
T F under comparison. On the Fiji Islands, too, the custom of brother-
593 sister avoidance is apparently still rather strictly observed, whereas
604 the old "privileged position in relation to the mother's brother"
178 T survives in a weaker form than in Tonga--perhaps because of more
F 601 drastic colonial legislation. The Fijians, like the Tongans, have
T F kept their classificatory kinship terms. The festivals at the stages
585 849 of life (birth, nuptials, death), as in the Tonga Archipelago, show
864
177
178

T F /305 cont./
177 much inherited tradition and of mixing of old and new (especially with
178 585 regard to nuptials) which the present generation takes for granted.
[264] [844] In Fiji too there is a sort of "flight marriage" whose purpose is to
F avoid the great expense of a regular /306/ wedding; the number of those
583 who circumvent the traditional wedding seems to be larger on these
585 islands than in the other Archipelago.

T While in Tonga a change in the type of settlement can be noted,
F with commoners formerly living as separate families on the land of
361 chiefs, we find in Fiji a continuation of what has long been the
621 customary type of village settlements, though with the qualification that
now the villages seldom have the kind of simple structure in which the
larger kinship groups of yavusa were the /settlement's/ sole inhabitants.

F The old community -oriented system, continues in Fiji to a large
621 extent; this is evident not only in the claim of common land ownership
423 and the traditional carrying-out of community projects, but particularly
425 in the fact that the transfer of private property to fellow villagers
solely at their request and without direct return service seems to be
practiced on these Islands no less than in Tonga, even though it is
F officially discouraged. As a result of their encounter with fundamen-
177 tally different types of culture and under a certain economic pressure,
463 some Fijians have separated themselves from the village community and
621 have found work in trade or industry, or they have established inde-
pendent farming enterprises (with government support); however, they
have remained in the minority, and most of them find it very difficult
F to break with the old community life and its customs. This development,
[177] which is scarcely to be noted in Tonga and only to a slight extent in
Samoa, nevertheless represents a certain danger to the continuation of
T the traditional social order.

F With regard to social stratification it is to be noted that on
565 178

T F 423 177 178 /307 cont./ The old method of land distribution which on these Islands, rested on the principle of group-ownership in pre-European times, has not been changed as was the different system in Tonga where, under considerable European influence, the monopoly of nobles was weakened in this area; in the Fiji Archipelago, native land belongs now, as always, to family groups (mataqali). After the whites took possession of the Islands the natives, of course, unlike the Tongans, lost a great deal of land. But they still own the greater part of the total area, and the British government strives to protect the Fijians from further loss.

F 671 692 177 178 [191] The administration of justice in this Archipelago--as on the Tonga Islands--has changed very much in comparison with the past. The English law (of 1875), which was altered in accordance with local conditions and needs, and some ordinances and decrees (which, in part, are also meant to insure the continuation of the old way of life) are today the bases for adjudication which is carried out by the natives themselves (in minor cases) and by white officials (in the more serious cases).

F 342 177 178 As for the economic life of the Fijians, it is worth mentioning first of all that in their villages they have kept their traditional house construction to a greater extent than the Tongans. Some natives, however, have here too gone over to covering their old-style houses with corrugated sheet metal or to erecting European-style structures entirely of wood and corrugated sheet metal; they do this partly for prestige reasons (because it is "modern") and partly for convenience because these types are more durable and because they can /308/ thus evade the obligation toward frequent cooperative house-building projects by building their simply wood and corrugated metal houses themselves.

F 177 The household-equipment of these natives, like that of the

T
F /310 cont./ Likewise in
795 the ecclesiastical sphere conditions in both island groups are
171 similar insofar as /311/ there are likewise various denominations
in the Fiji Archipelago; (36)

36. Wesleyan Church, Roman Catholic Church, Adventists, Anglican Church, Presbyterians.

yet these natives have not come around to founding churches independently.

T
F
533 In the field of art it can be noted that both song and instrumental
538 music as well as poetry and the dance have undergone changes (adoption
535 of European heritage, fusion of old and new, loss of ancient cultural
177 heritage) similar to those undergone by the corresponding arts of the
T Tongans. Games too seem changed, as in Tonga.
F
524 In /the realm of general/ knowledge and hence in the Fijian con-
F ception of the world, European influences (especially schools and
872 churches) likewise have their effects. Almost every native child
177 today has an elementary school education--as in the Tonga
Archipelago--and in general the children here too learn quite willingly.
The system of transmitting European knowledge through schools is,
however, limited since the effectiveness of some elementary schools
still leaves much to be desired, and relatively few pupils have the
T opportunity for higher education. The Tongan educational system seems
871 somewhat more progressive in this respect, and actually offers too
T much schooling for conditions there. While in that Archipelago the
F young people who have successfully attended college and can find no
871 entrance to the higher professions devote themselves as a matter of
182 course to the farm work of their fathers, it is reported in this
T [873] colony that those whose school education is completed largely scorn
[463] F village life and, we are told, there is a "constant increase of a
[571] discontented class of half-educated youth" /cited in English/. (37)

I /311 cont./

F
871 37. Legislative Council, Fiji. Secretary for Fijian
182 Affairs. Annual Report, 1948. Council Paper
No. 27. p. 8.

(F 113) The difference to be observed in Tonga in the culture change
I
F between the more remote villages, on the one hand, and the towns
184 favorably located with respect to transport facilities, on the other,
369 is, of course, to be noted to an increasing extent in the Fiji
177
178 Colony. The rapid development of overseas contacts and the founding of industries influence the lives of those who dwell in or near
F important centers. In the urbanlike settlements, especially in the
184 lowlands of Viti Levu, the culture of the Fijians is subject to the
369 greatest influence, and the difficulty of "uniting the two worlds"
177 (which here are actually four because of the Indians and Chinese living here, besides the Europeans) is greatest for the natives in
F these places. Here one also notes a beginning individualism among the
[181] natives; yet in general the Fijians who have developed an especially successful initiative show toward their own people /312/ neither greediness nor stinginess, characteristics which scarcely existed in
F their old native community. In the villages near these centers a
[166] certain unrest has arisen through the exodus of young people who could not resist the power of attraction of the urbanlike settlements.

F
177 Seen as a whole, there has been no breakdown in the old style of living on the Fiji Islands. After the restless times of the 19th
178 century resulting from the intervention of Europeans, and after the alarming drop in population a notable, continuous positive development began which is not very different from that which took place in Tonga. In comparing the culture change in Tonga with the change in Fijian culture it is noteworthy that, despite the stronger and more powerful influence brought to bear on the latter by foreigners, so much essential age-old tradition in the social life and the means of

F
T /313 cont./
171 A comparison of cultural change in Tonga with the change on the
177 Fiji Islands thus shows a certain similarity of development despite
178 the colonial history of this Archipelago and the great numerical
as well as economic and political superiority of the foreigners.

C. In Buganda (Central Africa)

T
121 In an attempt to interpret the culture change described in Tonga,
177 a comparison with the culture change resulting from European
influences among a non-Oceanic primitive people may also prove useful.
As an example I have chosen the Kingdom of Buganda (42)

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[113] 42. Based on L.P. Mair, An African people in the twentieth century. London 1934; H.B. Thomas and Robert Scott, Uganda 2nd ed. London 1949; H.B. Thomas, The story of Uganda. Oxford 1939; Margaret Trowell and K.P. Wachsmann, Tribal crafts of Uganda. London 1953; Colonial Office, Report of Uganda for the year 1952. London 1953. /all titles cited in English/

on the northwest shore of Lake Victoria, which is likewise a British
G protectorate. The Hamitic pastoral tribes coming from the north /314/
177 in the past also invaded this area inhabited by agricultural Bantu;
144 but here, in contrast to conditions in other African kingdoms formed
by Hamitic conquests, there was a widespread fusion of the two
population elements in which the Hamitic /element/ was soon absorbed.

G
642 Buganda is today one of the four provinces of the Uganda
635 Protectorate; the kingdom is approximately 64-times larger than the
131 land area of the Tonga Archipelago, and in it live more than 800,000
161 Baganda, (43)
162

43. According to the investigation of 1938: 836,091 (Report on Uganda for the year 1952. p. 16).

as well as a smaller group of Indians and relatively few Europeans. (44)

44. According to the count of 1931: 6587 Indians and 1200 Europeans (Thomas and Scott, Uganda p. 502).

G
177 /317 cont./ With regard to death and burial, these Africans prove quite conservative,
764 for they have scarcely changed the traditional form of their mourning
765 customs, and have also largely retained their old methods of burial;
178 in contrast to this, several of the old mourning customs in Tonga
T
177 have been given up because the missionaries fought against them.
797
765 /318/ Community life with its system of mutual obligations and
G aid has today become distinctly individualized among the Baganda
571 whose feeling of kinship beyond the individual economic performance
621
476 is beginning to make itself felt far more than among the Islanders.

178 As for social stratification, conditions in ancient Buganda were
T similar to those in pre-European Tonga insofar as commoners were
G
565 subordinate to chiefs by whom land was allotted to them and for whom they were obliged to work, and on whose wishes they were dependent. But, in contrast to the Archipelago, the people here had the right to leave their chief if they were discontent with him, and the class of chiefs was not a closed caste; rather, every man could entertain the hope of some day being appointed chief by the king. Through
G European influences and intervention the old style of administration
565 of chiefs was here too largely changed and became a sort of "native
177 civil service" /cited in English/. Personal capability and
554 European training are today important for the position of chief, which is no longer hereditary even in its previously already limited
G form. The traditional services rendered by commoners to their king
[651] and the chiefs have in this country also been replaced by the payment of taxes.

T Governmental development proceeded in a similar manner in the two
G areas under comparison insofar as Great Britain set up a protectorate
648 over Tonga as well as Buganda in 1900, and in the agreements relating
G to these, recognized the ruling house of the two kingdoms. The
177 government in this African country has also been based on a Western
643 model; thus Kabaka rules over his people with the help of his three
645
646

G /318 cont./
177
643 ministers (premier, superior judge, finance minister) and with the
645 help of the Lukiko (native council). The governor of Uganda, as
646 advisory (or supervisory) authority which represents the Protectorate
G
635 power has a function similar to the "British Agent and Consul"
648 /cited in English/ in Tonga, but seems to be even more influential
T
648 than the latter.

G
T With regard to the distribution of land it is noteworthy that in
648 both kingdoms the English have safeguarded native land ownership, (49)
423
177 and that at the same time there were important changes in this area
G as a result of European influence. For, although the Uganda Agreement
648 of 1900 confirmed the landed property of the chiefs who happened to be
423 in power, a sort of fixed and private land ownership (over which /319/
177 an individual owner had absolute right of disposal) was created, which
G had not previously existed. According to the law, the commoners who
423 cultivate the land enjoy greater security, and the duties imposed on
241 them are less than those previously customary. Since almost every
[671] non-landowning Muganda has the ambition to buy the land on which he
[185] works and thus free himself from dependence on the big landowner, a
gradual reduction /in size/ (or distribution) of land holdings has been
brought about, whereby Buganda will gradually become a regular country
T of small farmers. This development resembles that introduced in Tonga
177
799 in the last century at the instigation of the Wesleyan missionaries,
423 though with the difference that there the natives became tenant farmers
241 whose rights are legally attested and whose plots of land are properties
of the Tongan crown (and owned by the government, the royal house or
the group of nopele).

T
G With regard to the administration of justice in modern Buganda--
671
177

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49. Moreover, Buganda seems to have had little power of attraction for white planters.

T /319 cont./
G
671 much as in Tonga--almost all of life is ruled by law, in accordance
177 with British legal thought (allowing for the old laws and customs
T of the natives). Here too, jurisdiction is largely in the hands of
G native courts. However, since the administration of justice of the
692 177 Baganda was more highly developed in pre-European times than was that
of the Tonga, and the protectorate power could, to a certain extent,
build on this, the break with the past does not seem as great in this
area as it doubtless was in the Archipelago.

G With respect to economic life, it is first of all worth mentioning
342 that the Baganda likewise have largely given up their traditional
177 dwelling in favor of a somewhat European building style. Though they
still use primarily native materials, a more durable, more fireproof
and "impressive" corrugated metal roof is the wish of almost every
T Muganda. The household equipment of these natives, quite like that
[177] of the Tongans, has been added to and changed by European items.

G The actual means of subsistence has also been little changed in
241 this Protectorate in comparison with the past, for the economy has
177 remained an agricultural one; all classes of the population are
178 closely linked to the land from which they obtain their entire food
necessary for life; planting methods have not been changed and the old
T crops have no been replaced. Nor have the Baganda by any means gone
G over to an agricultural enterprise in the European manner (cultivation
[231] closely tied in with animal husbandry), and they show an attitude to
animal raising similar to the Tonga, using their goats mostly as
T slaughter animals and usually dispensing with the milk. Cattle raising
G which they have carried on since ancient times, in contrast to Tonga,
[233] /320/ has lost a great deal of importance as a result of sleeping
G [423] sickness and other epidemics, and today landed property is more in
demand than livestock.

/320 cont./

G
248 While in the South Seas Kingdom the old planting cycle was
177 preserved, it experienced considerable change in Buganda through wide-
T spread cotton planting as a result of European influence. This means
245 a saleable crop for the Muganda, similar to the Tongan copra production.
177 While the latter, however, does not demand systematic planting and was
relatively easily incorporated into the old economic system, the
Baganda have been forced, through their cotton raising to give up their
six-month cycle of sowing and harvesting, and their general cultivation
activity is now dependent on the nine-month growth of cotton.--Cotton
harvests for them--like copra harvests for the Tongans--are the most
important means of satisfying their modern material wishes and ful-
G filling their obligations toward the government and the large landowners.
262 The food of these natives has apparently changed less than that of
177 the Tongans, for here imported European foods have not gained that much
G importance as supplements. The only general innovation connected
[272] with diet seems to be tea-drinking. Peoples here too eat mostly with
G
264 their fingers.

G Bark-cloth production, which was also once generally carried on,
287 (50)
177
439

50. In this case, however, it is a coarser type of bark cloth (made of a ficus species) and is men's work.

T
[287]
G
(462) has here, in contrast to the development in Tonga, very much dropped
G off as a result of the import of cotton fabrics. Mats and baskets
285 are, however, made by the women to a rather large extent.
462

G Division of labor according to sex in this African country
462 remained basically unchanged--as in Tonga--during the period of
177 European influence. Thus the woman is still responsible for food
[462] planting. But the man who, as a result of the general development of
[177] the country, has been relieved of some of his duties (for example,
G
461
434

G /320 cont./
461 work for chief and king, military service, bark cloth making) today
434 often cultivates for purposes of sale; often men and women have
separate cotton plantations and the latter regard the proceeds from
their sales as their exclusive property.

G The Baganda, like the Tongans, have also become acquainted with
T
463 new professions, and some are teachers, pastors, assistant physicians,
179 administrative employees, /321/ plantation overseers, houseboys,
askaris and chauffeurs. Among the old crafts that of the smith
G in particular has been retained, and is limited to certain kinship
[326] associations. A good many Baganda are quite successful as tailors
and cabinetmakers. Business seems to appeal to them no more than it
does to most Tongans; in this African kingdom there are very few
native shop owners, which may be partly due to the activity of the
G Indians in this field. A few Baganda run small inns on the main
T
[485] highways, an occupation for which the Tongans lack inclination and
opportunity.

G These natives, like the Islanders, have become quite accustomed to
T European money and use it to a great extent to pay their taxes, to
436 buy imported goods, as well as to pay off debts among themselves;
179 for them money meant not so much a complete innovation, but rather
a substitute for, and a further development of, their old "currency"
which consisted of cowrie shells, beads, bark cloth and wire. Though
G the goat and bark cloth still play a definite role among the Baganda
[431] as ceremonial gifts, nevertheless European money has gained greater
importance in their customs (that is, marriage, birth and death) than
it has among the Tongans. However, the European attitude towards
money has remained as alien to these Africans as it has to those South
Sea Islanders; in economic matters they are by no means calculating, and
it is not unusual for them to be entirely without money for months

G T /321 cont./
436 after having promptly spent it following their cotton harvest.
177 Christianity is today the religion of almost all the Baganda.
G T It has become for them the obvious way of coming to terms with the
771 supernatural. The Christian religion means a great deal to these
177 natives, they have a similar, precise knowledge of the bible as the Tongans and--as in that Archipelago--in places where they have no European supervision they carry on their ritual of worship independently under the leadership of native Anglican and Catholic clergymen. As among the Islanders, here too the promise of paradise, as well as the association of this religion with the glamor of the European, and finally the wish for social recognition and representation may be the
G chief reasons why the Christian faith was adopted. In Buganda, as in
T the Tonga Archipelago, the old religion is no longer publicly
771 practiced though, according to reports at hand, the conversion of the
177 178 people of this country does not seem to be as complete. Along with inconsequential remnants of "paganism," which among the Christian natives are scarcely more important than the surviving remnants of the old religion in Tonga, /322/ the belief in the spirits of their ancestors which has been so important in the African kingdom has been largely preserved, and even the significance of magic powers and of sorcery could be only weakened by the church and government laws, but by no means extinguished; this seems noteworthy in view of the fact that in Tonga the power of the once so all-embracing taboo has long since been broken and forgotten.

G T With regard to the transmission of knowledge, conditions in
868 Buganda have changed in similar fashion as in the Tonga Archipelago:
871 Their way of growing into the various tasks of life through simple
179 imitation of older people and without particular systematic instruction has here too been supplemented by a European type of school

G /322 cont./
T
871 system. In Buganda, however, this has influenced the women far less
177 than the men, for, in keeping with the social and economic structure
[868] of this people, the mothers generally do not like to release their
G
[562] daughters from their work within the family for the sake of school
attendance. Aside from that, these Africans have shown themselves
to be just as receptive to European education as the Tongans, and every
Muganda would probably like to acquire the knowledge of the whites.
The reason for this is not only the wish to become like the European,
but actually a remarkable interest in everything new which is based
on a mental alertness together with an ablility to absorb a foreign
stock of ideas, and which was already observed among these natives
by the first European visitors--and this is of course likewise
G characteristic of the Tongans. The majority of Baganda can today
[212] read and write, and though the general level of education is still
below the relatively high level of the Tongans, this is to be attributed
more to the difficulties of school organization resulting from the
size of this much larger population rather than the lack of abilities
and aptitudes; at any rate, these natives head all the peoples of
the Uganda Protectorate in their education.

G Probably the most important observation on the basis of a com-
T parison of the culture change in Tonga with that in Buganda is the
177 following: Although the racial, geographic and partly also the
cultural preconditions in the African kingdom are different from
those in the South Seas Archipelago, there is a certain similarity to
be noted in both areas in the reaction and development brought about
by European influences.

The Baganda too were by no means immune to the European impact.
They proved open and receptive--like the Tongans--and, like the
latter, showed a particular ability to take on new things, integrate

G T 177 /322 cont./

them into their culture and finally /323/ regard them as natural possessions. But, like those Islanders, they too are steadfast and conservative in maintaining essential features of their old life style and at the same time they lack understanding of many "improvements" and novel ideas. (51)

51. See their adherence to their own means of subsistence, as well as their non-European attitude towards money.

G T 177 178 The culture change here too caused no collapse of the old way of life, and no obvious cultural decline (in the sense of a disintegration) is to be observed. Basic elements of the old culture have been preserved. G T (182) The natives seem physically and mentally unimpaired. Despite a certain dependence on whites, their old ability to master their environment seems to have been preserved. (52)

52. An independent further development of what was taken over is, however, not to be noted here either.

Though the cultural change does not seem complete by any means, there is a certain stabilization to be noted, and in the newly arisen culture the native element is decidely dominant. Among the reasons for this development one must mention first of all the characteristics of these human beings, the nature and strength of their old culture, the absence of direct forcible intervention by Europeans, as well as their relatively small number in Buganda which has remained a land of natives and has not become a settlement area of whites.

T 121 177 178

3. THE CAUSES UNDERLYING THE COURSE OF THE CULTURE CHANGE IN TONGA

After having discussed in detail the change in Tongan culture and drawn comparisons with the changes in other cultures, we may now, on the basis of this detailed material, present an interpretation of this development, that is to say, a survey of causes.

/323 cont./

121 177 If the mental and material culture of a people is already something tremendously complex as a result of the great variety of its forms and their ramifications and connections, the change of such a culture seems an even more complicated subject in view of the forces and factors which act on the diversity of this culture. For the sake of clarity and in order to avoid aimless rambling and confusion by attempting to do justice to everything, we shall here try merely to give a comprehensive, simplified and general consideration of the reasons for the course of the change in Tongan culture.

/324/ The first part of this essay, the investigation of the change in various individual areas of Tongan culture form the bases of the following conclusions:

177 A large part of the change occurred simply as a result of the pressure brought to bear on the Tongans and their culture by European influences.

[797] Thus, the activity of the missionaries affected especially the area of religion (and the once so universal belief in taboos) and, more or less contingent on this, the clothing and ornamentation of all the natives, their customs surrounding marriage and death, the previous scarcely circumscribed privileges of the nobility in relation to the commoners, furthermore political development, land distribution and jurisdiction, art and games and finally knowledge in general.

177 642 797 Included in the idea of "pressure brought to bear by European influences" is the effectiveness of the modern Tongan state (under the British Protectorate) founded a century ago under the influences of the Wesleyans, /a state/ whose laws and institutions are responsible, for example, for the change in health care and education and whose registrations of birth, marriage and death give these events a European tinge, just as the missionaries before that provided them with Christian attributes.

/324 cont./

177 with Christian attributes.

In an evaluation of the European impact we must also mention, besides the "pressure" brought to bear by whites, simple "proposals" as well as "patterns" for various areas of culture. These include: merchandise (tools, equipment, building material, readymade clothing and fabrics, articles of daily use, tobacco, musical instruments), new work methods, house- and boat-building, styles of dress, money economy, professions, art, games.

177
829 The Tongan culture change was furthered and, to a certain extent, made possible by a positive reaction of the natives. They took over European /cultural/ assets because, as intelligent, open-minded and adaptable human beings, they simply recognized their usefulness (or convenience) as well as their superiority over what they already had. (53)

53. See tools, equipment, building material, housewares, clothing, cleansing materials.

To some extent it was also a happy acceptance of the novelty because they believed that in this way they were coming closer to the esteemed whites. (54)

54. For example, knowledge, Christiantiy, names, clothing, hairstyle, dwelling, housewares, food.

177
[554] Undoubtedly, the need for social recognition also plays an important role, for through the adoption of such European culture traits the natives /325/ seek to gain special esteem among their own kind. European food as well as tobacco, however, also became popular simply for reasons of taste, and copra production became so widespread because of the interest in money-making (aroused by Europeans and their goods).

The adoption of European innovations at times produced a chain of further changes (for example, copra production--money--purchase

/325 cont./

177 of goods--change of material cultural possessions; European tools--
decline of the ancient handicrafts [ornaments, dwellings, boat
building]).

177 Special circumstances facilitated or made possible the cultural
797 change in Tonga. For example, the heads of government in the
[643] Archipelago, at the beginning of stronger European influences
(missionization), lost their actual power as a result of the historical
development of the island kingdom. Furthermore, the Christianization
[793] of the people was favored by the absence of a powerful Tongan
[771] priesthood and by a certain laxity at the time in the worship of their
gods.

177 On the other hand, the impact of European influences was, for various reasons, moderated or made impossible.

Thus, the Europeans in this Archipelago did not exert as much pressure as they did on some other primitive peoples. There was no particular decimation of Tongans through sickness, alcohol or terroristic attacks. Only relatively few Europeans came to these islands, and the natives kept a certain independence. The whites have not taken away their land, either in the past or in the present, and there were no violent European repression or extermination operations comparable to those in Tasmania, Australia and North America. Moreover, the whites did not exploit (or deport) Tongans workers, nor did they establish larger enterprises here. Since the Tongans have a kingdom of their own with relatively great freedom of self-determination and, moreover, only a small number of Europeans live in the Archipelago, the danger of friction between browns and whites has been slight up to the present time.

Within the framework of this development some areas of Tongan culture have experienced but weak European influences, and since the natives have not become acquainted with European culture in its

/325 cont./

177 totality, but rather with disconnected, single culture traits and complexes, much has remained unchanged which /326/ could probably have been altered had the Tongans had a more intimate relationship with the life style of the whites.

177 181 An inhibiting effect on the pace of "Europeanization" of this Archipelago was also the nature of the Tongans. They proved to be self-assured, imperturbable, even-tempered, indifferent and conservative toward many innovations--despite the fact that they were also open-minded. One cannot say that they copied Europeanism blindly; rather, they were often critical and selective. In many areas of their culture they had no interest in, or need for, a fundamental change, (55) and, thanks to their dispostion and attitude, they did not come to depend very much on whites, but retained their practical abilities with which to master their environment. (56)

[153] Mentally they proved scarcely suitable as workers for larger European enterprises.

177 13 Unfavorable geographical conditions likewise impeded a more extensive cultural change. Fundamental, restricting factors are the relatively isolated location of these islands and their comparatively small land areas which contain no enticing riches for whites. The soil, the climate and a certain water shortage were not favorable for various cultivated plants that were introduced; some planting methods of Europeans are not feasible here, and a more extensive raising of heavy livestock seems to be impossible.

177 178 As a result of special circumstances, moreover, European

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55. For example, means of subsistence (that is, planting, animal husbandry, basic diet), style of living, kinship and community system, customs connected with stages of life.

56. Planting, fishing, house-building, boat-building.

/326 cont./

177 influences were moderated or prevented altogether. Thus the unity
178 and self-contained nature of ancient Tongan culture is significant. Europeans have, for example, up to now been unable to change the highly developed fishing methods of these natives, but only to supplement them, and replacing the traditional cultivation of tubers with other food plants seems scarcely to be recommended. Naturally, in view of the strong feeling of kinship and community, no actual European type of economic individualism has arisen among these natives. The fact that the raw materials for their familiar plaiting, knotting and barkcloth work, for their traditional house construction and their customary food are to be obtained in their own country and by means of well-known procedures has contributed largely to the preservation of ancient Tongan traditions in these areas. Moreover, among the "particular impeding circumstances," a /327/ countercurrent actually called forth by the European influences seems worth mentioning: the change in the social stratification of the people led to a revival and intensification among the commoners of old customs (at marriages and deaths, for example).

179 Finally we must not forget that for geographical as well as cultural reasons some European cultural assets are not usable by these Islanders and were therefore simply not taken over.

Furthermore, it would scarcely have been possible to work out a European type culture from the parts and complexes offered; the incorporation and integration of what has been incorporated into their old life, that continues to be the mainstay /of the present culture/, is really in terms of what is possible under the circumstances: as close as one can get.

Thus the entire development may be explained on the basis of the nature of the European impact (pressure, proposal, example--

/327 cont./

177 lack of pressure, absence of proposal and no example) as well as the Tongan character and the resulting attitude of the natives (their positive reaction and their inhibitory behavior), furthermore on the basis of the conditions that facilitated and made possible the culture change, as well as the unfavorable geographical conditions and other impeding circumstances. This is by no means a question of individual factors occurring side by side, but rather an interlocking, a collaboration and a counteraction of the various forces--and in addition the countless, often so important and critical imponderables. Also of considerable importance for this development are the exceptional individuals on both sides. Especially qualified and single-minded whites (missionaries, teachers, civil servants, merchants) had a greater influence on Tongan life than the general scenario would lead one to expect. (57)

57. By the same token, one might say of the less capable as well as the too tolerant whites who worked in Tonga that, as a result of their activity, European influence was noticeably limited.

177 554 On the Tongan side, outstanding examples in this sense are Chief Taufa'ahau (George I) between 1829 and 1893 and Crownprince and Premier Tungi since 1943; but actually, individual, very adaptable and receptive natives in the villages, insofar as they are esteemed by the community, are also responsible for the adoption and dissemination of European cultural assets. Such types may be observed in most of the villages of the large and small islands of the Archipelago, and one may often experience the fact that the average Tongan /328/ nature and some of their deeply rooted culture traits prove stronger if occasional attempts are made by individuals to resist these forces, especially if "progressive" individuals in the village community are faced with decidedly conservative-persistent

/328 cont./

177 natives who obviously support the tendency widely held in some fields
554 to cling to the traditional.

177 The relatively smooth course of this development whose present
648 outcome shows no particular external or internal tensions or conflicts,
can also be explained by the fact that in this Kingdom the Protectorate
power did not proceed as did some European colonial governments in
Africa: In Tonga there was no tendency to keep the natives "backward";
the imparting of European culture was not markedly selective, (58)
and there is no obvious imbalance in the give and take on the part of
177 the protecting power. The great expectations of the natives in regard
to schooling and other acquisitions of knowledge are not being
thwarted by the whites but by the islands' limitations. There is no
particular deliberate effort to restrict the opportunities of the
Tongans in religion, law, public life and economy. Rather, the
(641) natives have equal rights, indeed they often enjoy privileged positions
in the country. Hence there has been no revolutionary change in the
sense of a denial of civil rights.

The entire development was also promoted by the intelligent and, to the European, in many respects not too strange or incomprehensible attitude of these natives (who are in many ways also easily led); moreover, since they long ago gave up their old religion and their belief in the taboo, they do not harbor any ancient magical conceptions (like so many Africans).

Inasmuch as the Tongans in their kingdom themselves carry out many
measures recommended by the whites, the course of the culture change
(178) is not all too rapid. A non-European calm still prevails on these
islands; while many ancient traditions are being maintained, new things
are adopted and integrated, and there is enough time to let the new
culture, in which the indigenous and the foreign are happily blended, grow.

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58. Except for the prohibition against alcohol.

/328 cont./

177 178 The harmless course of the cultural change among this people is based on this fact of the combination, the blending of European and Tongan culture traits. Such a union of the old /329/ with the new would not have been possible, however, if Tongan culture had not been so flexible and adaptable, owing to which it was able to take in and incorporate this wealth of important and unimportant parts and complexes of European culture without breaking down or indeed showing disastrous tensions. Not even as a result of the radical changes affecting the rule of the nobility have there been any major conflicts during the last hundred years.

Another important reason for this positive course of Tongan cultural change is the fact that in the final analysis the natives themselves exhibit a positive attitude toward it; on the whole, their new culture, their new life seems to give them complete satisfaction.

[171] The comparisons drawn in the preceding chapter between the Tongan cultural change and that which took place among the Samoans, the Fijians and the Baganda show that the development in Tonga is nothing extraordinary, and that the ability of cultural adaptation that we have observed among the natives of these islands, along with their continuing self-affirmation, is not unique. The foregoing investigations furnish proof that, amidst a very broadly conceived similarity of preconditions, a cultural change that probably sometimes differs in detail, but is nonetheless similar in the totality of its development, can also take place elsewhere.

We see from these comparisons that the apparently so easily alterable external appearance of natives (that is, hairstyle, clothing, as well as adornment) undergoes considerable changes, that other material cultural possessions regarded as impressive

/329 cont./

177 178 from the example set by Europeans (for instance, tools, household equipment) are happily taken over, that the old form of government (with its more or less absolute power of chiefs, administration of justice and land distribution) succumbs to the pressure of whites as soon as this is resolutely carried out, and that religion and with it art and knowledge for the same reason undergo a great change.
177 As a result of the inclusion of these peoples in the European economic and administrative system the natives begin to acquire money through specific harvest sales and to use it in their fashion, they learn new professions and experience the opening-up of their homeland through modern traffic routes and methods of transportation used by whites.

177 178 In various areas of these native cultures the European element has not had such far-reaching consequences, and the old and the new still exist /330/ side by side, or have achieved a temporary or even definitive fusion; we experience this, for example, in bodily grooming and health care, as well as in household equipment and, very significantly, in the customs surrounding the stages of life, namely, birth, marriage and death, and likewise in the field of name-giving.

Some cultural traits, finally, seem scarcely changed. These include the more intimate life of natives (conjugal and family life (59)

[797] 59. If it does not openly violate the demands of the missionaries.

and the community system), (60)

60. Insofar as it was highly developed in pre-European times.

style of living, means of sustenance (planting, basic diet) and the division of labor according to sex.

/330 cont./

177 The reasons for these similar developments are largely those that were mentioned in connection with the change of Tongan culture.

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121 The question as to what extent they express some firm laws of acculturation among primitive peoples can be answered only on the basis of a large number of further, similar investigations. And even a subsequent, perhaps successful establishment of such "laws of acculturation" would always need to be subject to the qualification that a multitude of unforeseeable imponderables could lead the development in an entirely different direction than that established theoretically; for example, one can scarcely, with the help of such a "lawful principle," explain why the Tongans have largely given up their ancient house style whereas the Samoans--under quite similar conditions--have kept theirs to such a great extent.

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181 One conclusion from these comparisons that seems significant is the fact that the bearers of this culture, the human beings themselves, have thus far scarcely changed inwardly as a result of European influences. They have the money of the whites--but have not taken on the latter's interest in money; they have become Christians--but scarcely discard their old attitudes toward sex; and the fact that the four primitive peoples compared here still show a rather conservative approach coupled with a decided self-assurance in many areas of their cultural life may be one of the important reasons why these peoples and their cultures have not declined but have preserved a large measure of their old way of life throughout turbulent times.

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(113) The conservative trait observed among other primitive peoples, as has been emphasized elsewhere, (61)

61. R. Linton, Acculturation in seven American Indian tribes /cited in English/. New York 1940. p. 468; H. B. Hawthorn, "The Maori:

181 /330 cont./

177 171 [113) A study in acculturation," American Anthropologist New Series. Vol. 46, No. 2. Part 2 (Memoir 64) 1944. p. 65.

is probably in part simply /331/ based on rational considerations according to which greater disadvantages than advantages were to be expected from the change, or it may be partly a question of
177 indolence or rigidity. On the whole, however, conservatism here
178 means a feeling of steadfastness in the traditional and habitual
181 because it is one's own to which one is rooted and to which one
clings because one draws from it a goodly share of strength, inner security and self-assurance. Why do the Tongan women still subject themselves to the arduous and lengthy process of tapa-making and mat-plaiting? Why, with their relatively high income, do they not instead buy more durable European cloth which they can obtain without too much trouble? Why do they still plait their mats with great care and do not make them in a much simpler and less meticulous way? They probably do this not only because it happens to be their tradition and a taken-for-granted habit and gives them social recognition, but because they consciously or unconsciously feel that their very own way of life is bound up with these things, (62)

62. Many Tongans do not fail to point out proudly to whites who are interested in their way of life and their work what is "faka Tonga" (Tongan way of doing things).

and because they would perhaps be unsure of themselves and feel a certain void if they should break with this tradition and if the floor of their huts and their sleeping places were made only with European material with which they will probably never be able to establish a true inner relationship. Primitive peoples will guard and be able to maintain such an emotional attachment to what is old against the so powerful European influences only if their character

/331 cont./

177 is as strong as that of the Tongans. This seems to be the peculiar
178 nature and significance of the conservatism that we have so often
181 come across in the various chapters of this essay.

006 [pp. 332-351 on the general problem of cultural change have not been translated.]

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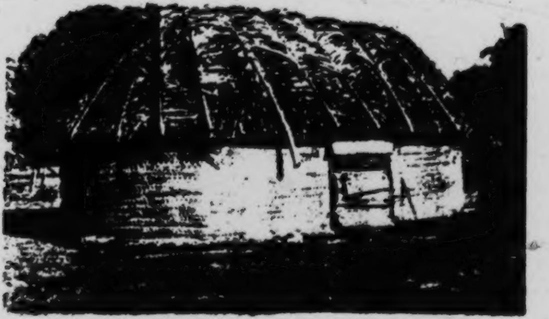

7. Dwelling in ancient Tongan style (*pola* walls)

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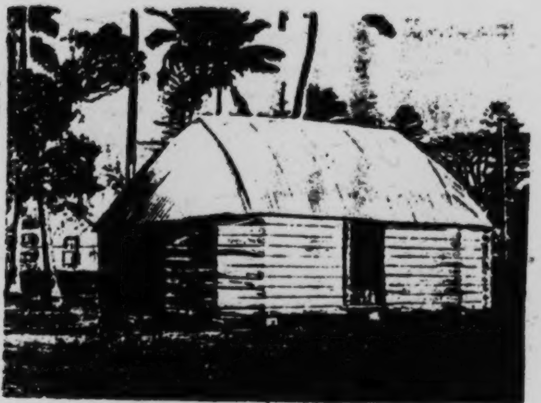

8. Dwelling in ancient Tongan style with board walls and corrugated metal roof

[End Plate 4]

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9. European dwelling

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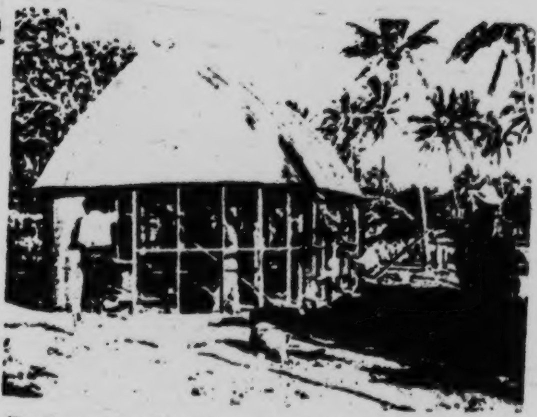

10. Construction of dwelling in ancient Tongan style with modern materials

[End Plate 5]

175 reported that individuals resided within private gardens, separated
361 from each other by fences, or such common boundaries as roads and
trails. Cook, more than a century later, reported a similar pattern of settlement. Such accounts suggest that the island population was relatively evenly distributed over most of the island acreage. Towns, as defined today, were unfamiliar, the population groupings being loosely clustered on land holdings of respective chiefs (Kennedy 1958, p. 162).

178 During the eighteenth century, newer types of weapons were
721 introduced (i.e., the bow and arrow, and a modified throwing spear,
669 [177] from Fiji) and tribal fighting began within Tonga. What began as
[411] small scale conflicts gradually evolved into civil war which involved
361 all the Tongan islands. This period of warfare, which lasted until
178 the 1850s, effectively terminated the widespread house and garden
type of settlement (Kennedy 1958, p. 164). Replacing this tradi-
722 tional system for a limited time was a settlement pattern in which
361 most people resided within fortified structures. The war also
722 disrupted the garden agricultural system, owing to frequent raids
241 from neighboring tribes. As a result, treaties were formulated
between two or more fortified groups, whereby land was guarded, planted, and harvested in common (Kennedy 1958, p. 64).

178 With the close of the civil war period (1799-1852), which
643 lasted for more than a half century, the three principal island
groups comprising the Tongas were unified under the rule of
178 Taufau'ahau (Tupou I). However, the end of hostilities did not
361 signal a return to the traditional house and garden settlement

own people, and finds sufficient employment in attending to his 643
duties as King without meddling in trade. He is one of the best [439]
sailors among the Tongaese, and has frequently shown remarkable [157]
coolness and presence of mind in situations of danger. When we
were at Tongatabu he was about to build a jetty over the reef at
the anchorage. He does not smoke, and his example is generally 276
followed by his people, smoking being considered as a mark of [643]
dissipation. At one time, however, it prevailed to a great extent, [178]
nearly every man and woman, and even many children, smoking [177]
whenever they could get tobacco. The use of it is discouraged [747]
by the missionaries, but I imagine that some of the natives still
secretly indulge in it, for while I was sketching one day a young
woman came up to me, and, first looking cautiously around,
inquired in a confidential whisper if I had any tobacco, at the same
time showing me a short black pipe.

Canoes.—The model exhibited will serve to show the construc- 501
tion of these better than any description. They are steered with a large paddle on the lee quarter, and it will be seen that the lower part or foot of the sail is secured to a spar in the same manner as the sails of the "America" yacht. King George's canoe is 90 feet long, the sail being 90 feet high and 60 feet wide at the top. These large double canoes will carry as many as 200 men.

In 1847 King George, fearing that the French might interfere 643
with him, wrote a letter to the governor of New Zealand, request- 648
ing that he might with his people be received as subjects of the British crown.

I would venture to remark that it must be of advantage to cul- 000
tivate friendly relations with the inhabitants of all such islands as
are desirous of being connected with us, more especially as it may
be very desirable to form depôts for our steamers at some of the
islands. It has been exceedingly difficult for me to draw a line 121
between the geographical and the ethnological in this paper, as they are so intimately connected; but I trust by this simple narration, illustrated by the pencil, that many, who would have no taste for a voyage of 12,000 or 15,000 miles, will in some measure realize the condition of our antipodean fellow men; and it is to be hoped that in a comparatively few years the connexion existing between our Australian colonies and the mother country may also include these beautiful and fertile islands.

Sailing Directions for entering Tongatabu.

HAVING no map of Tongatabu, or any knowledge of the place, we were in doubt 122
as to which was the proper entrance to the anchorage, and the following sailing 114
directions were afterwards kindly given me by Mr. May, master of the Meander,
as the result of his observation upon going in.

When the northern point of Eua bears S., steer direct for the small island of Eua 131
Eki, on nearing which several small islets will be observed immediately to the 133

for that time of the year. The *pola* is then taken out in a semicircular fashion, the opening facing the beach, and is half buried in the sand to prevent it from being shifted by the currents. Sticks are then put up along the line which completes the preliminary work. 226

After a few days watching the tide, the *toutai* gives the word and hundreds of people go out and loosen the half buried line and tie it to the sticks and remain there to keep the lines in position. It must be noted that the approach to the line must be made outside the blockaded area. When the tide begins to turn, big fish start to return to deep sea and on returning they find themselves enclosed by the coconut leaves and fishermen behind the line. They are forced to turn back and look for an opening to get out but each time they approach the line they are forced back with spears to the blockaded area. As the tide goes out some fish are so scared that they prefer to swim around inside the blockade and some take the risk to try and pass the blockade although this is always unsuccessful.

When the tide is nearly out and the fish is floundering in shallow water or in little pools, the *toutai* gives the word and everybody is allowed to go inside the line and fish for himself.

Kind of fish usually caught by this method: 1. Matu; 2. Te'efo; 3. Sipesipa; 4. Kanahe; 5. Tanutanu; 6. Kavakava; 7. Kiokio; 8. Toke; 9. Mataolo'i. [825]

(b) *Faka'uvea* is the method of catching fish employed by the Niuatoputapu island people. It apparently originates from Uvea (Wallis Island). Whole coconut leaves are used, weighted with stones. [177] [227]

This method of fishing is similar to *pola* but instead of one day only, it goes on for 3-4 months (Feb.-May), during the arrival of millions of small *vete*, called in Niuatoputapu *kaloama*. Larger fish of this kind, somewhat like the surmullet, are called *ulumakau*. 825 226

The fish enters the traps near to the shore at high tide. When tide starts to turn, they take up positions near the openings. These openings are of such size that they can be closed with one leg. A *kenu* made of the midrib of coconut leaves is placed in the opening at A to collect the small fish. When it is full, it is emptied into baskets while the opening 226

105: Vaea & Straatmans G,I-3 (no date) 1954
OU9 Tonga OU9

the water at the vicinity of a reef where octopuses are suspected to make their homes. 226 Looking at this from under water, it certainly creates the desired effect. An octopus, seeing this shaking object and suspecting it to be a rat, speeds forward to take revenge by strangling the bait which is then pulled up with the octopus. Another *feke* is ready to come up the same way, and many more. On a good day's fishing one would be able to get as many as fifty octopuses.

(d) *Whaling*. Some sixty odd years ago, an Englishman 225 named Cook, first introduced whaling to the Tonga Islands. [177] He started at Ha'apai and later shifted his outfit to Nuku'alofa where it is now being continued by his descendants. In those days, the method of whaling was very primitive. The whaling boat accompanied by an ordinary sailing boat, called the "life boat," set out in search for whales. The whaling season of Tonga falls within August and September. At this period the whales with their calves [825] are said to be passing through this area on their southward migration, after moving north during the winter months to give birth at a much warmer latitude than their permanent homes in the south. The route of their home journey is certainly south-east, passing through the Tonga Groups. Due to many mothers suckling their young ones on this homeward journey, the travelling speed of this journey is very much reduced and whales are known to be scattered and not travelling in schools as they do on their northern trip. This accounts for mothers preferring to travel alone with their calves and not in the school which consists of mostly males. At times schools of more than twenty whales [825] are located but the whalers always ignore them as being too dangerous to attack. A straggler or a mother with a baby calf, avoiding the school, are the ones which often fall victims to the harpoon. When a whale is located, the whaling boat sails towards it, and at close quarters, sails and masts are pulled down. The harpooner stands aft, ready to put all his weight behind the harpoon, the whale, of course, being unaware of all this. When the harpoon is launched, the whale dives in fright to a certain depth, then sets out to swim with all its power in a mad dash to extricate the painful harpoon. The whalers, having let out fifty yards of rope to give the whale a start on the boat, tighten up and the boat is being